

Indonesian Manuscripts from the Islands of Java, Madura,  
Bali and Lombok



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# Indonesian Manuscripts from the Islands of Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok

*By*

Dick van der Meij



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*Dedicated to my twin brother Wim van der Meij*









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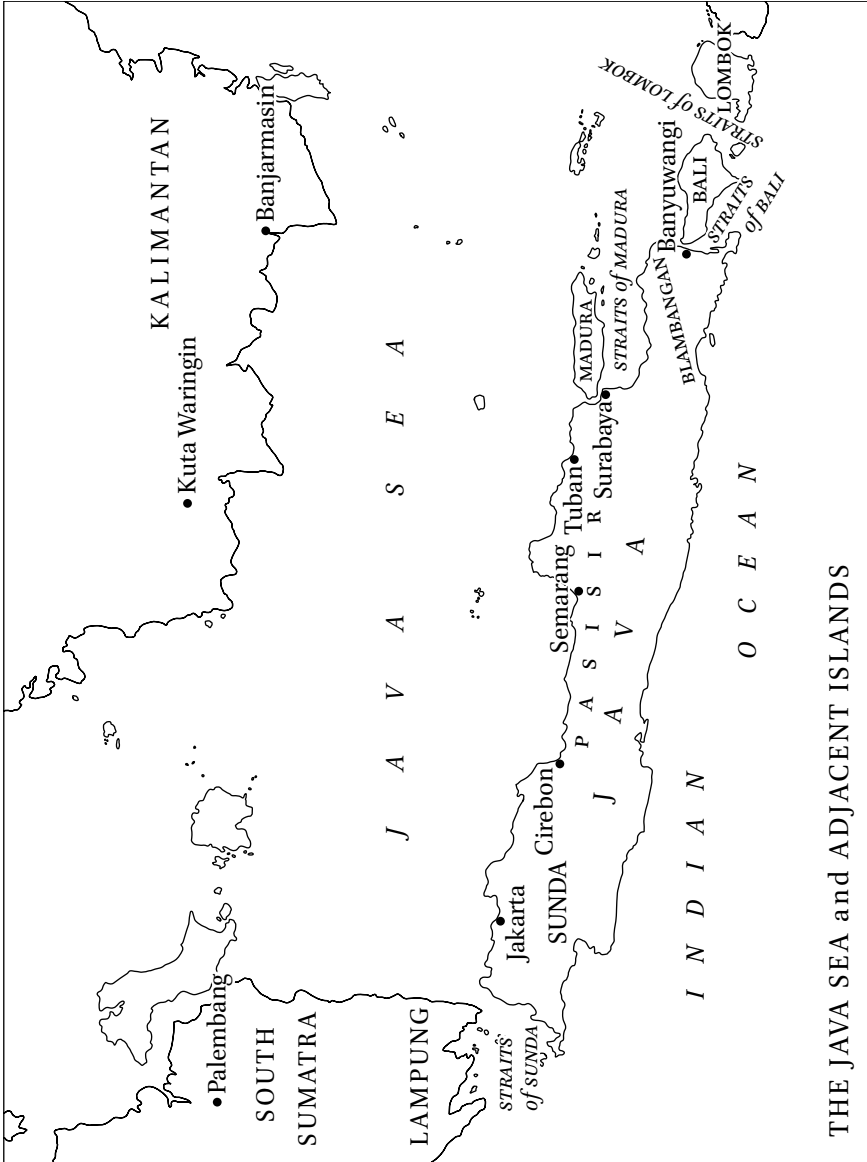
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THE JAVA SEA and ADJACENT ISLANDS



# Notes to the Reader

## Intended Audience

This book is meant for general readers, specialists and curators. This means that for general readers the book may go into details beyond their expectations or wishes while specialist and curators may feel that the opposite is true. I hope that all readers will indulge my digressions into details or lack thereof.

## Manuscripts

I will use the generic term ‘manuscript’ for any kind of handwritten manuscript regardless of whether it uses paper, tree-bark paper, palm-leaf or any other material. When I talk specifically about non-paper manuscripts, I will add designations like *lontar* (palm-leaf) and *dluwang* (tree bark paper), for instance.

## Transliterations and Transcriptions

The spelling in Latin characters of the various languages in the archipelago is not problematic as none of them require diacritics. Matters are different for Arabic and Old Javanese for which various transliteration systems exist. This is especially so for Arabic where a wealth of competing transliteration systems burdens the scholar. In all quotations, I use the transcriptions as used by the original authors with the exception that /ŋ/ has been replaced by /ng/. In my own transcriptions of Old Javanese, I use the spelling Zoetmulder used in his *Old Javanese–English Dictionary*. I have done so to enable readers to easily check my translations of colophons from Old Javanese texts. In the transliteration of languages other than Malay, I use /ě/ for /schwa/ to distinguish it from /é/ and /è/ for which simply /e/ is used. Readers should note that it proved impossible to do this consistently because when information was derived from sources in Latin script in which these vowels were not distinguished it proved impossible to decide in all cases whether the letter /e/ referred to /schwa/ or not.



## Translations

All translations are mine except when indicated otherwise. The original texts of the quotes are put in footnotes as they would burden the main text too much. In the translations the /ě/ is not used.

The titles of the manuscripts I used in this book have been translated where possible. The English translations of the names of Old Javanese *kakawin* narrative poems have mostly been taken over from those made by Helen Creese while for the Malay titles I have been inspired by Braginsky.<sup>1</sup>

## Spelling of Personal and Geographical Names

In transliterations and translations, the names have been spelled as I found them in manuscripts according to the transcription rules of the language in question. This means that the Javanese /a/, which in certain positions is pronounced as /o/, is written /a/. Geographical names are spelled as they are spelled in modern Indonesian usage.

The scripts used in the manuscripts do not use capitals. Accordingly I do not use capitals in my own transliterations but have added them in the translations. When I quote transliterations made by others they keep the spelling – including capitalization or lack thereof – as found in the quoted text. My transliterations of titles and texts expose the way they were spelled in the manuscripts. No ‘corrections’ to these spellings have been made.

## Measurements and Numbers of Pages

Measurements of manuscripts have been taken over from catalog sources except when I doubted their accuracy and I was able to measure the manuscripts myself. In the captions to the illustrations, the measurements refer to the size of the entire page even when only a detail is shown. It proved that measurements in catalogs were often not quite as accurate as I had expected. This can be, for instance, because only measurements in whole and half centimeters were used which made me suspicious. My own measurements are sometimes also not one hundred per cent precise because the condition of the manuscripts did not allow for accurate measuring or because not all pages had

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1 Creese 1999, 2004; Braginsky 2004.



the exact same size. When conditions in the field made measuring impossible, no measurements for that manuscript have been included.

All measurements are provided in the following way. The height is presented first followed by the width in all cases, irrespective of the ways these measurements were indicated in catalogs. For wooden boxes (*kropak*) for *lontar* manuscripts the measurement sequence is height, width, and length.

Numbers of pages proved much more difficult. Catalogs provide numbers of pages in different ways. For instance, when folios appeared only to have been numbered on the verso or recto sides, one cataloger used the expression 'double pages,' while another used the term 'folio.' The expression 'pages' was also encountered with reference to *lontar* manuscripts. For paper manuscripts I have taken over the numbers and the expressions as found in the catalogs even when I was in a position to count the pages again myself. I did so not to endanger the manuscript because in my experience, counting manuscript pages poses serious threats to manuscripts especially when the paper is brittle and already damaged by gall-ink corrosion and the more so when text blocks are surrounded by lines drawn in gall-ink. When these have corroded the text block between these lines falls out and counting the number of pages may damage the manuscript. Recto and verso added to page numbers are indicated by /r/ and /v/ respectively. I use the expression 'leaf' or 'leaves' for *lontar* manuscripts rather than 'folio' or 'page.' As is customary in Indonesian studies, leaves of *lontar* manuscripts are indicated as 1a and 1b etc., /a/ standing for recto and /b/ for verso.

### Dates

In manuscripts, dates are found using the Gregorian calendar (*Anno Domini*, AD), the Javanese year (*Anno Javanica*, AJ), the Muslim year (*Anno Hegirae*, AH) and the Hindu Śaka year and usually in various combinations. In exceptional cases the Chinese or Japanese calendars have also been used. Where possible, the dates have been calibrated to the corresponding AD years. I do not use the expression Common Era (CE) for in this I follow Elaine Wright who stated (with small grammatical adaptations) 'The supposedly politically incorrect AD is used, not CE, because it simply makes sense to do so considering the necessary parallel references to equally religious-based, non-Western calendars.'<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>2</sup> Wright 2009: 9.



## Photographs

All the photographs in this book were taken by me unless otherwise stated in the captions. The photographs in the Introduction and in Chapter One aim to show a variety of different Indonesian manuscripts to give the reader an idea of what they look like. They do not necessarily accompany the text. All photographs in the other chapters are directly related to the corresponding text.

## Index

The titles of all manuscripts have been included in the index. Also all personal names and the names of manuscript repositories have been added alongside a number of other entries. Indonesian personal names are indexed following the alphabetical order of the first name. This means that for Balinese personal names, names starting with I (for men) and Ni (for women) are indexed under I and Ni. Names of Balinese persons of caste are listed in the alphabetical order of the first item of their honorific titles. Thus, Ida Bagus Made Sidemen is in the index under Ida. As honorifics are actually not part of Javanese names, they have been listed in the index according to the first personal name of the individual. Thus, Raden Tumenggung Arungbinang is listed under Arungbinang. When for specific items, the number of entries would have become so large as to be virtually meaningless they have not been included.



# Abbreviations

BBY	Collection Balai Bahasa Yogyakarta
BEFEO	<i>Bulletin d'École française d'Extrême Orient</i>
BIN	<i>Bibliotheca Indonesica</i>
BKI	<i>Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
JMBRAS	<i>Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
NION	<i>Nederlands-Indië Oud en Nieuw</i>
PC	Private Collection
PDS H.B. Jassin	Collection Pusat Dokumentasi Sastra H.B. Jassin
PNRI	Collection National Library of Indonesia (Perpustakaan Nasional Republik Indonesia)
RIMA	<i>Review of Indonesian and Malaysian Affairs</i>
TBG	<i>Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
UBL	Collection Leiden University Library (Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden)
VKI	<i>Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde</i>
VKNAW	<i>Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen</i>



# General Introduction

## The Present Book

This book will look at different aspects of manuscripts from the traditions of Central and East Java and the Javanese-inspired worlds of West Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok in Indonesia. It is of course hard to speak of 'Javanese-inspired' worlds as the areas that I group under this term have their own cultures as well. Still, in the entire area a number of the same or similar texts are found and the same or similar scripts and writing materials are used. Moreover, manuscripts in the Javanese language – a language most people outside the Javanese speaking region do not or only partly understand – were produced in the entire area, I feel the term can be defended. However, to do this here in more detail would lead too far away from the actual subject of the present book.



ILL. 1 Sĕrat Angling Darma (*Romance of King Angling Darma*). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1845. PNRI KBG 737, 33 × 20.5 cm., 450 pages, pages 292 and 293.<sup>1</sup> A Javanese manuscript copiously illustrated in 'wayang' style. King Angling Darma is riding his horse leading his army to battle.

1 Behrend 1998: 256.



Indonesia has a rich manuscript tradition in a variety of languages and scripts. When we start at the top of Sumatra and travel east as far as Papua, the most important manuscript cultures are those of Aceh, Riau, Batak, Minangkabau, Palembang,<sup>2</sup> Jambi,<sup>3</sup> Bengkulu, Lampung, Sunda (West Java),<sup>4</sup> Java (Central and East Java), Madura, Bali, Lombok,<sup>5</sup> and Bima on Sumbawa.<sup>6</sup> To the north the largest manuscript cultures are those of the Buginese and Makassarese in South Sulawesi<sup>7</sup> and smaller ones, for instance, in Gorontalo, in North Sulawesi. Other places like Kutai, Buton,<sup>8</sup> Flores,<sup>9</sup> Ternate, Tidore, Ambon<sup>10</sup> and other islands in the Moluccas<sup>11</sup> have manuscript traditions as well. Also in Papua manuscripts in a variety of languages are encountered among Papuan and immigrant communities as a recent study has revealed.<sup>12</sup> Manuscripts written in Malay, Javanese, or Arabic may originate from many places in the archipelago and for this reason alone constitute the most important languages of the manuscript traditions in the country.

Among these manuscript cultures, those of the Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese and Sasak comprise the areas where Javanese influence is evident in the scripts and manuscripts they used. This area occupies a large position in the manuscript culture of Indonesia. We have to be careful here because the word 'large' can imply different things. Use of the term may point

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- 2 To get a picture of Palembang manuscripts in private collections see Ikram (ed.) 2004.
  - 3 Jambi does not feature prominently or at all in collections of Indonesian manuscripts. No mention is made of Jambi, for instance, in Behrend's catalog (1998) of the holdings of the National Library of Indonesia. Recent discoveries were reported to me by Ali Muzakir in Jambi in November 2015. For further reading see Gallop 2009 and 2013 and the references she mentions in these publications.
  - 4 For catalogues of Sundanese manuscripts see Juynboll 1899 and 1911, and Ekadjati and Darsa 1999.
  - 5 For an overview of Sasak manuscripts and manuscripts from Sasak background see Marrison 1999a and 1999b.
  - 6 See Salahuddin and Mukhlis 2007, and Chamber-Loir et al. 2010.
  - 7 See Mukhlis PaEni 2003 and Massoweang 2010: 150–162 and 203–209 (especially for the city of Paloppo).
  - 8 See Ikram et al. 2001 for a catalogue of manuscripts from Buton. For a general overview and some pictures of manuscripts from Buton see Massoweang et al. 2010: 163–174 and 210–218.
  - 9 See Lewis 2010 for an edition, translation and detailed study of two manuscripts on the origin and history of the Rajadom of Sikka, Flores.
  - 10 For a study of Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 5448 *Hikayat Tanah Hitu* (The Story of the Land of Hitu) from Ambon see Van der Putten 2011.
  - 11 For a general overview of the manuscript situation in the Moluccas and some pictures of manuscripts see Massoweang et al. 2010: 83–130 and 185–196.
  - 12 Pudjiastuti (ed.) 2015.



to the extent of the written and literary culture of the area as preserved in manuscripts. In that case, Javanese is no doubt extensive. If we talk about large in the sense of numbers of manuscripts we may find that Bali has possibly one of the richest traditions with Javanese closely following. This having been said, we actually have little idea, if any, about the numbers of manuscripts that have ever been produced and how they were once distributed throughout society. In the chapter about access to manuscripts we will see that the collections at our disposal do not or only partially reflect the manuscript realities as they once were or still are in the real world.

### Languages

A variety of languages is used in the manuscripts from the areas discussed in this book. Going from west to east we have manuscripts in Old Sundanese, Sundanese and Javanese for West Java, Old, Middle and Modern Javanese for Central Java and to these should be added Madurese for Madura and East Java. In Bali, manuscripts were written in Balinese, Old, Middle and Modern Javanese and often in *kawi*, which is the term by which the Balinese traditionally collectively called the mixtures of literary languages they used in their manuscripts. The manuscripts of the Sasak people in Lombok are written in Sasak of which many dialects exist and in a kind of East Javanese often mixed with Sasak. Also here it is hard to make a clear distinction between the languages used in these manuscripts.

All areas under discussion also have manuscripts that use Arabic and Malay while manuscripts in Dutch and other European languages and Chinese may be found as well but these have been left out of the discussion.

There is no clear linguistic distinction between Old and Middle Javanese and the terms are basically used for the languages used in specific kinds of literature. Roughly speaking, Old Javanese is the language used in *kakawin* poems that use Sanskrit or Sanskrit-inspired poetic meters, in old, Javanese translations of the books of the *Mahābhārata*, and in prose works on Hindu-Buddhist religion and philosophy that often use quotations in Sanskrit. We should bear in mind that in present-day Bali, texts written in Old Javanese are still being hand-copied and new prose and poetic texts in Old Javanese are still being composed. Middle Javanese is the term for the language used in later literary products that are inspired by indigenous Javanese history and culture and written in prose or in poetry that uses indigenous poetic meters. The distinction between Old Sundanese and Old Balinese and later forms of these languages is more or less based on the same criteria but also here the situation is far from clear and even less researched.



In many manuscripts from Bali, no strict division between archaic forms of Balinese and Javanese can be made. Pigeaud called this language 'Javanese-Balinese' in his catalog of Javanese manuscripts held in the Leiden University Library and in other public collections in the Netherlands.<sup>13</sup> Although the term sounds awkward, he may actually have been right as the vocabulary used in these manuscripts is indeed an indissoluble mixture of Javanese and Balinese. A detailed description of the language used in these manuscripts has not been made and especially its grammatical peculiarities remain to be described.

Because the Javanese area is quite large, various dialects exist that influence the languages used in manuscripts. In general, dictionaries for all the languages used in manuscripts from the areas under discussion are often insufficiently extensive to allow for accurate translations of texts, especially for Sasak and Madurese while the situation for Balinese is only slightly better. The reason is that most dictionaries are practical dictionaries made for daily use, either in the past or in current times, and from which literary language has been purged.

## Script

### *Javanese Script*

Javanese script was one of the dominant scripts in the Indonesian Archipelago. Because of close cultural contacts with, and because of Javanese political presence on, other islands around Java, Javanese script was adopted and adapted to local usages and tastes. Thus Palembang in South Sumatra, and the entire island of Java, including Sunda in the West, Madura, Bali and Lombok came to use a form of Javanese script modified to the phonological requirements of the languages used in these regions. In Java the script is called *hanacaraka*; in Sunda *cacarakan*; in Madura *carakan*; in Bali *hanacaraka*; and in Lombok *jĕjawen* or *cĕraka*.<sup>14</sup> Because Java is large and the home of different population groups, the temporal, local and socio-cultural variation among Javanese script is enormous. To a lesser degree this is also the case in the other regions.

Few detailed descriptions of the various forms of Javanese script as used in Javanese manuscripts have been published and no facsimile books that present samples from manuscripts in these scripts has ever been printed. This is the same for the scripts of the languages from the other regions. Because of this lack of paleographical information it remains quite difficult to establish the background of manuscripts in place, time and socio-cultural background based on the script used. In the manuscript catalogs a bewildering variety of terms is used

<sup>13</sup> Pigeaud 1967–1980.

<sup>14</sup> When these words are googled many sites pop up that offer a good overview of these scripts and how they can be downloaded.



for these variations of Javanese script but because no detailed and systematic paleographical map has been published it is hard to imagine what these scripts actually look like based on the terms used. One may also read in catalogs that the Sasak people of Lombok use Balinese script, which they do not, as they use their own specific variety of Javanese script which for a long time was not recognized as having distinct characteristics of its own. It is also the case that no detailed descriptions exist for the varieties of Javanese script used in West Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok or for the variations among these scripts themselves.

No recent guide on the general rules of Javanese script in English is available and the only 'recent' detailed description of Javanese script was made by Willem van der Molen which was published in Dutch more than two decades ago in 1993. No description of the script will be offered here and different forms of Javanese script can be seen from a number of illustrations this book offers.<sup>15</sup>



ILL. 2 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*). Javanese, Surakarta, Central Java, undated but around the middle of the nineteenth century. UBL Cod.Or. 12.332, 34 × 21 cm., 192 pages, pages 14-v and 15-r.<sup>16</sup> Fully illustrated pages of the wuku (week) Mondasiya with the god Sang Hyang Bĕrama (=Brahma) on the left-hand page.

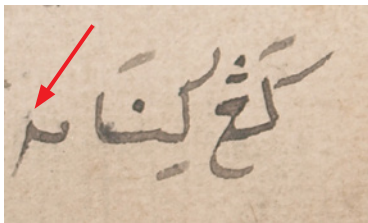
<sup>15</sup> For some photos of Javanese manuscripts from different areas see also Pigeaud 1970: 24–35.

<sup>16</sup> Pigeaud 1980: 52.



### *Arabic/Pegon*

The adapted form of Arabic script for the languages of West, Central and East Java and Madura that was used alongside Javanese script is called *pegon*. It has been studied far less than its *jawi* counterpart for Malay, Acehnese and Minangkabau.<sup>17</sup> The main adjustments of Arabic script for Javanese are the addition of dots to existing Arabic letters to indicate retroflex /dh/ and /th/, specific ways of indicating vowels and the use of the Arabic form of the numeral 2 which is put after a word that is duplicated. As in texts in *jawi* script, users of *pegon* apparently also did not like to write a word twice and thus they used this device to indicate duplications.



ILL. 3

*Pegon script. The transliteration is kang kina-kina. Example of the use of the Arabic numeral 2 to indicate that the word has to be duplicated.*

No detailed description has come to my attention of the various forms of Arabic script used for Arabic texts from the areas or the way they are spelled. More detailed research on this issue may reveal interesting similarities and differences between the various areas where Arabic script was used and may even point to possible contacts between people from the area and the Islamic Holy Land especially when contacts between Indonesia and the modern state of Saudi Arabia became more frequent, prolonged and intense.

### **Manuscripts in Arabic**

So far I have had little to say about manuscripts written in Arabic. They are uncountable in number and may be found all over the archipelago where people adhere to Islam. The Javanese world is no exception. These manuscripts consist of large numbers of handwritten *Qur'āns* and other texts from the Islamic learned tradition. They come up in the most unexpected places and nowadays more and more come to light because of ongoing projects of, for instance,

17 For the latest, detailed description of *jawi* and also of *pegon* script see Gallop 2015a.



the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Jakarta and its local branches all over the country that are now energetically executing programs to locate, describe, and digitize local collections, for instance in Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren* in Java, *dayah* in Aceh) and prayer houses (*surau*) in Minangkabau in West Sumatra. It seems that, especially in colonial but also in post-colonial times, those responsible for Indonesian manuscript collections prioritized manuscripts in local languages to be used as materials for language instruction and cultural studies. As a result, manuscripts on Islam from the area seem to me to be underrepresented but research is needed to substantiate this. Because of this preference, commissioned manuscripts in Javanese, Balinese and Malay may be found in public collections, but no commissioned manuscripts in Arabic and about Islamic matters have come to my attention.



ILL. 4 Qur'ān. Arabic, Banten, West Java, undated. Collection IAIN Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin, Serang, Banten, West Java, 33.5 × 22 cm.

### Multiple Languages and Scripts in Manuscripts

Islamic manuscripts often use more than one script – usually two – because of the Islamic tradition of adding glosses to the main Arabic texts in the local language. These glosses are written either in the local script or in adapted Arabic



script like *jawi* for Malay, Acehnese and Minangkabau, *pegon* for Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese and *serang* for Buginese/Makassarese.<sup>18</sup>



ILL. 5 Opening pages of an untitled and anonymous work of mystical content. Arabic and Javanese, Java, undated but before 1864. UBL Cod.Or. 1842(2), 20 × 15.2 cm., 770 pages, opening pages. Arabic text with Javanese interlinear glosses in pegon script.<sup>19</sup>

Other manuscripts may also use more than one script, sometimes alternating, sometimes in separate columns, and sometimes with one replacing the other when a text has ended and another starts. Some manuscripts contain texts in Javanese to which information is added in the form of a Malay poem (*syair*) in *jawi* script such as the example from Palembang in South Sumatra in illustration 6.

In Bali manuscripts were produced that contain both the Old Javanese text and Balinese glosses. These *maarti* texts were mostly written on *lontar* leaves but sometimes on paper as in illustration 7.

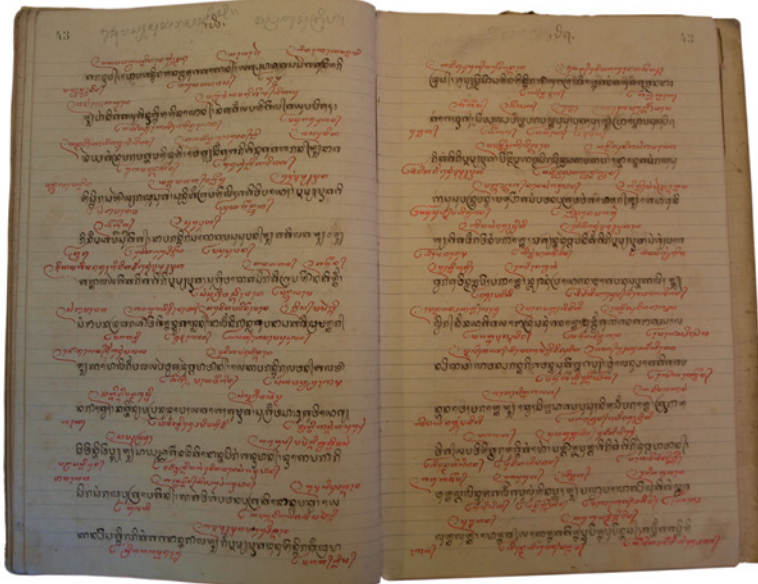
18 For an extensive discussion of *jawi* and *pegon* script see Gallop 2015a, for *serang* see Cho 2012. For a discussion of many manuscripts that use two or more scripts see Sedyawati et al. 2008.

19 Voorhoeve 1980: 399.





ILL. 6 Panji Palembang (*Romance of Prince Panji from Palembang*). Javanese, Palembang, dated 1801. PNRI KBG 185, 25 × 18 cm., 355 pages,<sup>20</sup> pages 351–352.



ILL. 7 Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa maṛti (*Rāma's Quest, with Balinese glosses*). Old Javanese and Balinese, Bali, dated around 1930. UBL Cod.Or.23.020, 33 × 21 cm., 278 pages, pages 154–155. The Old Javanese text is written in black and the Balinese glosses in red.

20 Behrend 1998: 202.



## The Chapters in the Book

Chapter One discusses manuscripts in a general way and places the manuscripts from the area that form the subject matter of this book in a wider setting. It presents a variety of ways by which manuscripts may be looked at and studied and it is intended as a general introduction to manuscripts in Indonesia.

Chapter Two discusses access to manuscripts and explains where they are and how to find them. It points to the large number of collections in the world and discusses the differences between public, semi-public and private collections. It also highlights the presence in Indonesia of large numbers of private collections and the risks manuscripts run because they are still in the field in the hands of private owners who may not always recognize the importance of the manuscripts they have in their possessions and do not know how to treat them properly.

Chapter Three offers a discussion of *lontar* manuscripts and is an attempt to describe *lontar*<sup>21</sup> in a meaningful and rather comprehensive manner. The features discussed in this chapter may be of use to decide where and by whom a *lontar* manuscript may have been produced, especially when colophons are lacking. In great detail it discusses the wooden and bamboo protective covers, strings, string ornaments, leaf enforcement stitchings and boxes, writing, bookmarks and other features of *lontar* manuscripts. It concludes with a very short description of *gěbang* (*nipah*) palm-leaf manuscripts which are extremely rare compared with *lontar* manuscripts of which many thousands exist.

Chapter Four discusses verse forms (verse meters) as they are used in the areas under discussion. The intricacies of *macapat* meters are explained and an extensive discussion is provided on the subject of the alternative names for these verse meters as found in manuscripts. It also discusses other matters such as clues in the last or first stanza of a canto that points to the following verse meter (*sasmita těmbang*). For easy reference, appendices have been compiled on these features which may later be used for research into the temporal, geographical and socio-cultural aspects of the manuscript traditions in these areas (Appendix Two, Four and Five).

Although not yet exhaustively studied but in my view important also for the determination of their cultural, geographical or temporal backgrounds are the ways by which changes in cantos are indicated in manuscripts. A discussion of these features with illustrations hopes to enhance interest in these

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21 Indonesian words have not been provided with an 's' to distinguish singular from plural. The difference will be clear from the contexts in which these words are used.



important chirographic features. Most of these are in Appendix Three in order not to burden the main text of the book too much. The chapter also discusses *kidung*, *kawi miring* and *kakawin* metrical intricacies with illustrations of how canto divides in manuscripts of these Old and Middle Javanese poems are indicated.

Chapter Five is concerned with mistakes and scribal errors and how scribes indicated and corrected them. The idea behind this chapter is that scribes possibly indicate mistakes and make corrections in the same or similar way in the manuscripts they produce and thus they form important clues in establishing who the scribes of these manuscripts may have been.

Chapter Six discusses dating and calendars insofar as they are important for dating Indonesian manuscripts. Time and again it appears to be extremely difficult to calibrate a date in an Indonesian calendrical system into the Gregorian calendar. The commonly found combinations of the lunar and solar years with combinations of five-day and seven-day weeks in eight-year cycles give rise to discrepancies between these calendrical systems, often leading to mismatches. The fact that calendrical information in colophons quite often does not lead to corresponding dates in the Gregorian calendar is often lamented but in my view insufficiently explored. In my view, it happens so often that something else may be at stake, although the big question remains as to what it may be.

Chapter Seven discusses colophons and it presents, translates and comments on a large variety of colophons from manuscripts in the area under discussion. It transpires that many colophons do not present full information, which is interesting in itself but rather frustrating for researchers, as they still prevent us from knowing the exact date when a manuscript was produced or by whom and where. Many colophons in Javanese manuscripts contain a *candra sangkala* (chronogram) that consists of words pointing to numbers that together make up a year. Because a large number of words are used and an easily accessible list of these words is unavailable, I have added Appendix One based on a database of more than 1000 colophons that I have found in manuscripts and manuscript catalogs rather than from existing Javanese theoretical works on these chronograms. Most words are used for one, seven, eight and nine because the bulk of manuscripts date from the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Chapter Eight discusses features found in manuscripts that may point to time, ownership and place of production. It discusses the importance of glued-on labels, signatures, inked ownership stamps, inserted correspondence and other letters or short notes written by donors or owners, and other information written in or on the manuscript by a person who bought, bequeathed or read it.



The book ends with eight appendices all introduced in the corresponding chapters, a glossary of technical terms in local languages, a bibliography, a list of abbreviations and an index.

### Topics not Discussed in the Book

Unfortunately, some topics have had to be left out of the discussion because they were deemed too specialist for me to tackle. One is a discussion on the bindings of paper manuscripts. Marije Plomp conducted the first in-depth study of the book bindings of Indonesian manuscripts in 1993<sup>22</sup> and I know of no other detailed overall study of the actual binding techniques used in manuscripts from Indonesia. A recent and detailed study on the bindings of Islamic manuscripts is *The Technique of Islamic Bookbinding. Methods, Materials and Regional Varieties*, written by Karin Scheper. Although predominantly concerned with manuscripts from other places in the world she points out some characteristics that appear to be typically Southeast Asian and therefore her book is a helpful tool for Indonesian book bindings as I have the impression that bindings of books in Arabic script from Indonesia do not necessarily differ much from those made for manuscripts in other scripts in the area. Bindings of manuscripts that have so far received little attention in their own right concern pre-fabricated and pre-lined or unlined exercise books that were mass-produced from the 19th century up to the present. These exercise books were an important tool especially for highly personalized manuscripts which had no pretention to have been written for other use than for the writers themselves. Also scholars used these exercise books in great numbers and in total they carry much information they collected in the field when they were doing research in Indonesia. They have so far received scant scholarly attention with the exception of Marie-Odette Scalliet who, in her catalog, mentions the companies who produced them and the measurements of the exercise books in the Galestin Collection in Leiden University Library.<sup>23</sup>

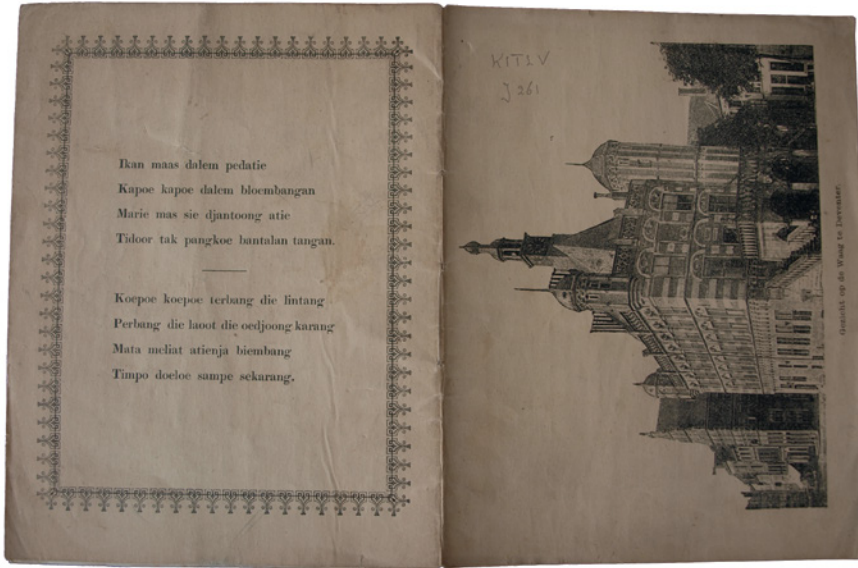
Some examples of these exercise books containing Javanese texts are presented below. The first is a curious example of an exercise book possibly made in, or at least meant for use in, the Dutch East Indies. The cover has a drawing of the weighing-house in Deventer in the Netherlands and on the back a lullaby in Malay. The other illustrations show a cover of an exercise book possibly from around the 1970s and some examples of the pages of exercise books and the density with which they were inscribed.

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<sup>22</sup> Plomp 1993.

<sup>23</sup> Scalliet 2004.





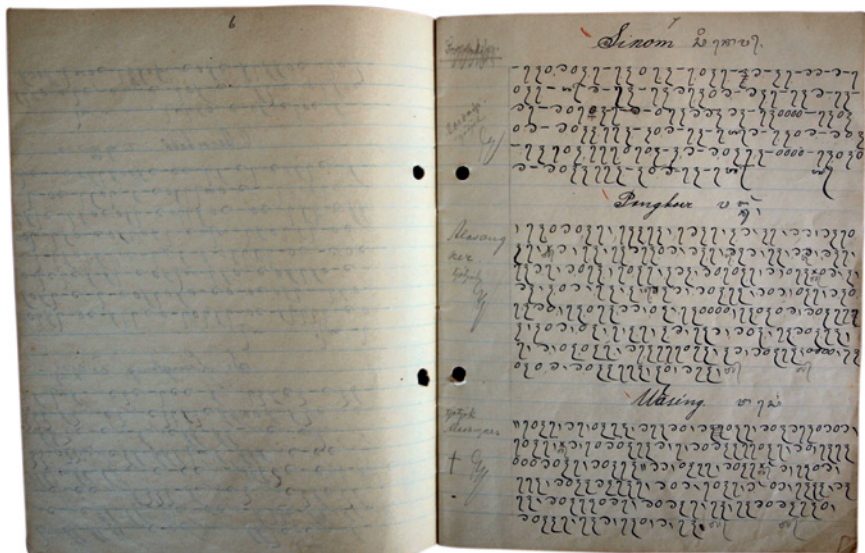
ILL. 8 *Karaton Yogyakarta (Description of the various courts, gates, buildings and other features of the Sultan's palace in Yogyakarta). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but from the first half of the twentieth century. UBL KITLV D Or. 261, 20.5 × 16.5 cm., 10 pages.*<sup>24</sup>



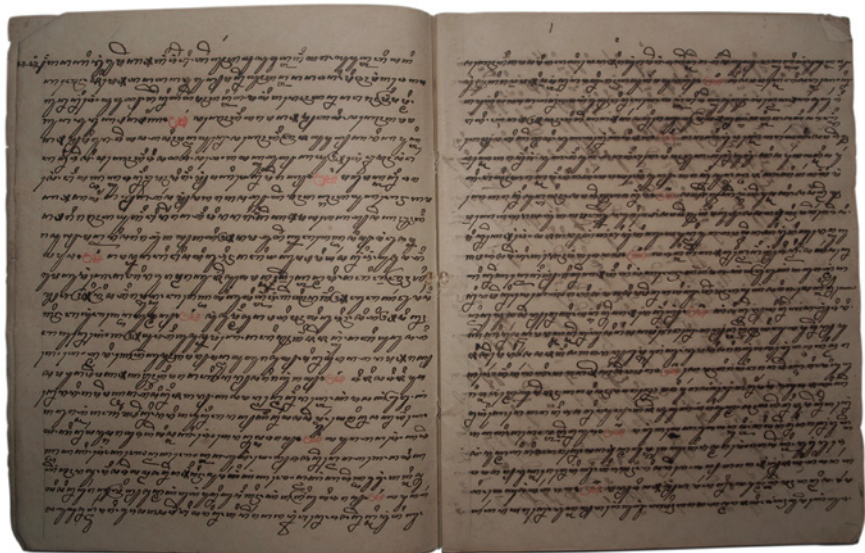
ILL. 9 *Sějarah Para Nata ing Mataram Wiwit Raden Bondhan Kějawan (History of the Kings of Mataram starting with Raden Bondhan Kějawan). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but from the second half of the twentieth century. PC, 20.3 × 16 cm., 27 inscribed pages. Exercise book adorned with a batik parang pattern registered as AEC number 99329.*

24 Pigeaud 1968: 835.





ILL. 10 Balisch notenschrift, desa Jinengdalem, Sudaji, Alasangker, Sembiran, Buleleng (Balinese musical notations from the villages of Jinengdalem, Sudaji, Alasangker, Sembiran, Buleleng). Balinese, Buleleng, Bali, dated 1922. UBL KITLV D Or. 4n, 21 x 16.5 cm., 40 pages, pages 6 and 7.



ILL. 11 Kidung Rumēksa ing Wēngi (Song Guarding at Night, from Central Java). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1933. PC, 21 x 17 cm., 40 inscribed pages, pages 16 and 17.





ILL. 12 Katranganipun Sêrat Waratmaya jilid I dumugi jilid II (*Explanations of the Sêrat Waratmaya on Islam part I and II, written by Raden Ngabehi Harya Saputra*). Javanese, Central Java, undated but from the first half of the twentieth century. PC, 21 x 17 cm., 134 inscribed pages, pages 69 and 70.

Another issue that will not be dealt with is that of paper. Discussions with the staff of the Dutch National Library years ago made it abundantly clear to me that paper is a fascinating but also highly specialized topic and that it is almost impossible for a non-expert (like me) to say anything meaningful about it. Further, I have not discussed the seals that adorn Malay and Acehnese but comparatively few Javanese paper manuscripts and that tell much about ownership, dating and provenance. I have not done this as the subject has been dealt with in astonishing detail by Annabel Teh Gallop in her Ph.D. thesis of 2002 that is soon to be published.

Watermarks have not been addressed as they have been covered by others.<sup>25</sup> Like the bindings themselves, the marbled papers that often adorn the outside and inside covers of paper manuscripts have also been left as they are for the time being but certainly deserve to be looked at in the future because they reveal perhaps not part of the original manuscript culture from where a manuscript came but undoubtedly something of the manuscript culture in the

25 For paper and watermarks in Malay manuscripts see Jones 1988, 1993, 1998 and 1999. References for the watermarks found in the paper of Indonesian manuscripts include Churchill 1935, and Heawood, 1950.



depositories where they finally ended up. Other issues like the kinds of ink for paper and soot for *lontar* manuscripts and other aspects of their physical and chemical compositions have also had to be left unattended. Letters and other correspondence have not been addressed as in my view they form a field all of their own, especially as modern letters should then be included, which, for this book, would make the subject unmanageable.<sup>26</sup>

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26 For more on letters see Gallop and Arps 1991, Pudjiastuti 2007 (for letters from Banten, West Java) and Mu'juzah 2009 (for letters from all over the archipelago) and the lists of references added to these publications.



## Manuscripts

Although the editors regard MS. 3372 (C) as “a poor collection.... badly written and full of mistakes” (page 27) it is, in my opinion, of major interest for the light it throws on the development of philological studies in Malay, and, in particular, on the role of the European scholar in Malay tradition and his attitude towards it.<sup>1</sup>



In the quote above, Sweeney makes some important remarks. In the first place, he quotes the editors, Brakel and Drewes’s rather ‘schoolmasterly’ attitude towards manuscripts. Even though he does not say it in so many words, what I think Sweeney means to say is that no manuscript is badly written because bad is not a category scholars should use. What is bad anyway? Is bad supposed to be the opposite of ‘good’ and then, what is good? Is the spelling bad because it does not obey the unarticulated rules the editors want to apply to manuscripts that precede them in time and that hail from far off places. How can one judge something of an ill understood past and distant text and manuscript tradition? Most importantly, of course, the quote expertly demonstrates that what is a bad manuscript for one scholar might well be of crucial importance and thus a good manuscript for someone else.

Although Indonesian philology is, and in essence should be, concerned with texts, in practice philologists spend much time and effort in the study of manuscripts because they usually contain texts that have not previously been edited, translated or explained. Apart from private collections in and outside Indonesia, manuscripts may be consulted in libraries and museums all over the world, of which more will be said in Chapter Two. The fact that the overwhelming majority of manuscripts are preserved in these venues has taken them far away from their origins and in a way effectively removed them forever from the cultural context in which they once played a role. In some cultures, however, manuscripts are in their original surroundings just as ‘dead’ as in any library in the world, while in other traditions – as for instance in Bali – they remain part of the current literary and manuscript culture. Sweeney writes about Malay manuscripts ‘By removing manuscripts to Europe, Western scholars

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<sup>1</sup> Sweeney 2011: 218.



ensured their physical preservation as relics or relicts-to-be from the past, and made possible the creation of a “history” of Malay literature.<sup>2</sup> We may silently expand his idea to cover manuscripts from other Indonesian cultures and not only those taken to European collections but to any place outside their original surroundings, including the National Library of Indonesia, the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja in Bali, the Sonobudoyo Museum in Yogyakarta and other museums and documentation centers in the country or anywhere else. By naming them ‘relics’ Sweeney pronounces them dead but this is, of course, not really true. They have been given new roles as objects of study and objects of prestige and, because they are no longer read, for people in Indonesia they have attained the status of containers of inaccessible esoteric and higher culture, true or not.

An interesting insight into the appreciation of texts and manuscripts dating back as early as 1836 is in the following, written by J. Olivier:

The style of these eastern stories is elegantly simple, and nobody can deny their moral content. These *hikayat* (histories) or *cerita* (stories), especially the first, are considered to have been based on true events and are highly respected by old and young, the ordinary man as well as the nobility and the monarch himself and they almost consider them sacred temples. [...] A neatly written and well-kept manuscript containing a respected *hikayat* is in Java sometimes bought for a considerable amount of money and kept by the buyer as a treasure in order to read from it at times to the members of his family and to talk with them about the beautiful lessons it contains.<sup>3</sup>

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2 Sweeney 2011: 219. I do not understand why a history of Malay literature would be impossible when the manuscripts stay ‘in the field’ but this issue shall not be addressed here.

3 J. Olivier, *Tafereelen en merkwaardigheden uit Oost-Indië* first published in 1836, page 142. “In den stijl van deze oostersche verhalen heerscht, eene bevallige eenvoudigheid, en hunne zedelijke strekking is door niemand te miskennen. Dergelijke heikajat (geschiedenissen) of tjerita (verhalen) worden ook, voornamelijk de eerstgenoemden, als op ware gebeurtenissen gegrond, door groot en klein, door den gemeenen man zoowel als door de rijksgrooten en den Souverein zelve in hooge eer gehouden, en schier als heiligdommen beschouwd [...]. Een net geschreven en wel bewaard manuscript van eene geachte heikajat, wordt op Java soms voor eene aanzienlijke som gekocht, en door den kooper als eenen schat bewaard, ten einde nu en dan zijne huisgenoten daaruit voor te lezen, en over de schoone lessen die er in voorkomen met hen te spreken.”





ILL. 13 Aṣṭabrata, Adidumastra (*Moralistic Poem and Book of Fables from the Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta*). Javanese, Pakualaman Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1830 = AD 1900. UBL Cod.Or. 6388, 33 × 20.5 cm., 246 pages, pages 39 and 40.<sup>4</sup> Profusely illustrated Javanese manuscript. The figure on the left is Sang Prabu Arimurti (*Krēsna*) in his 'angry' or 'demonic' triwikrama appearance.

Manuscripts that originate from people in their own surroundings were never made for academic study, nor in many cases, indeed for preservation. Texts and manuscripts had a role in the culture of the society in which they were produced, used, preserved, and possibly, cherished, but once their roles ended, the manuscripts disappeared. Many are the stories of collections of manuscripts that were discarded or even burned because people could no longer read them and they thus saw no need for their further preservation.<sup>5</sup> No detailed research has been done on the way manuscripts were discarded in the past or indeed at present. Sometimes information pops up that may give us a chance to form a picture of how this was done and one such example is from Merle Ricklefs who was told in 1969, in the Karaton Yogyakarta Tēpas Kapujanggan that

4 Pigeaud 1968: 365.

5 See also below in Chapter Two.



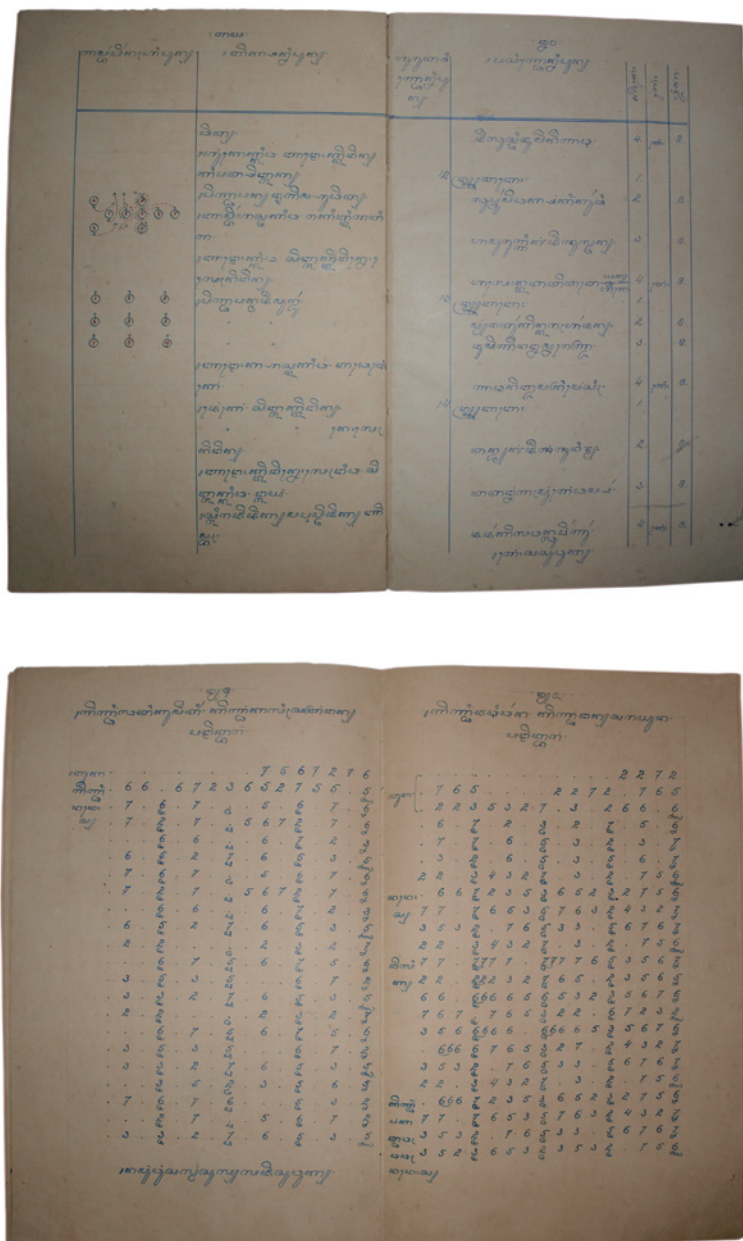
when a manuscript was old and worn, it would be copied – a process called *dipunputrani* – and the old one was buried as if it were a person.<sup>6</sup> The term *dipunputrani* is interesting as it means ‘replaced’ but with the connotation that the new manuscript is the ‘child’ (*putra*) of the old one.

In the field of Indonesian manuscripts and philology, much research remains to be done into the way or ways in which manuscripts were – and in some cases are still being – produced and used. Although scholars have addressed some of these questions, many remain unanswered when the manuscripts do not contain colophons or any other information about the production process. Who wrote or writes them, when and where, how and why, and why they look the way they do remains to this day insufficiently investigated. Should we think of people engaging in manuscript production all by themselves or did they carry out their work in groups so that we can indeed speak of scriptoria in the Indonesian context, as modern fashion has it? Were scribes supervised during their work and if yes, how and by whom? If not, was there ever a system to evaluate the quality of a manuscript and if yes, how did it work and if a manuscript was considered deficient, what happened to it? Did the scribe work in silence?



6 Personal information through email, 26 October 2016.





ILL. 14 Pengētan Bēksa Bēdhaya Gēndhing Jatiwarna (*Memoir of the bedhaya dance with the music Gendhing Jatiwarna*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated 3 May 1953. PC, 34 × 21.9 cm., 40 inscribed pages, illuminations on pages 3 and 4, explanations of the dance figures of the nine bedhaya female dancers, 19 and 20 and the score of the gamelan, 35 and 36. The dance was performed on behalf of Sultan Hamengkubuwana IX of Yogyakarta.



Did he read his text aloud or did he silently pronounce the words by himself, or was the text even read to the scribe by someone else as he wrote what was being said? Were there any discussions during this process? Was it an activity for men rather than for women, and if so, why? Were manuscripts mostly made for a person's own private use or for that of someone else? Did a scribe start his work because of his own desire and did he take his own time or was he encouraged or paid to do so by others and had only limited time at his disposal? Why were some manuscripts written by more than one person and how can one tell and how did they proceed?<sup>7</sup> Are most manuscripts indeed copies of other manuscripts and how can we find out if they are or not. Many questions remain and, with regard to the past, remain difficult to answer because of a lack of information. For the present, however, we may still learn much by going into the field, asking and observing how people busy themselves with this old craft.

Sometimes answers to these questions may be found and they may offer important clues for how manuscripts get to be what they are. One such is the information Merle Ricklefs offered on manuscript writing practices in the palace of Yogyakarta. It is put in a footnote and tells the following "In my experience within the Yogyakarta *karaton*, the production of a MS is a group activity, done with one person writing while singing the text, another (or others) singing along or singing from an original being copied, others joining in with comments and suggestions, and so on."<sup>8</sup> Writing about events forty-seven years ago, on 26 October 2016, Merle Ricklefs sent me an email with the following information. "(...) in 1969 I observed *abdi-dalĕms* [court retainers] copying a MS. They worked in pairs to check the new copy; one would sing one text while the other checked the second text. My memory is now hazy, but I think that it was a matter of singing the original while the colleague followed along, checking the copy."

This is very interesting information as it may have serious implications for the philological method. It is not that a scribe copies the text from a manuscript in front of him, and thus he or she does not necessarily use the same letters used in the exemplar. An oral layer lies between the exemplar and the copy. This may also have implications for the way corrections were added to the text.

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7 Catalogues sometimes mention if a manuscript was inscribed by more than one person but not systematically. It is, for instance, curious that a manuscript of the *Babad Kartasura* (Chronicle of the Realm of Kartasura) (Collection Leiden University Library KITLV D Or. 259 (Pigeaud 1968: 835) was written in two alternating hands (they alternated no less than 12 times) but that this had escaped Pigeaud's notice.

8 Ricklefs 1998: 44 note 57.



In the past, when manuscript writing traditions were still much more vibrantly alive than they are today, scholars had the possibility to ask scribes and authors how they worked and why. One might even suppose that in the past, in a colonial setting, nothing could have seemed easier. It is a pity that scholars mostly did not do so because at that time philological studies were carried out in a library rather than in the field, and often as quickly as possible to meet promotion requirements for a job in the Dutch Colonial Civil Service for which fieldwork was much too time consuming. The fact that manuscripts were and are made by living people for the use of living people was, and often largely still remains, an element of manuscript studies that is often overlooked in favor of the texts manuscripts contain or of the study of the manuscripts themselves. That a close relationship might reasonably be presupposed to exist between the socio-cultural aspects of manuscript production and the transmission of texts was and often still is insufficiently appreciated let alone investigated.

Because we do not know all that much about actual writing practices and traditions, we also often do not know how to interpret, for instance, colophons, especially when they contain scant information and not the well-organized data we would like them to offer. Why do manuscripts in Lombok, for instance, sometimes tell us that they were finished in the front of a mosque,<sup>9</sup> but say nothing whatsoever about who wrote the manuscript or mention the date when the writing process was started or finished. Why, indeed do many manuscripts from Central Java state both the date the writing was started and when it was finished? Why do scholars often opine that the information these colophons provide is wrong?

Information about when manuscripts were collected, by whom and for what reason is often unavailable. Vickers has described this situation most clearly when he wrote "It is disturbing that this information about where manuscripts came from, when they were written or copied and when collected, had previously been relegated to footnote status if mentioned at all in philological studies."<sup>10</sup>

Of course, research has been carried out on many of the physical aspects of the production of the materials used for writing manuscripts and how they were put together.<sup>11</sup> The study of writing materials, paper and watermarks is,

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9 See for instance Behrend 1987: 25 on a manuscript of the *Sĕrat Jatiswara* (The Wandering Islamic Student Jatiswara) that was written while the scribe was sitting at the porch of the Mosque in the village of Lebaran.

10 Vickers 2005: 8.

11 See for instance Teygeler 1993 for Batak *pustaha* (tree bark) manuscripts, Guillot 1983, Teygeler 1995, and Permadi 2010 and 2012 for *dluwang* (tree bark paper), and Ginarsa



however, a highly specialized field of study. The study of paper, for instance, is a very wide field for paper specialists and philologists might do well to consult them rather than make judgments or pronouncements based on their own limited expertise. This is especially true for the nature of the immediate relationship between the time of the production of writing materials – particularly paper – and the time and social circumstances of the production of manuscripts, if indeed there is one, which needs to be established before the information about, for instance, watermarks has any significance for the study of texts. A watermark only provides information about when and where the paper of the manuscript was made. It says nothing about when the paper was exported, for instance, from Europe to Asia, how it found its way to the people who owned it there and subsequently when it was actually used.<sup>12</sup> As it stands now, most information about the relationship between watermarks and texts is flimsy and no connection between specific kinds of texts and specific watermarked paper has yet been established. There is moreover reason for caution here and we should take Déroche seriously when he says “it should be stressed that it is rare indeed to find a reference watermark equivalent in all respects to one observed in a manuscript.”<sup>13</sup> However, in the absence of other information, the type of paper and its watermark can give us a date *post quem*.

The same holds true for most other elements of manuscript production. We do not know much of the relationship between the quality or nature of the materials used and the texts manuscripts contain. Apart from the banal observation that rich people like kings and princes are likely to use expensive material of a higher quality and more pleasing to the eye than that used by other, less affluent individuals, we know very little about this. Is it, for instance, true that in Bali, important texts are usually beautifully written on high-quality durable long *lontar* leaves as Hedi Hinzler states?<sup>14</sup> I have my doubts as we may encounter the same texts in ugly and dirty manuscripts, written in a far less beautiful and rather untrained hand that use cheap and easily perishable material. It is perhaps so that when available or when people can afford them,

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1975, Hinzler 1993, Rubinstein 1996a, and Rai Putra 2011 for Balinese *lontar* (palm-leaf) manuscripts.

12 We should pay attention to the following remark made by Déroche on page 50 in his book of 2006: “According to the specialists in watermark papers – including Briquet – a ten- to fifteen-years gap may still intervene between manufacture and use, and perhaps this delay may have been longer still for paper used in remote parts of the Middle East.” I have the impression that this would also apply to the Indonesian archipelago.

13 Déroche 2005: 59.

14 Hinzler 1993: 446, 455.



these high-quality *lontar* leaves would indeed be used, but when they are not available, other leaves of lesser quality apparently might do just as well.

Some relations between the nature of the text and the materials that were used can be established, however. As far as I know, seldom if ever have the *Qur'ān*, *Hadith*, books on Islamic jurisprudence and such been written on palm-leaf material. Indeed, palm-leaf manuscripts with Arabic script are “practically non-existent.”<sup>15</sup> However, exceptions exist as may be seen in an example from Lombok illustrated in illustration 161 in Chapter Three. There is supposed to be a *Surat Yasin* inscribed on *lontar* as NB 336 of the collection of the National Library of Indonesia but I have been unable to find it in Behrend's catalogue of 1998.<sup>16</sup> Other exceptions are a palm-leaf manuscript that contains seven *suras* of the *Qur'ān* and that is said to have been made in Aceh. It is preserved in a mahogany box and was acquired by its present owner in Pekanbaru.<sup>17</sup> The private collection of Undang A. Darsa in West Java contains a *lontar* manuscript of 35 leaves inscribed with *Surat Ali 'Imran* from the *Qur'ān*. It is undated and was obtained from Pesantren Suralaya in Tasikmalaya, West Java.<sup>18</sup>

Apparently, there is a close relationship between the nature of texts, the material used for manuscripts and the intellectual or cultural tradition of which they are part. Some manuscript and teaching traditions require extensive commentaries in the margins on the same page as the body of the text which is reflected in the materials used. As may be seen from the illustrations of *lontar* manuscripts throughout this book, *lontar* leaves simply do not have enough space for margins to enable extensive commentaries and thus cannot be used for these kinds of traditions.<sup>19</sup> Although versions of Old Javanese texts with Balinese translations exist written on *lontar* (*maarti* texts, see Chapter Three), no *lontar* have ever come to my attention that explain the main text in other ways.

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15 Pigeaud 1967: 26.

16 Trie Utari Dewi 2014: 34.

17 See for more information and illustrations of this curious *lontar* in Arabic script <<http://abudervish.blogspot.com/2013/11/ancient-manuscript-review-119>> posted on 21 November 2013. Accessed 10 July 2014.

18 Trie Utari Dewi 2014.

19 Because of the choice of *lontar* material for writing texts, one wonders how the preservation of the Balinese intellectual tradition worked. In their tradition, perhaps the text is ‘fixed’ and thus written but the commentaries are usually fluid and because of that remain unwritten and are only orally transmitted.





ILL. 15

al-Tuḥfa al-Mursala ilā Rūḥ an-Nabī (*The Gift addressed to the Spirit of the Prophet*). Arabic and Javanese, undated but before 1906. UBL Cod.Or. 5690 (10), 26.1 × 17.2 cm., pages 86-v and 87-r. Dluwang manuscript with an Arabic text with Javanese interlinear and marginal glosses in pegon script.<sup>20</sup>

Text editors have a propensity to draw conclusions about relationships between manuscripts that are geographically far removed from each other without first investigating whether manuscripts or scribes indeed travelled. We thus should wonder if our conclusions on manuscript relations are indeed as valid as they would seem. For instance, the manuscripts of the wandering Muslim student, the *Sĕrat Jatiswara* which Behrend calls recension A, mostly originate from Lombok, except for one, which is reported to originate from Central Java (collection of University of Indonesia Library NR 388 [now lost]).<sup>21</sup> This is interesting because if this is the case, either people or manuscripts from Java went to Lombok or the other way round. Should we assume that this recension was made in Lombok, found its way to Java and developed unrelated in both places in the same direction? Behrend quite rightly wonders about the way the Lombok recension could have found its way to Yogyakarta in Central Java.<sup>22</sup> Other cases presuppose relations between manuscripts of the same text from various places in Bali but in view of the often hostile relations between the various royal and noble houses on the island in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries<sup>23</sup> ending in protracted wars and the dismal travel conditions especially in the rainy seasons, one wonders how under these conditions the Balinese found the time or the inclination to borrow each other's manuscripts for copying and study.

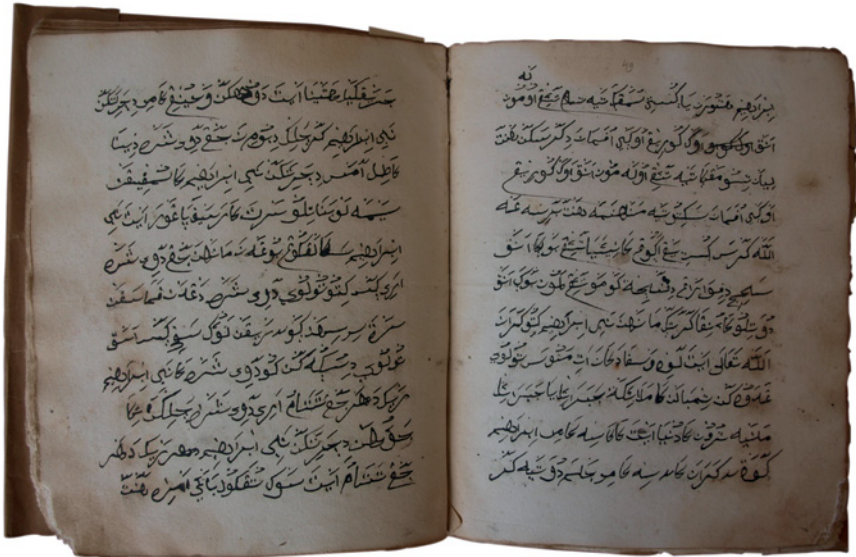
20 Voorhoeve 1980: 380.

21 Behrend 1987: 17.

22 Behrend 1987: 30.

23 Creese 1996: 149.





ILL. 16 'Umdat al-Ansāb (*The Pillar of the Genealogies*). Sundanese, West Java, undated but before AD 1906. UBL Cod.Or. 5621, 19.7 × 16 cm., 83 pages, pages 49 and 50.<sup>24</sup> Sundanese text written in pegon script.

At times we may be concerned with a manuscript that was never meant to be preserved or even read because it was a try-out by an apprentice scribe<sup>25</sup> or, in our modern age, made for tourists for whom texts do not matter because they cannot read them anyway.<sup>26</sup> The social role of manuscripts in the cultural dynamics of most societies in Indonesia has also not yet been explored exhaustively.<sup>27</sup> In short, the assumption that every manuscript is the carrier of a text to be read or performed needs to be verified.

Small manuscripts may even have been written charms that were never read, like little palm-leaf *lontar* manuscripts that contain the short text *Nabi Aparas* (Song of the Prophet's Shaving) and the *Ana Kidung* (Song Guarding

24 Juynboll 1912: 27.

25 See, for example, the heavily corrected manuscript of the *Lakad* illustrated below in figure 336 in Chapter Five.

26 For an example of a study on manuscript production in Bali for tourists, see I Nyoman Wiwana 2007.

27 For an example of a short presentation of the role of manuscripts in South Sulawesi see Mukhlis PaEni 2004. For manuscript usage in Lombok see Supratno 1994, Van der Meij 2002 and 2011b. For Java see Arps 1992 and 1996.





ILL. 17

Nabi Aparas (*Song of the Prophet's Shaving*). Javanese, Lombok, undated.  
 PC, 2.7 × 9.4 cm., 33 inscribed leaves.  
 Tiny lontar manuscript that was possibly used as an amulet.

at Night) also known as *Kidung Ruměksa ing Wěngi* from Lombok.<sup>28</sup> We may even be forced to consider that manuscripts containing the same texts have different roles for different people in the same culture or that they have different roles for the same people under different circumstances and at different times. C.C. Berg goes so far as to say that even Prapañca's famous Old Javanese historical poem *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarṇana* (Depiction of the Districts), written in 1365, was “cultic an amulet that had to be preserved in the palace as a means to protect the security of the country and the prosperity of the dynasty”<sup>29</sup> and that for this reason it is important that the manuscript, long considered unique, originated from the Cakranagara palace in Lombok. Berg clearly suggests that for this purpose reading the manuscript was not required. That many years later two manuscripts were discovered in Bali in

28 With regard to this, see Van der Meij 2010 (for the *Nabi Aparas*) and Van der Meij 2003 for the *Ana Kidung* (Song Guarding at Night) from Lombok.

29 Berg 1962: 205.



collections of Balinese priests rather than in royal surroundings may erode his idea somewhat, however.<sup>30</sup>

For some people a manuscript is an heirloom (*pusaka*) and may only be opened after a specific ritual has been performed or after pecuniary or other requirements have been met. Fakhriati gives us a succinct description of the use of manuscripts in Aceh. In that area manuscripts were considered by some to ward off danger and to bring good fortune. They were also considered to help people to avoid getting involved in the Aceh conflict between the Indonesian Government and the Aceh Freedom Movement. In Aceh, the belief is that careful preservation of manuscripts may also ward off earthquakes and add a mystical dimension to one's life. Other manuscripts, especially the *Hikayat Prang Sabi* (Tale of the Sabi War) and the *Hikayat Nuri* (Tale of the Parrot) are considered capable of enhancing the spirit of jihad and of helping people to turn invisible to their enemies.<sup>31</sup>

Manuscripts sometimes include a description of the benefits of the text. This is so for Old-Javanese *kakawin* texts but also, for instance, in Javanese texts from Lombok such as the *Nabi Aparas*, which is outspoken on this:

*Dangdanggula*<sup>32</sup>

These are the characteristics of the Prophet. Whoever merely owns this story, who reads it, listens to it, writes it down, keeps it safe, will be free of all dangers, will be given the right path, and you will be safeguarded, on earth, and loved in the future and in the Hereafter, and will be granted the mercy of Allah.

And will obtain the intercession of the Prophet, and will be spared from the torments of hell, the angels Mungkar and Nakir, the agony of Doomsday, and the punishments of the grave. All will be spared the torments of the day of the resurrection, and will be exempted from the bridge of the Righteous (Mustakim), and will be ushered into Heaven.

When taken along on your travels, whoever you meet, they will all be kind to you. Wild animals will all slink away, and evil spirits, and sorcery will have no effect, and you will arrive in perfect condition, because of its (the texts') annihilating qualities, it (the evil) will melt, fade, dissipate, and vanish, just as illness and sickness. It will disappear and be truly gone.

If it is kept in the house, all will be protected from thieves, and from all evil. And it is like this: Read it and the help of the Prophet will be such

30 Hinzler and Schoterman 1979.

31 Fakhriati 2009: 35–36. See also Siegel 1969 and Suparwany 2011.

32 *Dangdanggula* is a poetic *macapat* meter that will be explained in Chapter Four.



that people afflicted by disease, will quickly recover, because of its beneficial influence. If it is read, everybody in the country will be free from interference.<sup>33</sup>



ILL. 18 *Modern reading of texts during the final rites for the dead (mamukur) and tooth filing (mapandes) ceremony of the Mangku Pekak Rening extended family, Banjar Belawan, Desa Abiansemal Dauh Yeh Cani, Kecamatan Abiansemal, Kabupaten Denpasar, Bali, 7 April 2016. The person on the right sings the Old Javanese text alternating with the person on the left who recites the translation in Balinese.*

- 33 *Dangdanggula*. 45. *Punika reké kang sipat nabi, sing sapa reké ikang andrabéya, ing carita iki baé, ing amaca angrungu, sing anurat sing animpening, luput sak'éhing bala, sinung marga ayu, sinalametaken sira, duk ing dunya, asihing ahérat béñjing, sinung rahmat déning yang.* 46. *Lawan antuk <k>ang sapangat nabi, lawan luput, siksa ing naraka, malékat mungkaran reké, kalawan wanakirun, lawan siksa kiyamat singgih, lawan siksa kubura, sakéh iku luput, ing siksa yahomal kiyamat, lawan luput, saking siksa wot mustakim, tulékna ing swarga.* 47. *yén binakta lilinggara iki sing kapapag, sami asih wlas, sato galak sirna kabéh, mwah ing duku tluh, taragnyana norana mandi, dengen teka sampurna, déning sipat lebur, mambur reké, muksa ilang, datan ana, lara roga datan kari, muksah jatining ora.* 48. *yén sinalah anéng wismanéki, sami rinaksa reké saking durjana, mwah durjana sakabéh, mwah reké puniku, dén-wacaa sapaat nabi, ing wong kalaran ika, glis waras iku, saking agung sawabira, yén winaca, mangké sajroning nagari, luput saking sadadya.* Van der Meij 1996: 27–28.



Manuscripts or printed or photocopied versions of specific texts may be used for personal and communal reading<sup>34</sup> and nowadays for local, regional, and national reading contests, sometimes broadcast on television.<sup>35</sup> It may also be worthwhile to consider the interface between manuscripts as physical text containers and the texts they contain for instance when used during rituals or other communal events. By way of example, I was told in Lombok that mistakes or unusual letters and words, sudden sentences without any vowels and unexpectedly leaves upside-down (see illustration 19) or with the numbering occasionally at the front instead of the back but seemingly in the right order, and other such tricks were used in order to confuse readers and to ridicule or praise them if they did or did not stumble during reading sessions.<sup>36</sup>



ILL. 19 Uug Buleleng (*Fall of the Kingdom of Buleleng*). Sasak, Lombok, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3664, 3 × 30 cm., 45 leaves, leaves 3, 4 and 5.<sup>37</sup> The second leaf from the top of this lontar manuscript is upside-down.

34 See, for instance for Sunda, Millie 2009 and 2011.

35 See, for instance for Bali, Creese 2011a.

36 Van der Meij 2002: 174.

37 Juynboll 1912: 202.



In Bali, during specific rituals, various texts should preferably be read from *lontar* and not from paper as that would be inappropriate and possibly have undesirable consequences. This has nowadays even led to a situation where texts are written on paper strips that, after lamination, resemble *lontar* leaves to be used during rituals.

### Manuscripts as Physical Objects

Seen as physical objects (thus without considering the texts they contain or looking at other elements in them), there are many different kinds of manuscripts. They may, for instance, be classified as follows: Complete and incomplete; intact, damaged and repaired manuscripts; old and new manuscripts; 'authentic' and commissioned manuscripts; personal manuscripts, large and small manuscripts; and, last but not least, beautiful and ugly manuscripts. Other classifications can be made based on the writing materials used for these manuscripts and in Indonesia, we would be looking at a large variety of paper, tree-bark paper (*dluwang*), and palm-leaf (*lontar*, *nipah*) manuscripts and manuscripts written on other durable materials (gold, silver, copper, bamboo, wood, buffalo horn<sup>38</sup> and so on) which are often mentioned and illustrated in picture books on manuscripts from Indonesia but which, in fact, are actually rare. Other classifications may of course be made on the basis of the genres of texts found in manuscripts, or the languages or scripts used.

### Complete and Incomplete Manuscripts

Incomplete manuscripts have puzzled (and annoyed) researchers for quite a while. At first glance, it would seem not too difficult to decide whether a manuscript is complete or not. One would be inclined to think that when a manuscript begins with a title or another indication that the text starts there, and ends stating that it is finished, the manuscript is indeed complete and we assume that the text in it is also complete.<sup>39</sup> Things are not as easy as that. We

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38 Kozok 2009: 9.

39 Many manuscripts from the Islamic tradition start with the *Basmalah* – ie, *bismilahi arrahmani arrahim* (in any number of spellings) while many manuscripts from Bali often start with *awighnam astu* which means 'let there be no hindrance.' Sometimes modern texts from Central Java and about Islam also start with *awighnam astu* rather than with the *Basmala* like the *Seh Maulana Ibrahim* ('Tale of Seh Maulana Ibrahim') manuscript in



need to make a clear distinction between complete manuscripts and complete texts. Many manuscripts are complete, but do not contain complete texts and others contain complete texts but are incomplete, because for instance, they contain one or more other texts that start or end abruptly. Manuscripts may be complete although they do not contain a complete text. The text may be incomplete because the writer of the manuscript decided it was finished even though, in our view, it is not. In these cases, it would be better to talk about complete manuscripts with incomplete texts. Good examples of these are the large number of manuscripts in South Sulawesi that contain parts of the Buginese *I La Galigo* epic, which is so big that its size can only be estimated at about 6,000 folio pages,<sup>40</sup> or the Middle Javanese *Kidung Malat* (Romance of Prince Panji) from Bali of which virtually no complete manuscripts exist.<sup>41</sup> In the field of Islamic literature, we may think of manuscripts of the Javanese Islamic epic cycle *Sĕrat Menak Amir Hamza* (Romance of Menak Amir Hamza) which often contain only one of the episodes of this cycle and often incomplete ones at that. Manuscripts of the Javanese Story of the Prophets in the *Sĕrat Anbiya* (Song of the Prophets), or the *Sĕrat Jatiswara* (The Wandering Islamic Student Jatiswara) are often complete but they do not contain a complete text.<sup>42</sup> Apparently, users of texts often did not need complete texts but only those parts they needed for ritual and other purposes and for this reason, only these parts were copied, and not the remainder. These manuscripts should be considered complete.

Research is needed to verify this but it seems that the practice of having complete manuscripts with incomplete texts was a rather general one in Lombok. This practice was not restricted to manuscripts that contain the romance of the prince of *Puspakrama*. Of the 25 manuscripts of the *Puspakrama* I used for my dissertation (of the 193 I knew of then, I have seen even more since), most were incomplete.<sup>43</sup> Behrend reports that many manuscripts of the *Sĕrat Jatiswara* from Lombok are incomplete.<sup>44</sup> Of the 19 manuscripts he used of the Lombok recension, only one ends 'properly.' Many others, however, should be called incomplete. According to Behrend, twelve manuscripts of the

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this book and, for instance, two manuscripts of the *Sĕrat Menak Lare* (Episode from the Menak Amir Hamza Cycle) in the collection of Leiden University Library, Cod.Or. 2027 and Cod.Or. 4869.

40 Tol 1996: 222.

41 See Vickers 2005.

42 Behrend 1987: 33–37 discusses this issue at great length and he criticizes Vickers' ideas on the same issue.

43 Van der Meij 2002.

44 Behrend 1987: 33–37.



*Sĕrat Jatiswara* end in a complete stanza, seven end in mid-sentence and one even in the middle of a word.<sup>45</sup> Also in the Balinese world, many manuscripts are not complete. Vickers reports that of the 90 manuscripts he found of the extensive Middle-Javanese *Kidung Malat* Panji romance – of which he quite rightly states that this number is not exhaustive – all but one are listed in the catalogs as ‘incomplete’ or as ‘fragments.’<sup>46</sup>

Knowledge about manuscript usage in the original context may help decide whether or not we are dealing with complete or incomplete manuscripts and why they are indeed complete or not. Vickers offered some interesting insights about incomplete or fragmentary manuscripts that are worth quoting in full:

There is a positive way of seeing what old-fashioned philologists derided as ‘fragmentation’, partial copying, by considering how Balinese divide the *Kidung Malat* narrative into episodes and scenes and then considering the close relationship between this structural issue and the narrative presentation of each work. Once we set aside earlier philologists’ images of a perfect, whole, and complete ‘book’ we can come to terms with the manuscripts themselves.<sup>47</sup>

In Vickers view, many *Malat* manuscripts are incomplete because they contain those parts of the entire narrative the person needed for performances or for other purposes. It is worthwhile to quote Vickers again:

The general patterns which emerges is one where the beginning and ends of MSS, as well as the very short MSS, correspond to the episodes which are performed in gambuh, wayang gambuh, ritual *kidung* singing, and represented in paintings. MSS, even longer MSS, may be viewed as combinations of episodes, although one or two are single episodes in isolation. These so-called fragments are works of different length, consisting of one or more episodes. For each copyist, owner or reader, they may be sufficient as *lontar* presenting episodes which are important to the time and place in which they were used, and for this reason they do not have to be just one amongst many episodes in a larger *Malat*.<sup>48</sup>

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45 Behrend 1987: 33.

46 Vickers 2005: 7.

47 Vickers 2005: 86–87.

48 Vickers 2005: 91–92.



Behrend takes up Vickers's point but he comes to different conclusions. Manuscripts of the *Sĕrat Jatiswara* begin at what Behrend calls "*the beginning*" and in my experience, the same holds true for the *Puspakrama*. I have also never found one that starts random. They end randomly often enough though and I think Behrend is right when he asserts that, different from Vickers, "I cannot accept his assumption that every manuscript is preserved in the form intended by the copyist who produced it."<sup>49</sup> Indeed, He makes a good point in stating:

Yet in an environment where much copying was undertaken outside the royal scriptoria (where professional scribes copied for their bread), we should anticipate that many projects would have been abandoned mid-stream. It is not a sin deserving contumacious as 'orientalist' to cite evidence of laziness or poor work, particularly when the tradition itself offers so wide a range of examples on which to build a test of quality. Not every manuscript participates in the same way, or to the same extent, in the 'textual' world.<sup>50</sup>

I think both have a point. The thing is that different traditions exist for different texts. It may be questioned whether the manuscripts of, for example, the *Sĕrat Jatiswara* and the *Puspakrama* can be compared at all with those of the *Kidung Malat* or of other texts from Bali. Manuscripts from Lombok are often made by individuals who live in tiny villages and earn their living as farmers and fishermen. Informants told me that a farmer he knew took *lontar* leaves to the field and in his spare moments wrote down a text by heart. One may wonder if, among the Sasak people in Lombok, a tradition of copying texts exists at all. As seen from the manuscripts from the Sasak, they have no need for impressive manuscripts that should be perfect in all aspects. They write for their own pleasure and to ensure that they have a manuscript of the proper text when rituals needing these texts are performed. I have the impression that also Vickers is not far from the truth as may be seen from the following.

In Bali, many *lontar* manuscripts of especially long Old Javanese *kakawin* poems that were composed in ancient Java but preserved in Bali do not contain a complete text. In particular manuscripts of the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* (Rāma's Quest) but also of other *kakawin* are incomplete. These texts were and

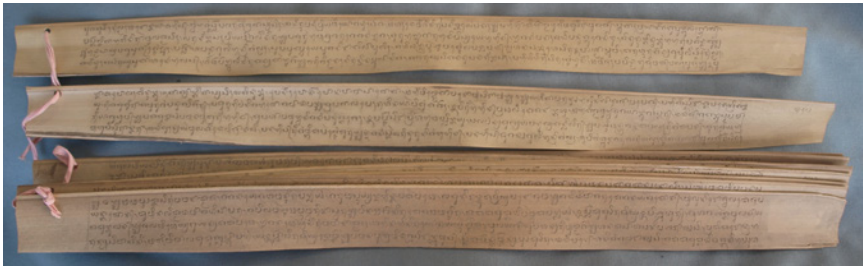
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49 Behrend 1987: 34.

50 Berhrend 1987: 35.



are used in so-called *mabasan* sessions,<sup>51</sup> in which specific parts of a *kakawin* is sung and explained and thus the people do not need to bring a manuscript of the entire text of that *kakawin*. Only those parts that are used and explained during these sessions or those parts that bear a strong relation to rituals or specific social events, or whose contents are of special interest (for whatever reason) are copied and turned into separate manuscripts. Thus we find manuscripts with incomplete texts of (especially large) Old Javanese *kakawin* poems because they only contain those cantos (or *sargas* in case of the *Rāmāyaṇa*) the owners need(ed) for their purposes.<sup>52</sup> There may also be a practical reason for this. Complete manuscripts of the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Kakawin Bhomāntaka* (Bhoma's Death), for instance, contain large numbers of long leaves and fiddling with these leaves during reading sessions may be burdensome and moreover the manuscripts run the danger of damage because of this and it is thus much more practical just to bring much smaller manuscripts with shorter leaves containing only those parts one needs. This may also explain the large numbers of *kakawin* fragments written on less costly *ĕmbat-ĕmbatan* material (see Chapter Three). Fieldwork is needed to establish whether or not this is true in all cases.



ILL. 20 *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (Rama's Quest). Old Javanese, Bali, undated but before AD 1864. UBL Cod.Or. 1878, 4 × 52.5 cm., 10 inscribed leaves.*<sup>53</sup> *Ėmbat-ĕmbatan manuscript containing sarga 8 of the Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa. An example of a manuscript that contains part of an exalted text that was possibly used to be taken to mabasan reading sessions.*

- 51 Also called *mabebasan*, *pesbantian*, *makekawin* or *pepaosan*. See Wayan Bhadra 1937, Robson 1972, Jendra 1979: 9–27, Wallis 1979: 130–173, Zurbuchen 1987: 87–95, Rubinstein 1992 and 2000. For modern usage of written texts from Bali, see Creese 2011a. For a picture of a drawing of a *mabasan* reading by I Gusti Nyoman Lempad see Kumar and McGlynn 1996: 146.
- 52 See *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa maarti*, see e.g. Cod.Or. 2217 which only contains *sarga* XXI [canto 16]–XIV [canto 12], Cod.Or. 3747 which contains *sarga* III–V, and Cod.Or. 3820 that has only cantos 10–15. All three have Balinese glosses. See also *Kakawin Sumanasāntaka* (Death by Sumanasa Flower) Cod.Or. 3777 which only has canto I and II.
- 53 Vreede 1892: 389; Pigeaud 1968: 48.



Lately, the older notion of complete texts has been somewhat set aside, at least for *kakawin* because: “[...] the manifold uses of textual works in traditional Bali is appropriately reflected in the varied nature of physical artefacts, including in such fragmentary texts.”<sup>54</sup> In all of these cases, the manuscripts are complete, but the texts are not. It is thus curious that Supomo in his 1977 edition of the *Kakawin Arjunawijaya* (Arjuna’s Victory) dismissed manuscripts that were incomplete off hand;<sup>55</sup> they may still illuminate problems that remain unsolved after the study of complete manuscripts failed to elucidate them.

It is evidently clear that incomplete manuscripts did not charm scholars in the past and some of them denounced the makers who, in the colonial setting, were often dismissed anyway as stupid, boorish and otherwise not up to their task. For instance Van Eck, who wrote in 1875 (translated in Vickers 2005 and quoted here from his book):

Finally we must point out how little concern the Balinese have for their books. A complete ms is a great rarity here. Some copyist devote themselves to one or another part that interests them most. Others begin at the beginning, but before they have reached halfway, the work, which judging from its introduction was begun with so much industry, is laid aside for good. And one must write well! But no, far and away the majority work so unthoughtfully and indifferently, that one seldom meets with a manuscript which doesn’t have one or more lines, yes, even whole verses, missing. This certainly means little in the eyes of the natives.<sup>56</sup>

Van Eck was in Buleleng in North Bali at the time and judging from the large number of wonderfully complete manuscripts I have come across, he did not meet the right people and he apparently had no eye for the purposes for which the Balinese needed or wanted to copy and own their texts.

### Intact, Damaged and Repaired Manuscripts

Nothing gives a student of manuscripts more pleasure than to use intact manuscripts without any damage, nothing missing, and clearly written in a beautiful hand.<sup>57</sup> Many manuscripts of course are not like that. For many reasons,

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54 Creese 2011b: 99.

55 Supomo 1977: 84.

56 Van Eck 1875: xvi; Vickers 1995: 78.

57 Few scholars express this. One exception is the case of Koster and Tol who wrote in 2002 at the end of their description of the *codex unicus* (NBG KL 161 in the collection of Leiden



countless Indonesian manuscripts are damaged but luckily often damage to manuscripts does not impair on the text. Missing or torn wrappers, damage to the fringes of leaves and pages and stains and other pollutants may cause a manuscript to look unattractive and thus, more likely than not, be in danger of being viewed negatively. This may, however, be incorrect because the quality of the physical manuscript may have no relation to the quality of the text in that manuscript. Rather we find that a worn manuscript that is not nicely written but has been apparently done in haste and one that gives us little aesthetic pleasure nevertheless contains a good text, sometimes even a very good text. Conversely, a beautiful manuscript from a palace looks wonderful, especially when it is nicely adorned with illuminations, but does not necessarily contain a text we opt to use for a text edition. It is good to remember that our twenty-first century (often Western and Western-inspired) modern aesthetic notions of a manuscript are not important in a scholarly sense, but only a matter for the pleasure we may derive from using that manuscript.



ILL. 21

*Very badly damaged Javanese manuscript in the collection of the Balai Bahasa Yogyakarta. No attempt was made to decipher the title of this manuscript.*

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University Library, Van Ronkel 1921: 89; Iskandar 1999: 739–740) of the *Syair Raja Tedung dengan Raja Katak* (Poem of the Cobra-King and the Frog-King) "The handwriting of our unknown scribe is very neat and elegant with all dots of the letters carefully written and in a number of cases partly or fully vocalised [...]. He writes catchwords under the last line of the left column on each right hand page (folio verse side). All this tidiness adds to the pleasure of reading this text, not only regarding its content but also as regards its form." Koster and Tol 2002: 10.



Damage to texts in manuscripts occurs at all possible levels. Missing leaves, pages or parts thereof, wear and tear causing part of the manuscript to have become unreadable, children's crossings-out and damage due to insect infestations and moisture are all part and parcel of our daily experience with Indonesian manuscripts. In certain periods, especially in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth century, poor quality, machine-made wood pulp paper was used which over time became brittle. Because of this, manuscripts made with this paper are often damaged, and sometimes even severely damaged. Also the use of iron gall ink often proved detrimental for the preservation of the text and often the ink has eased its way through the paper, especially when the paper quality was bad. The combination of machine-made wood pulp paper and iron gall ink proved especially catastrophic. One of the manuscripts that contain the Javanese translation of the *Muntahī* (The Adept), written by Hamzah Fansuri who lived in the latter part of sixteenth or early seventeenth century, is Cod.Or. 5716 in the collection of Leiden University Library.<sup>58</sup> Drewes and Brakel remark on its condition that "The manuscript creates the impression of being of considerable age, since the paper is so seriously damaged by the acid ink that a good deal of the manuscript has become illegible and does not allow of being consulted."<sup>59</sup> Usually this kind of ink was used in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, reason enough for Pigeaud to conclude that the manuscript dates from the nineteenth century.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, because P. Voorhoeve was of the opinion that the manuscript dates back to the seventeenth century,<sup>61</sup> Drewes and Brakel concurred.<sup>62</sup>

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58 Drewes and Brakel 1986: 2.

59 Drewes and Brakel 1986: 251.

60 Pigeaud 1968: 336.

61 Voorhoeve 1957: 86.

62 This is at the same time an example of non-specialists on paper affording pronouncements on the age of paper and the reason for damage. It is also an example that Voorhoeve's status was such that Brakel and Drewes accepted his opinion rather than that of Pigeaud. This is, of course, an excellent example that paper specialists should examine the paper of Indonesian manuscripts.





ILL. 22

Muntahī (*The Adept*). Malay, undated but before 1906. UBL Cod.Or. 5716, 19 × 14.5 cm., 78 double pages.<sup>63</sup> The ink of this manuscript has eaten its way through the paper and it is therefore no longer possible to handle it without causing it even more damage.

Similar problems may be caused by the agents used to make manuscript illustrations. In some cases, these illustrations have eaten away the paper totally as may be witnessed from illustration 23.



ILL. 23

Sĕrat Angling Darma (*Romance of King Angling Darma*). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1845. PNRI KBG 737, 33 × 20.5 cm., 450 pages, page 442.<sup>64</sup> The paint of the figure on the right has eaten away the paper and the script of the previous page shows through the illustration.

63 Voorhoeve 1980: 86.

64 Behrend 1998: 256.



Manuscripts become damaged or are destroyed because of four principle causes. The first is because of the perishable materials that were used for the manuscripts. This is particularly hazardous in the tropics where manuscripts remain in unclimatized and non-air conditioned rooms. Because the deteriorating process cannot be halted it can at best be slowed down by means of improved storage conditions and by ensuring that they are treated properly by those who wish to consult them.

The second cause of damage is poor handling. Some people mistreat their manuscripts or those of others because of lack of proper knowledge about manuscript treatment and in the field they are often simply neglected or stored in the wrong way and so deteriorate. This is especially the case with manuscripts in private collections in Indonesia, which are often in a poor condition because the people are unaware that they are treating the manuscripts wrongly, although the situation in libraries is not necessarily much better. I vividly remember when I was in Riau, in Pulau Penyengat in 2005 and the caretaker allowed me to look at the manuscripts in the Raya Sultan Riau Penyengat Mosque where they happened to be stored in a cupboard in the entrance hall. When the cupboard was opened I could easily see the general condition of the manuscripts which was in one word dreadful. They were haphazardly piled high one upon the other in the cupboard which stood there in the humid tropical heat. It is just a matter of time before these manuscripts will all be gone. Storage conditions of manuscripts on sale in little shops on the hot streets of Yogyakarta are also terrible. Manuscripts could be found there in the 1980s between piles of old newspapers and at present the conditions have not improved. To improve handling conditions, some libraries now make sure that people put the manuscript they want to consult on a pillow to ensure that spines remain intact and old and brittle manuscripts may only be opened by especially assigned library staff members.

The third reason is that manuscripts are willfully destroyed and burned because the owners see no need to preserve them or because they are inherited by people who have no wish to preserve them. Many are the sad stories of complete collections being burned by owners or of collections otherwise destroyed because of war and other disasters. An additional reason may be that there are rumors, at least in Java, that a *fatwa* has been issued that Javanese manuscripts are *haram* (outlawed in Islamic Law) because they are considered to lead to *shirk* (adding a god to God). This is especially so with manuscripts written in Javanese script, even when they contain texts about Islam. This rumor has come up more than once but I have been unable to find proof that such a *fatwa*



indeed has been issued.<sup>65</sup> Perhaps just the notion of there being such a *fatwa* is reason enough for people to get rid of their manuscripts, 'just to be sure.' A modern way large *lontar* manuscripts in Bali and Lombok are destroyed is because they are cut up to sell the individual parts to unaware tourists.

The fourth reason manuscripts are destroyed is because of natural disasters. A recent and dramatic example is the tsunami that hit Aceh in December 2004.<sup>66</sup> Insect infestations may perhaps be categorized in this category as well.



ILL. 24

Hikayat Nabi Yusup (*Poem of the Prophet Joseph*). Madurese, Madura, dated AH 1259? = AD 1843? Collection Bayt al-Qur'an and Museum Istiqlal BQMI 4.22, 25 × 17 cm. Insects or other pests have found their way into this dluwang manuscript and seriously damaged it with substantial loss of text.

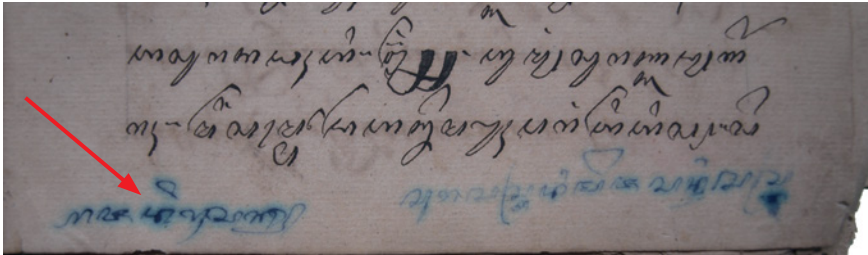
Because people use manuscripts, we often find that most damage is due to wear and tear at the opening and at the end and where pages are turned. Especially the custom to wet the index finger and thumb with saliva before turning pages is detrimental for paper manuscripts, particularly in the humid tropical climate where fungi grow fast. In the past, some owners were aware of this and one manuscript (National Library of Indonesia ML 394) of the *Hikayat Syekh*

65 One reference on this issue is Christomy and Nurhata 2016: 2.

66 More on this below in Chapter Two.



*Muḥammad Sammān* (Tale of *Syekh Muḥammad Sammān*) states on the opening page: *Kami harap jika membaca jangan membalik dengan ludah* (Please do not use saliva when turning [pages]).<sup>67</sup> The often-found habit of using the fingers and thumb to turn pages roughly is also not helpful.



ILL. 25 Babad (*Chronicle of Java*). Javanese, Central Java, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 30.5 × 18.5 cm., [manuscript too damaged to establish the total number of pages], page 372. In blue ink is written: *aja dirusak* (do not damage) and the name of the person who may have been the owner, Mr. Surasstradimeja Sanisastra.



ILL. 26 Prayer text in Arabic (in black) with instructions in Javanese (in red), both in vocalized naskh script. Yogyakarta, undated but possibly from the first half of the twentieth century. PC, 18 × 12.5 cm., 134 pages. Quite a few pages have broken in the middle of the manuscript.

Another way a manuscript is in danger of becoming damaged and parts of it becoming unreadable is because of dirt as in illustration 27.

67 Purwadaksi 2004: 162–163.





ILL. 27

Prayer text in Arabic (in black) with instructions in Javanese (in red), both in vocalized naskh script. Yogyakarta, undated but possibly from the first half of the twentieth century. PC, 18 × 12.5 cm., 134 pages.<sup>68</sup>

In Bali and Lombok, when *lontar* manuscripts are difficult to read, for instance because they are dirty with dust, readers have the habit of wetting their fingers with saliva and swiping them over the letters to make them much easier to read but in the long run this is not good for the *lontar* leaves. When the letters that have been scratched into the leaves have not been filled with black soot, often the only way to be able to read them is by wetting them to make the contrast between the leaf and the inscribed script more pronounced. When leaves are dirty they are also swiped with a moist cloth but when this is done carelessly the leaf may fold over and crack, which often happens. The problem is that the leaves are not given enough time to dry properly before the manuscript is closed again and the moisture eats its way through the leaves.

Occasionally we come across a manuscript that was copied from another manuscript that was already damaged at the time of copying. For instance, manuscript W.85 from the Widya Budaya collection of the Karaton Yogyakarta that contains the *Babad Ngayogyakarta: Hamengkubuwana IV Dumugi Hamengkubuwana V* (Chronicle of Yogyakarta: Hamengkubuwana IV and V). This manuscript was copied in 1977 and the copyist added to his copy in Javanese: “[...] *ingkang asli risak sangêt, sampun botèn kening kawaos*” ([...] the original is heavily damaged and could no longer be read).<sup>69</sup>

Sometimes manuscripts can be placed in chronological order by the damage encountered. Prijono found that *lontar* manuscripts in the Leiden collection A

68 The photograph looks out of focus but is not. The pages are unclear in the original.

69 Lindsay, Soetanto and Feinstein 1994: 116.



(Cod.Or. 3801) and A2 (Cod.Or. 4499) of the *Sri Tañjung* (Poem of Sri Tañjung) are related. A2 was copied from A at the time A still had its now missing leaf 57.<sup>70</sup>

### *Use of Damaged Manuscripts*

Even though the text has been ruined beyond repair, damaged manuscripts are important because they offer much information. Most importantly, if a specific part of a manuscript is damaged because of wear and tear we may conclude that that part of the text was perhaps more important for the user than other parts of the same manuscript that fared much better. Manuscripts may still have a colophon that provides information about ownership and where and when the manuscript was written and thus tells us about when and where the text was known and by whom. When this is the case and the text is in verse we have information about the usage of particular poetic meters at that time. A heavily damaged manuscript may still tell us about manuscript production practices, bindings, and the kind of paper that was used. The measurements alone may give us important clues about the transmission tradition. The type of script that was used can tell us about the place of origin if no colophon is available. We may still be able to see the way the scribe indicated mistakes and how additions were added. We can still get an impression of the kinds of punctuation marks that were used and how canto and stanza divides were indicated and other useful clues for our understanding of the time and place the manuscript was produced and so on and so forth. In other words, these manuscripts may be used for manuscript study, but not necessarily for the study of the text.

### *Repaired Manuscripts*

In the past, manuscripts that became damaged were sometimes repaired either by the scribe, the owner, or later in a library or other repository. The repairs are usually easy to detect but they could lead to serious problems because they were made in such a way that the manuscripts only deteriorated even more. All this would not pose a problem for text study were it not that in the repair process text may have become lost. Past practice had often been to repair paper manuscripts by taping them with adhesive transparent paper which, unfortunately, seriously discolored over time causing text to become illegible. A glaring example is the manuscript that starts this section (illustration 21). Repairs were attempted but the result was catastrophic. Although manuscripts

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70 Prijono 1938: 19+.



have been laminated and thus could last much longer, the script can no longer be read.<sup>71</sup>

### Old and New Manuscripts

The word ‘manuscript’ evokes certain feelings in scholars and others, but not necessarily among the people from whom the manuscript originates. The word carries an aura of authenticity and age and the question people invariably ask when they learn I am interested in manuscripts from Indonesia is how old they are rather than what is in them, which is something that no one has ever asked me. In Indonesia, manuscripts may not be old at all and most people I meet are disappointed and lose interest the moment they learn that the bulk of Indonesian manuscripts date back only to the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Apparently this is not old enough. That they are being written today is also seldom appreciated.<sup>72</sup> Manuscripts apparently should be “relics or relics to be from the past”<sup>73</sup> of a closed tradition rather than of a tradition that continues and may surprise us unexpectedly.

Manuscripts used to be made in great numbers for the simple reason that no printing press was available. The only way a text could be preserved and distributed was therefore to hand-copy it and thus to produce a new manuscript. Nowadays, manuscripts are produced in small numbers and the craft has lingered on in some places, especially in Bali. Ida Bagus Rai Putra mentions no less than eleven reasons why in Bali this is so. 1. The availability of a sufficient number of *lontar* palm trees; 2. There are still people who can make *lontar* writing materials; 3. The availability of centers of *lontar* writing activities; 4. There are special schools that teach *lontar* writing; 5. Many people can still read *lontar*; 6. The availability of *lontar* libraries in Bali such as the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja and the libraries of the Pusat Kajian Lontar, Udayana University, the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali, the Bali Museum, the Universitas Hindu Indonesia, and the Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, all in Denpasar; 7. Reading *lontar* manuscripts has a close relation to religion and ceremonial rituals; 8. *Mabasan* activities; 9. The presence of the tourist industry

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71 For instance two manuscripts of the *Hikayat Syekh Muhammad Sammān* (Br 298 and ML 386 in the National Library of Indonesia) which were laminated but could no longer be used for an edition (Purwadaksi 2004: 165).

72 I was going to write: ‘still’ being written today. The word ‘still’ is however interesting as it reveals more of our expectations than of the actual situation.

73 Sweeney 2011: 219.



for which *lontar* manuscripts are also produced; 10. Many individuals in Bali collect *lontar* manuscripts; and 11. Children *lontar* reading activities at school and other venues.<sup>74</sup> It is interesting that economic, personal, religious and practical reasons combine to ensure the continuation of the *lontar* manuscript writing craft. Apart from this, in Bali, texts often have to be preserved in manuscript form written on palm-leaf to retain their authenticity and value. In other words, a printed book or a text on paper is a derivative of a *lontar* manuscript and thus of secondary quality. In Bali, new texts, for instance of Old Javanese *kakawin*, were composed on paper but were subsequently copied on *lontar* leaves and preserved in a library. When I interviewed I Wayan Pamit in 2007, he told me that his *Kakawin Nilacandra* (Tale of Nilacandra, King of Dibyāguṇa) which he had composed on paper in 2000 had been inscribed on *lontar* and is now preserved in the library of the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali in Denpasar.<sup>75</sup> Other instances are some of the works written by Anak Agung Istri Biang Agung from Puri Madhura in Amlapura, North Bali who composed her texts in Balinese script on paper but two of them – *Gaguritan Kunti Yadnya* (Kunti's Sacrifice) and *Gaguritan Candrabanu* (Tale of Candrabanu) – were subsequently copied on *lontar* leaves.<sup>76</sup> Here we see a wonderful reversal of tradition from paper to *lontar* rather than the usual other way round.

Hedi Hinzler gives us another insight into one of the reasons texts are being recopied on *lontar*. She tells of instances where *lontar* manuscripts from the nineteenth century were typed out on paper in the 1970s to be recopied on *lontar* in the 1990s by elderly men. Basing her comments on interviews with the *lontar* experts I Dewa Gde Catra, I Gusti Ngurah Ketut Sangka and the shadow theatre puppeteer (*dalang*) I Pasek Wayan Riyeh, the reason seems to be that these elderly Balinese do this to “earn a proper seat in heaven which can be realized by leading a proper life, by the proper religious conduct.” They do this by returning to a more traditionalist conventional way of life.<sup>77</sup>

Because of storing practices in Indonesia and the harsh hot and moist climate, manuscripts may quickly look worn and thus appear old whereas they actually are not. In certain places, for instance in Lombok, *lontar* manuscripts may be stored in the roof of the kitchen so that they are exposed to kitchen smoke to prevent insect damage, but in consequence they become black and dirty and seem old while in fact they are not. Because *lontar* manuscripts do not always have a colophon or any other indication of age, it is difficult to

74 Rai Putra 2012: 151–152.

75 Ms. KA/VI/14/DISBUD, *Katalog Lontar tahun 2003*: 63.

76 Oka Granoka et al. 1989: 12.

77 Hinzler 1993: 458.



decide how old they really are. Because nowadays few manuscripts are made we may safely assume that most of these manuscripts date from the period before the Second World War. However, for many manuscripts, information that is more precise is unavailable and we may be completely mistaken.

The oldest Malay manuscript we know of dates back to the second half of the fourteenth to the early fifteenth century.<sup>78</sup> It was rediscovered in the Kerinci highland region of Sumatra in 2002 by Uli Kozok who gave it the title: *Kitab Undang-Undang Tanjung Tanah* (Legal Code of Tanjung Tanah). Twelve years later the title was adapted to *Nitisārasamuccaya* in the latest exhaustive publication on this manuscript.<sup>79</sup>

The oldest Old Javanese manuscript is possibly the one that contains the text *Sang Hyang Hayu* (Knowledge of Virtue). It is dated Śaka 1357 = AD 1435 and originates from Cilegon, Tarogong, Garut. It is preserved in the National Library of Indonesia with class-mark 16 L 638.<sup>80</sup>

The oldest dated Old Sundanese manuscript is reported to have been inscribed in Śaka 1440 = AD 1518. Aditia Gunawan and Arlo Griffiths state in their description of the manuscript that it contains the *Sang Hyang Siksa Kandang Karĕsian* (Holy Precepts for the Environment, from the Hermits Class). It is written on leaves of the *gĕbang* palm (*Corypha gebanga*) and is preserved in the National Library of Indonesia with class-mark 16 L 630.<sup>81</sup> An Old Sundanese manuscript that may be even older is the *Bujangga Manik* (Wanderings of the Hindu-Sundanese Hermit Bujangga Manik) in the Bodleian Library Ms Jav. B. 3(R) which Noorduyndated back as early as c. AD 1500.<sup>82</sup>



ILL. 28 Sang Hyang Siksa Kanda Karĕsian (*Holy Precepts for the Environment, from the Hermits Class*). Old Sundanese, Galuh, West Java, dated Śaka 1440 = AD 1518. PNRI 16 L 630, 4 × 35.5 cm., 28 inscribed leaves.<sup>83</sup>

78 Kozok 2006: 81.

79 Kozok, with Contributions by Hunter, Waruno Mahdi and Micsic 2015.

80 Gunawan 2015: 277.

81 Behrend 1998: 348; Gunawan and Griffiths, 2014.

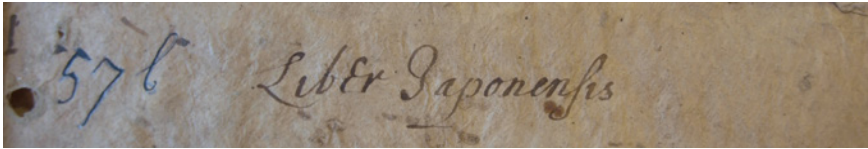
82 Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop 2014: 181.

83 Behrend 1998: 348; Gunawan and Griffiths, 2014.



Two old manuscripts from Java that can still be consulted today in Leiden University Library came to Europe after the first Dutch voyages to Java. One entered the library in 1597 as a gift from the Amsterdam ship-owner and merchant Van Dulmen.<sup>84</sup> It is unfortunately incomplete and contains a collection of notes on Islamic mysticism that used to carry the title *Volumen Quoddam Javanicum*<sup>85</sup> (Cod.Or. 266<sup>86</sup>) which Drewes edited and translated in 1954.<sup>87</sup> Drewes also edited the second text (Cod.Or. 1928<sup>88</sup>) in 1969.<sup>89</sup> This manuscript used to be part of the collection of Bonaventura Vulcanius (Bonaventura de Smet) and only entered the collection of Leiden University Library around 1870 although it had been in that city since before 1610.<sup>90</sup> Since Bonaventura Vulcanius had written *Liber Japonensis* in the beginning of the manuscript, it was only recognized as being Javanese centuries later. All this of course by no means indicates that no other older manuscripts may still be preserved in collections elsewhere in the world.

The oldest *Qur'ān* from the Malay world is preserved in the collection of the Rotterdam Municipal Library MS 96 D 16 which was brought from Johor in 1606 and probably dates from 1550 to 1575. It has a colophon in Javanese.<sup>91</sup>



ILL. 29 Indication in Cod.Or. 1928 that the manuscript was thought to be Japanese.

84 Pigeaud 1968: 25.

85 Drewes 1954: 2.

86 Vreede 1892: 400; Pigeaud 1968: 25.

87 Drewes 1954.

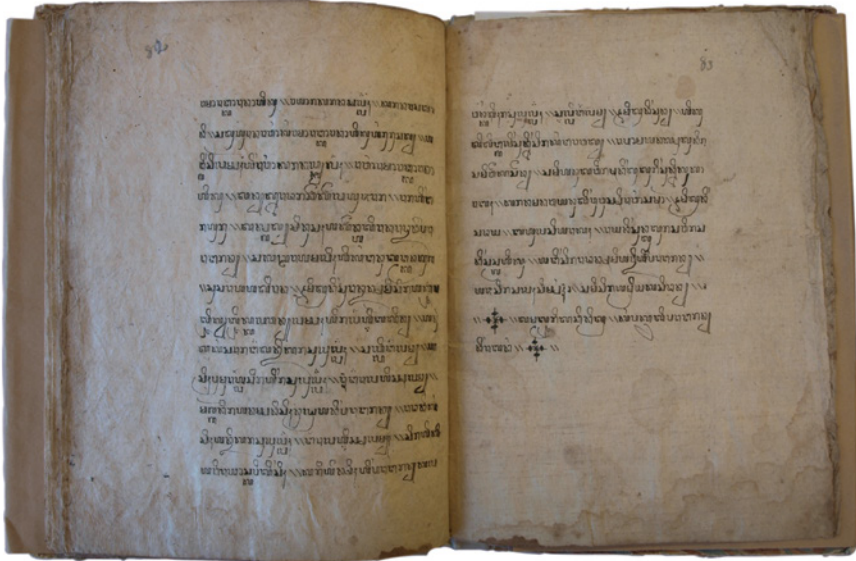
88 Vreede 1892: 330; Pigeaud 1968: 52.

89 Vreede 1892: 330–331; Pigeaud 1968: 52; Pigeaud 1970: 70–71.

90 Schrieke 1916: xii.

91 Riddell 2002.





ILL. 30 Treatise on Islamic Theology and Mysticism. *Javanese, North Coast Java, dated before AD 1594. UBL Cod.Or. 1928, 27 × 19 cm., 83 pages, pages 82 and 83.*<sup>92</sup> One of the oldest *Javanese manuscripts written in Javanese script on dluwang.*

The oldest manuscript said to be from Bali is in Oxford in the Laud Collection of the Bodleian Library (manuscript Laud Or. Rolls a.1).<sup>93</sup> It has to be older than 1635 as in that year it was presented to the library by William Laud (1573–1645). However, also according to Hinzler, the script looks Madurese and the language is not Balinese but rather a mixture of Malay and Madurese.<sup>94</sup> Apparently, other old manuscripts from Bali are in Leiden, for instance, a prose *Calon Arang* (Exorcist Tale of the Witch Calon Arang) (according to the colophon) dates from Śaka 1462 = AD 1540 (Cod.Or. 5279),<sup>95</sup> The *Kakawin Kṛṣṇāyana* (Kṛṣṇa's Quest) according to dating information in the *lontar* manuscript

92 Vreede 1892: 330–331; Pigeaud 1968: 52; Pigeaud 1970: 70–71.

93 Hinzler 1993: 458.

94 Hinzler 1993: 458.

95 Juynboll 1911: 300–301; Pigeaud 1968: 296, 311. As Śaka 1462 corresponds to AD 1540, Pigeaud evidently had made a mistake in his catalogue where he states that the manuscript is from AD 1570. Someone made a correction in pencil in the copy of Pigeaud's catalogue in the reading room of the special collections at Leiden University Library.



dates from Śaka 1466 = AD 1544 (Cod.Or. 5040).<sup>96</sup> Yet another old manuscript is the *Nawaruci* (Bima's Adventures in Search of the Water of Life) (also called *Tattwajñāna* which is a Śiwaitic treatise) (Cod.Or. 5372)<sup>97</sup> which was written in Icchāsada (Gelgel, East Bali) in 1535 = AD 1613.<sup>98</sup> The Laud manuscript is old beyond doubt but the real date of inscription of the others apparently needs to be established because they may be later copies in which the old colophon has been copied as well, as Hinzler rightly observed.



ILL. 31 Calon Arang (*Exorcist Tale of the Witch Calon Arang*). Old Javanese, Bali. According to the colophon, this old lontar manuscript was inscribed in Śaka 1462 = AD 1540. UBL Cod.Or. 5387, 3 × 42 cm., 31 inscribed leaves.<sup>99</sup>

### Illustrated and Illuminated Manuscripts

Curiously in view of their often astounding beauty, no comprehensive study has been conducted into the way manuscripts in any tradition in Indonesia have been illuminated or illustrated. That is not to say that no work has been done at all on the subject. For Javanese manuscripts, Tim Behrend has devoted some scholarly attention to the subject in his concise but very informative essay in 1996 in *Illuminations* and he discussed the finely illuminated manuscripts of the

<sup>96</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 256.

<sup>97</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 309.

<sup>98</sup> Juynboll 1911: 294; Prijoetomo 1934: 21; Pigeaud 1968: 309.

<sup>99</sup> Juynboll 1911: 300; Pigeaud 1968: 311.



palaces in Yogyakarta in his article 'Frontispiece Architecture in Ngayogyakarta: Notes on Structure and Sources' published in 2005. In this article he also mentions where some *wadana gapura* illuminations have been reproduced in the literature available at that time and which may be augmented somewhat by including examples Sri Ratna Saktimulya included in her catalog of the manuscript collection of the Perpustakaan Widyapustaka, Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta of 2005. Other illustrations of Indonesian manuscripts may be found in John Guy's *Palm-leaf and Paper. Illustrated Manuscripts of India and Southeast Asia* of 1982; Ann Kumar and John McGlynn's *Illuminations* of 1996; Sumekar, Rachmananta and Noegraha's *Koleksi Naskah Pilihan Perpustakaan Nasional RI/Selected Manuscript Collection of The National Library of Indonesia* of 1999; and Wieringa and Hanstein's catalog of the exhibition of Indonesian manuscripts in Berlin in 2015. These are just some examples. That these illuminations are anything but merely ornamental has been explained in astonishing length by Sri Ratna Saktimulya in her profusely illustrated book of 2016 entitled *Naskah-Naskah Skriptorium Pakualaman* (Manuscripts from the Pakualaman Scriptorium).<sup>100</sup> Some illustrations of manuscript illumination may also be found in the new edition of Ricklefs and Voorhoeve's catalog of Indonesian manuscripts in Great Britain (Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop 2014). In the third part of his catalog of Javanese manuscripts, Pigeaud presents 20 plates of illustrated or illuminated manuscript and he offers descriptions of all of them. In his descriptions he makes a distinction between *wayang* style and naturalistic style which I have taken over below.

Also, Balinese illustrated paper manuscripts (called *prasi*) have received attention in the past. Important is the catalog Hedi Hinzler compiled of the contents of the so-called 'Mandje van Van der Tuuk' (Van der Tuuk's Basket) that contains Balinese drawings Van der Tuuk intended to include in his dictionary of the Balinese and Old Javanese languages. They never entered the dictionary and the basket ended up in the collection of Leiden University Library (Cod. Or. 3390, Hinzler 1986–1987). One fully illustrated manuscript of the *Kakawin Śiwarātrikalpa* dated around 1870 and in possession of the Griya Pidada in Klungkung was described at lengths by Adrian Vickers in 1982. Pictures of illustrated paper manuscripts of the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* in the collection of the National Gallery of Australia (1990.1775.20) may be found in Maxwell et al. *Bali. Island of the Gods*.<sup>101</sup>

100 Saktimulya 2016.

101 Maxwell, Van den Heuvel, Eastburn and Folan 2014.





ILL. 32 *Sarpamuka and Bawimuka. Balinese, Bali, undated but from the second half of the 19th century. UBL 3390–109, 42.1 × 34.1 cm.*<sup>102</sup>



ILL. 33 *Kampana and Pratēdaksi. Balinese, Bali, undated but from the second half of the 19th century. UBL 3390–119, 42 × 34 cm.*<sup>103</sup>

<sup>102</sup> Hinzler 1986-ii: 170–171.

<sup>103</sup> Hinzler 1986-ii: 183.



That illustrated Sundanese manuscripts may be found in collections is attested to by the example of the *Cĕrita Samun* (Tale of Samun) from the National Library of Indonesia (illustration 34). It contains no less than 88 illustrations and illuminated opening pages (see illustration 79). The problem here is that catalogs do not always state whether or not manuscripts were illustrated and finding out is therefore not easy.<sup>104</sup>



ILL. 34 *Cĕrita Samun* (Tale of Samun). Sundanese, West Java, undated. PNRI SD 187, 32.9 × 21.3 cm., 185 inscribed pages, pages 8 and 9.<sup>105</sup>  
PHOTOGRAPHED BY MUNAWIR HOLIL.

Illustrations or illuminations in manuscripts from the Sasak community in Lombok are rare. One example is the illustration of Mount Rinjani in the *lontar* manuscript illustrated in illustration 238 in Chapter Three. Illuminations are also rare and when encountered consist of flowers and leaves in borders over the entire length of the *lontar* leaves that open manuscripts.

This is not the place to discuss all aspects of illustrated or illuminated manuscripts from the area under discussion. I will briefly touch upon manuscripts that have been illustrated in various kinds of *wayang* iconography, more

104 For instance, frustratingly, Behrend's catalog (1998) of the collection of the National Library of Indonesia does not.

105 Behrend 1998: 310; Holil 2016: 26.



naturalistic illustrations and illustrations that depict the natural world. Lastly some attention will be given to functional illustrations. Illustrations in *lontar* manuscripts are dealt with in Chapter Three.

### *Wayang Iconography for Texts Not Concerned with Wayang Shadow Theatre*

In Java, the style of the *wayang purwa* shadow theatre is ubiquitous. The *wayang* style has dominated numerous but surely not all illustrations in Javanese manuscripts. Apart from texts explicitly dealing with *wayang* puppets and *wayang* repertoire, other texts were illustrated in *wayang* style, as is also the case for stories that were not, or seldom, performed in *wayang*. This meant that a *wayang*-style iconography had to be developed to address the problem of how to depict characters that are not part of the standard *wayang* repertoire in such a way as to avoid confusion with existing *wayang* characters and also to make them sufficiently clear to remain recognizable as distinct figures with specific characteristics.

Illustrations 35, 39, 41, 42, and 44 show scenes from the Islamic romance *Sĕrat Menak Amir Hamza* in *wayang* style. In the illustrations, the captions to the pictures have been written in Javanese characters. Note that the text and the illustrations are clearly divided and that in each of them, the figures stand on a double-lined base.



ILL. 35 *Sĕrat Menak Amir Hamza* (*Romance of Menak Amir Hamza*). Javanese, Semarang (?), Central Java, possibly around 1870. UBL KITLV D Or. 7, 34 × 21 cm., 214 double pages, pages 173-v and 174-r.<sup>106</sup>

<sup>106</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 824.



There is a large variety in terms of differences in quality in *wayang* style illustrations. Some illustrations are beautifully made while others seem to have been done in great haste and apparently with little aesthetic consideration, as in the following example.



ILL. 36 Damar Wulan (*Romance of Damar Wulan*). Javanese, East Java, undated but before AD 1920. UBL Cod.Or. 5817, 22.5 × 18 cm., 410 pages, pages 133 and 134.<sup>107</sup>

Wayang style does not only refer to the style of the *wayang purwa* shadow play but also to wooden rod puppet theatre (*wayang golek*) which is mainly found in West Java. There are different sorts of *wayang golek* of which *wayang cĕpak* is the variant played in Cirebon and surroundings on Java's north coast. A manuscript illustrated in this style may thus be considered as originating from this area. The manuscript presented in illustrations 37 and 38 use *wayang cĕpak* iconography. In the pictures, the figures are explained in Javanese script while in illustration 37, also in Latin script the name of the hero of the text, Damarwoelan, was added.

107 Pigeaud 1968: 345.





ILL. 37 Damar Wulan (*Romance of Damar Wulan, from Cirebon*). Javanese in West Pasisir (Cirebon) script, West Java, dated before AD 1861. UBL KITLV D Or. 18, 30 × 17.5 cm., 101 double pages, page 16-v and 17-r.<sup>108</sup>

The maker of this particular manuscript was experimenting with his style. Illustration 38 suggests that the artist used both a more realistic depiction of the characters as well as the *wayang* style for the equestrian character of the illustration. It is unclear why the illustration has been left unfinished.

Apparently, according to Ricklefs, during the nineteenth century, the illustrations tended to become somewhat more realistic, either in the backgrounds of the *wayang* figures or in their actions.<sup>109</sup> It would indeed seem that in illustration 39, the *wayang* style has already become somewhat more 'realistic' especially with the figure with the gun as his legs look rather un-*wayang*. Amusing references to the real world in *wayang* garb may also be seen from the example in illustration 40 where the figure on the ground is being stepped on by the figure on the right causing him to stick out his tongue in distress. The legs of the figure on the left have already been given a rather more realistic pose than usual in *wayang* iconography.

<sup>108</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 826.

<sup>109</sup> Guy 1982: 70–71.





ILL. 38

Damar Wulan (*Romance of Damar Wulan, from Cirebon*). Javanese, Cirebon, West Java, dated before AD 1861. UBL KITLV D Or. 18, 30 × 17.5 cm., 101 double pages, page 27-r right.<sup>110</sup>



ILL. 39 Sĕrat Menak Amir Hamza (*Romance of Menak Amir Hamza*). Javanese, Semarang (?), Central Java, possibly around 1870. UBL KITLV D Or. 7, 34 × 21 cm., 214 double pages, page 12-v and 13-r.<sup>111</sup>

110 Pigeaud 1968: 826.

111 Pigeaud 1968: 824.





ILL. 40

Sĕrat Angling Darma (*Romance of King Angling Darma*). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1845. PNRI KBG 737, 33 × 20.5 cm., 450 pages, page 351.<sup>112</sup>

References to the real world are also revealed in the props used in the *wayang* drawings, such as furniture, letters the *wayang* figures read, the chairs they sit on, or the pipes they smoke (as in figure 41). Also other props such as the ceremonial umbrellas used to shade the figures from the sun are not part of the *wayang* repertoire but reflect the palace realities of Central Java.



ILL. 41 Sĕrat Menak Amir Hamza (*Romance of Menak Amir Hamza*). Javanese, Semarang (?), Central Java, possibly around 1870.

UBL KITLV D Or. 7, 34 × 21 cm., 214 double pages, pages 42-v and 43-r.<sup>113</sup>

<sup>112</sup> Behrend 1998: 256.

<sup>113</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 824.



The figure in illustration 42 sits on a rocking chair reading a letter. The pose of his lower body is more natural whereas his upper body is in standard *wayang* style.



ILL. 42

Sĕrat Menak Amir Hamza (*Romance of Menak Amir Hamza*). Javanese, Semarang (?), Central Java, possibly around 1870. UBL KITLV D Or. 7, 34 × 21 cm., 214 double pages, page 131-r.<sup>114</sup>

In the examples shown above a few ways of combining the text and the illustrations may be seen. In certain cases the text and the illustrations are clearly divided and we may surmise that the illustrations were added when the text was finished. In other cases, the text and the illustrations are divided by horizontal lines and thus the space to be used for the illustrations was clearly demarcated (for instance illustrations 39 and 41). In other manuscripts, the illustrations infiltrate the text and thus the illustrations (or outlines) have to have been made before the text was written (illustrations 43).

114 Pigeaud 1968: 824.





ILL. 43 *Sĕrat Asmarasupi (Romance of Asmarasupi)*. Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1893. PNRI KBG 543, 20 × 17 cm., 363 pages, pages 307 and 308.<sup>115</sup> Note the sun shade used to cover the queen in the illustration on the left.

### Illustration Copies

Depictions of *wayang* style illustrations were copied, or at least artists were heavily influenced by each other. In order to stay within a fixed iconographic setting, illustrations from the same stories but from different manuscripts tend to look alike. For instance, in illustration 44, the idea of figures riding on the backs of other figures is a depiction of a scene that is encountered more often, for example, in a manuscript of the *Sĕrat Menak Amir Hamza* (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Schoemann II 6).<sup>116</sup>

Another example is a richly illustrated copy of the *Sĕrat Asmarasupi* (Romance of Asmarasupi), PNRI KBG 543 in the collection of the National Library of Indonesia. The picture in illustration 45 is very similar to that presented in Wieringa and Hanstein 2015, pages 116–117 of another manuscript of the same text. The difference is that in PNRI KBG 543, the text on the left-hand page runs around the illustration whereas that is not the case in Ms. or. Oct. 4033 in the Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin. This illustration is virtually the same in most other respects. The Berlin manuscript was written in AJ 1814 = AD 1884<sup>117</sup> and

<sup>115</sup> Behrend 1998: 224.

<sup>116</sup> Wieringa and Hanstein 2015: 108–109.

<sup>117</sup> Wieringa and Hanstein 2015: 116–117.



thus older than PNRI KBG 543, which was produced in AD 1893.<sup>118</sup> Below we will see in Chapter Three that *lontar* illustrations were also copied or nearly copied.



ILL. 44 *Sĕrat Menak Amir Hamza (Romance of Menak Amir Hamza)*. Javanese, Semarang (?), Central Java, possibly around 1870. UBL KITLV D Or. 7, 34 × 21 cm., 214 double pages, folio 92-v and 93-r.<sup>119</sup>



ILL. 45 *Sĕrat Asmarasupi (Romance of Asmarasupi)*. Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1893. PNRI KBG 543, 20 × 17 cm., 363 pages, pages 11-12.<sup>120</sup>

<sup>118</sup> Behrend 1998: 224.

<sup>119</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 824.

<sup>120</sup> Behrend 1998: 224.



### Naturalistic Figure Depiction

A famous manuscript now in Leiden University Library is the *Babad Dipanagara* (Chronicle of Prince Dipanagara) (KITLV D Or. 13). It is illustrated in a totally different way from the manuscripts discussed above, with a style that is very realistic compared to them. The text was written before the illustrations were added as may be seen from the illustrations 46, 47 and 48. The text and the illustrations were divided by black horizontal lines but in all illustrations the lines have been crossed over. The names of the characters have been added at the bottom of the page in Javanese script. It would seem that historical chronicles tend to have been illustrated in a much more realistic way than texts from the traditional literary canon. The main characters of the story are depicted in a strikingly naturalistic way with much attention having been paid to dress and dramatic expression. The fact that some Javanese figures are seated on chairs and wear Dutch or Dutch-inspired uniforms clearly shows the Dutch influence on the courts.<sup>121</sup>

None of the other illustrations in the same manuscript spill over into the text. The main characters of the story are depicted in a strikingly naturalistic way with much attention having been paid to uniforms and other dress. The fact that some Javanese figures are seated on chairs clearly shows the Dutch influence on the courts. The way some Javanese characters wear Dutch or Dutch inspired uniforms is also enlightening.



ILL. 46 *Babad Dipanagara* (*Chronicle of Prince Dipanagara*). Javanese, Semarang, Central Java, dated AJ 1795 = AD 1866. UBL KITLV D Or. 13, 33 × 21.5 cm., 200 double pages, pages 99-v and 100-r.<sup>122</sup> PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

<sup>121</sup> The same feature appears in other *babad* such as the *Babad Blambangan* (Chronicle of Blambangan, East Java) (PNRI KBG 63) as depicted in Behrend 1996: 183 and Sumekar, Rachmananta and Noegraha 1999: 60.

<sup>122</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 824.





ILL. 47 Babad Dipanagara (*Chronicle of Prince Dipanagara*). Javanese, Semarang, Central Java, dated AJ 1795 = AD 1866. UBL KITLV D Or. 13, 33 × 21.5 cm., 200 double pages, pages 126-v and 127-r.<sup>123</sup>  
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.



ILL. 48 Babad Dipanagara (*Chronicle of Prince Dipanagara*). Javanese, Semarang, Central Java, dated AJ 1795 = AD 1866. UBL KITLV D Or. 13, 33 × 21.5 cm., 200 double pages, pages 136-v and 127-r.<sup>124</sup>  
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

123 Pigeaud 1968: 824.

124 Pigeaud 1968: 824.





Page -50v Mayur Wiranegara, Patih Danurja, Rësidenhen Sëmisar.



Page 56-r Sëntona, Patih Danurja sinampuk sëpatu Dipanegara.



Page 66-r Enya, Ratu Ibu, Patih Danurja.



Page 82-r. Pangran Dipanegara, Ki Jayamustapa, Ki Mosik.



Page 103-r. Pangran Mangkualam, Pangran Dipanagara.



Page 143-r. Pangran Dipanegara, Pangran Suryakusuma.



Page 149-r. Kangjeng Suhunan Sala, Patih Sasradiningrat.



Page 158-r. Sëntana, Sultan Ngabdulkamid.



Page 166-v Pangran Purbaya, Jendral.



Page 172-r. Patih and Sultan Mëdura.



Page 178-v. Pangran Natapraja, Pangran Serang, Pangran Purwanegara, Brandhal.



Page 184-r. Sultan Mëdura, Raden Purba.

ILL. 49 Babad Dipanagara (*Chronicle of Prince Dipanagara*). Javanese, Semarang, Central Java, dated AJ 1795 = AD 1866. UBL KITLV D Or. 13, 33 × 21.5 cm., 200 double pages.<sup>125</sup>



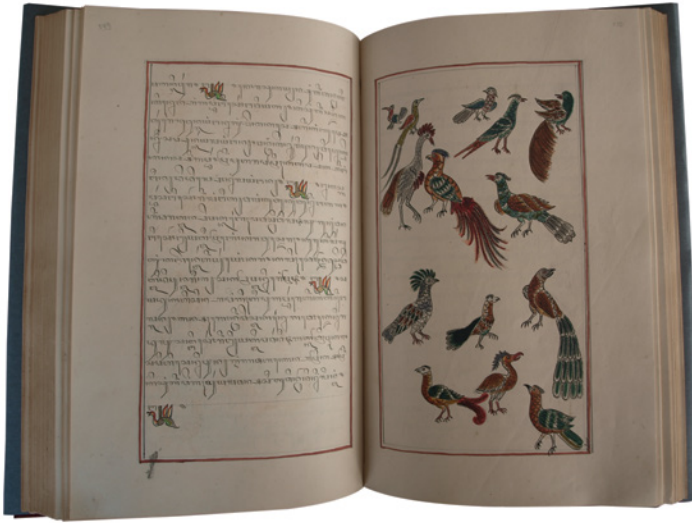
### The Natural World in Javanese Illustrations

Illustrations of the natural world in Javanese manuscripts are quite rare. When they are encountered they may be divided into various categories. The first is the category of the true natural world and animals are portrayed as they are and they may be quite realistic as the examples below show. Apparently, these kind of pictures were also copied or near-copied over time. The examples are shown in the following illustrations are from two manuscripts preserved in Leiden University Library, KITLV D Or. 189 *Adi Darmasastra* (Moralistic Compendium and Book of Fables from the Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta) written in AD 1841 (illustrations 50 and 53), and Cod.Or. 6388, *Aṣṭabrata, Adidumastra* (Moralistic Poem and Book of Fables from the Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta) written around AD 1900 (illustrations 51 and 54). Although the depiction of the birds and the fishes in both manuscripts is not exactly the same, the similarities are nevertheless striking. Apparently these manuscripts were made with reference to a similar manuscript entitled *Aṣṭabrata, Sēstra Agēng Adidarma* (Moralistic Poem and Guide to Proper Conduct from the Pakualaman in Yogyakarta) which was written in AD 1841 and is preserved in the library of the Pakualaman palace (illustration 52).<sup>126</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> (Pi 35), Saktimulya 2005: 108.





ILL. 50 *Adi Darmasastra (Moralistic Compendium and Book of Fables from the Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta). Javanese, Pakualaman, Yogyakarta, probably dated AJ 1769 = AD 1841. UBL KITLV D Or. 189, 32.5 × 21 cm., 425 pages, pages 249 and 250.*<sup>127</sup>



ILL. 51 *Aṣṭabrata, Adidumastra (Moralistic Poem and Book of Fables from the Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta). Javanese, Pakualaman, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1830 = AD 1900. UBL Cod.Or. 6388, 33 × 20.5 cm., 246 pages, pages 84 and 85.*<sup>128</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 830–831.

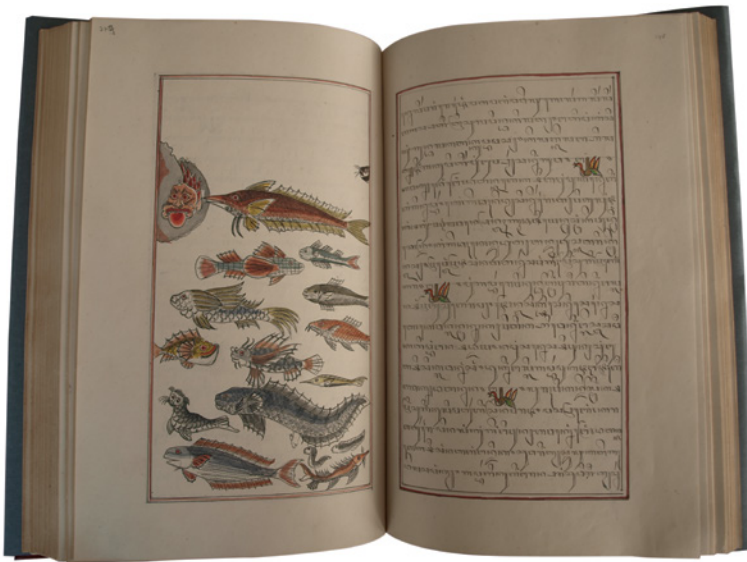
<sup>128</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 365.





ILL. 52

Aṣṭabrata, Sēstra Agēng Adidarma (*Moralistic Poem and Book of Fables from the Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta*). Javanese, Pakualaman, Yogyakarta, dated AD 1841. Collection Perpustakaan Widyapustaka, Pura Pakualaman Pi 35, 42.5 × 28 cm., 346 pages, page 216.<sup>129</sup>



ILL. 53 Adi Darmasastra (*Moralistic Compendium and Book of Fables from the Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta*). Javanese, Pakualaman, Yogyakarta, probably dated AJ 1769 = AD 1841. UBL KITLV D Or. 189, 32.5 × 21 cm., 425 pages, pages 247 and 248.<sup>130</sup>

<sup>129</sup> Saktimulya 2005: 108. I offer my warmest thanks to the staff of the Perpustakaan Widya-pustaka of the Pura Pakualaman for allowing me to see and photograph this manuscript.

<sup>130</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 830–831.





ILL. 54 Aṣṭabratā, Adidumastra (*Moralistic Poem and Book of Fables from the Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta*). Javanese, Pakualaman, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1830 = AD 1900. UBL Cod.Or. 6388, 33 × 20.5 cm., 246 pages, pages 82 and 83.<sup>131</sup>

### *Pictures of Animals in Fictional Works*

Artists had a free hand when they depicted animals in fiction. As a result, animals may look less realistic and the artists were free to enhance certain features of the animals as suited the story. Captions with explanations of the figures in the illustrations are not always provided, for instance, the crocodile in illustration 55 of the *Sĕrat Asmarasupi*, and the elephant in illustration 56 of the *Adidumastra*.

### *Animals in Works on Javanese History and Philosophy and Almanacs on Calendrical Divination*

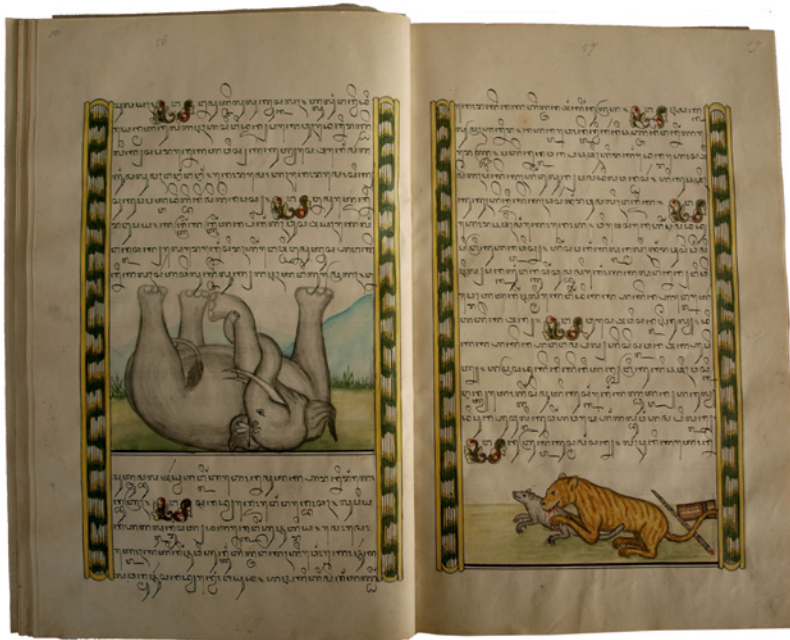
In manuscripts on history, philosophy and calendrical divination the animal world is depicted in a relatively small number of manuscripts. They range from rather realistic images to depictions of animals in a more unrealistic and mythical style. The examples in illustrations 57 and 58 are rather realistic and depict the animals more or less as they are.

<sup>131</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 365.





ILL. 55 Sĕrat Asmarasupi (*Romance of Asmarasupi*). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1893. PNRI KBG 543, 20 × 17 cm., 363 pages, pages 82 and 83.<sup>132</sup> The animal on the left is a crocodile.



ILL. 56 Aṣṭabrata, Adidumastra (*Moralistic Poem and Book of Fables from the Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta*). Javanese, Pakualaman Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1830 = AD 1900. UBL Cod.Or. 6388, 33 × 20.5 cm., 246 pages, pages 56 and 57.<sup>133</sup>

132 Behrend 1998: 171.

133 Pigeaud 1968: 365.





ILL. 57 Sajarahipun Para Nata (*History of the Kings*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but probably second half of the 19th century. UBL Cod.Or. 10.935, 18 × 22.5 cm., 138 pages, pages 67-v and 68-r.<sup>134</sup> Two cranes and a sleeping elephant.



ILL. 58 Sajarahipun Para Nata (*History of the Kings*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but probably second half of the 19th century. UBL Cod.Or. 10.935, 18 × 22.5 cm., 138 pages, pages 66-v and 67-r.<sup>135</sup> Three fishes and a crab.

Illustrations 59 and 60 come from a manuscript from Surakarta that was produced before 1900. They display animals in an altogether different setting. In the first illustration, the animals are being lectured by a person who, considering his iconographic particulars, is a sage or a deity whose name is Puthut Jantaka.

<sup>134</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 695.

<sup>135</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 695.





ILL. 59 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*). Javanese, Surakarta, undated but before AD 1900. UBL Cod.Or. 6405, 32.5 × 20.5 cm., 85 pages, pages 61 and 62.<sup>136</sup>



ILL. 60 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*). Javanese, undated but around the middle of the nineteenth century. UBL Cod.Or. 12.332, 34 × 21 cm., 192 pages, pages 26 and 40.<sup>137</sup>

<sup>136</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 369.

<sup>137</sup> Pigeaud 1980: 52.



### *'Functional' Illustrations*

It may be said that all illustrations in manuscripts are functional in one way or another<sup>138</sup> but many manuscripts from the Javanese world are adorned with illustrations that have a clear function and have thus not been added to the text as adornments. They illustrate the text to make it more pertinent or they add to the text when text and illustration together form a charm or a means for healing ailments and other discomforts.

#### *Aṣṭabrata*

One example of functional illustrations in *wayang* style are the eight gods (*bathara*, *hyang*) depicted in the *Aṣṭabrata* that contains lessons on statecraft and leadership. Each god has a particular character that kings need to understand and emulate in order to be able to rule justly.<sup>139</sup>

#### *Kutika and Pawukon*

Illustrations often adorn manuscripts on calendrical divination (*kutika*, *pawukon*). These illustrations add to the understanding of the text and are indispensable. *Pawukon* from Java are sometimes fully illustrated and depict the gods, trees, birds, weapons and buildings that accompany the 30 seven-day *wuku* weeks.<sup>140</sup> Illustration 62 illustrates the *wuku* Sungsang and its god Bathara Gana. Illustration 63 depicts Sanghyang Singajalma, the god of *wuku* Wugu.

Other manuscripts with functional illustrations concern *primbon* (Assorted Notes on Religion and Other Matters) that contain information pertinent to the person who owns the manuscript and usually focus on calendrical divination but also concern mysticism and theology as in illustration 65.

### *Other Functional Illustrations*

Other illustrations used in Islamic mysticism may also be called functional as they illustrate aspects of mystical experience. Instances are the visual representations in Javanese manuscripts of the *Sĕrat Wirid* (Manual on Mysticism). Illustrations explaining the growth of a impregnated cell into a fetus and subsequently into a child ready for birth and the process of the deterioration of the dead body in the grave are portrayed in illustrations 66 and 67.

<sup>138</sup> I would like to thank Peter Worsley for pointing this out to me.

<sup>139</sup> One may argue that these illustrations should be put above in the sub chapter 'Wayang iconography for text not concerned with wayang shadow theatre' but I feel that the combination of text and illustration is more important here.

<sup>140</sup> On *wuku* see Chapter Six.





Bathara Endra.



Bathara Yama.



Bathara Surya.



Hyang Candra.



Bathara Bayu.



Bathara Wisnu.



Bathara Brama.



Bathara Baruna.

- ILL. 61 Aṣṭabrata, Adidumastra (*Moralistic Poem and Book of Fables from the Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta*). Javanese, Pakualaman, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1830 = AD 1900. UBL Cod.Or. 6388, 33 × 20.5 cm., 246 pages<sup>141</sup>

141 Pigeaud 1968: 365. An example of a work that explains these decorations was written by K.B.P.H. Prabu Suryadilaga from the Pakualaman Palace in Yogyakarta and published in 2012. It discusses all the illuminations of the text *Asthabrata* kept in the library of the palace.





ILL. 62 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*). Javanese, Surakarta, undated but before AD 1900. UBL Cod.Or. 6405, 32.5 × 20.5 cm., 85 pages, pages 19 and 20.<sup>142</sup>



ILL. 63 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*). Javanese, Surakarta, undated but before AD 1900. UBL Cod.Or. 6405, 32.5 × 20.5 cm., 85 pages, pages 51 and 52.<sup>143</sup>

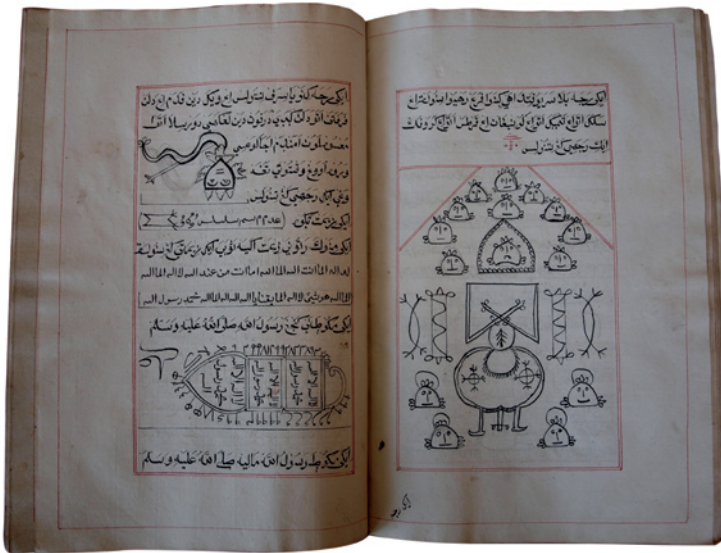
<sup>142</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 369.

<sup>143</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 369.





ILL. 64 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*). Javanese, Kartasura, dated 1931. UBL Cod.Or. n.650, 21 × 17 cm., 118 pages, page 34.<sup>144</sup>  
The characteristics of Bhathari Sri, Bathara Endra, Sang Hyang Guru, Bathara Yamadipati, Bathara Brama, Bathara Kala and Bathari Uma.

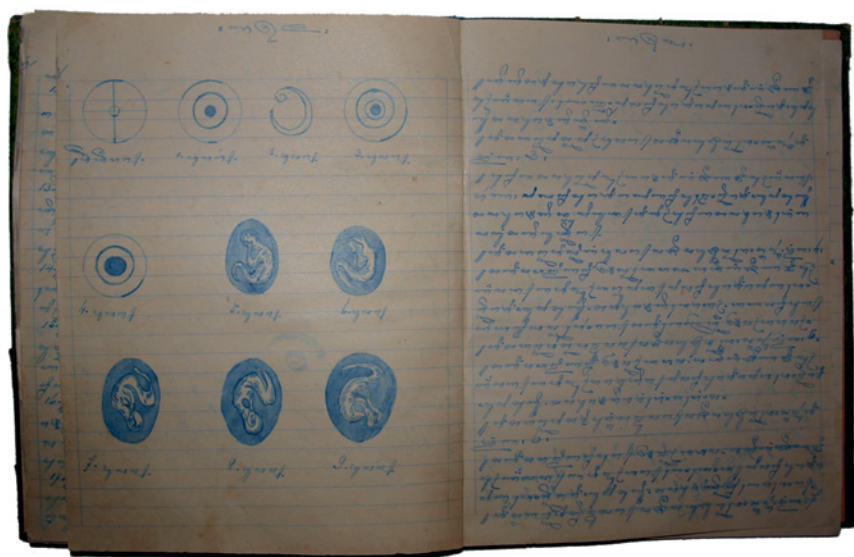


ILL. 65 Primbon (*Assorted Notes on Religion and Other Matters*). Javanese in pegon script, Surakarta, dated AD 1834. UBL Cod.Or. 12.319, 31 × 20 cm., 250 pages, pages 188 and 189.<sup>145</sup>

144 Pigeaud 1970: 125.

145 Pigeaud 1980: 50–51.





ILL. 66 Sērat Wirid (*Manual on Mysticism*). Javanese, Central Java, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 21 × 16.8 cm., 180 pages, pages 156 and 157. The stages of the growth of a fetus from a cell into a child about to be born.



ILL. 67 Sērat Wirid (*Manual on Mysticism*). Javanese, Central Java, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 21 × 16.8 cm., 180 pages, pages 164 and 165. The stages of decomposition of a corpse into a skeleton in the same manuscript as in illustration 66.



Other examples include an illustration of the *Derah Wujud Tunggal* illustrated in illustration 100 and illustration 68 that adorns a manuscript written on ledger paper with notes on Muslim prayers, mysticism and theology.



ILL. 68 Notes on Muslim prayers, mysticism and theology. Arabic-Javanese, Java, no provenance, undated but probably 1920s–1930s. UBL CB 29, 21 × 17 cm., 186 pages.<sup>146</sup>



ILL. 69 Punishments in Hell. Sundanese, West Java, undated but before AD 1878. UBL Cod.Or. 2232, 24 × 20 cm., 33 pages, pages 19 and 20.<sup>147</sup>

<sup>146</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 765.

<sup>147</sup> Juynboll 1899: 337–338.





ILL. 70 *Pesantren manuscript, depicting sufferings of hell. Madura, East Java, dated AD 1913. Collection Art Gallery of South Australia 20073A22, Adelaide, Gift of Michael Abbott AO QC through the Art Gallery of South Australia Foundation 2007. 28.4 × 20.5 cm. 23 pages, page 3.*

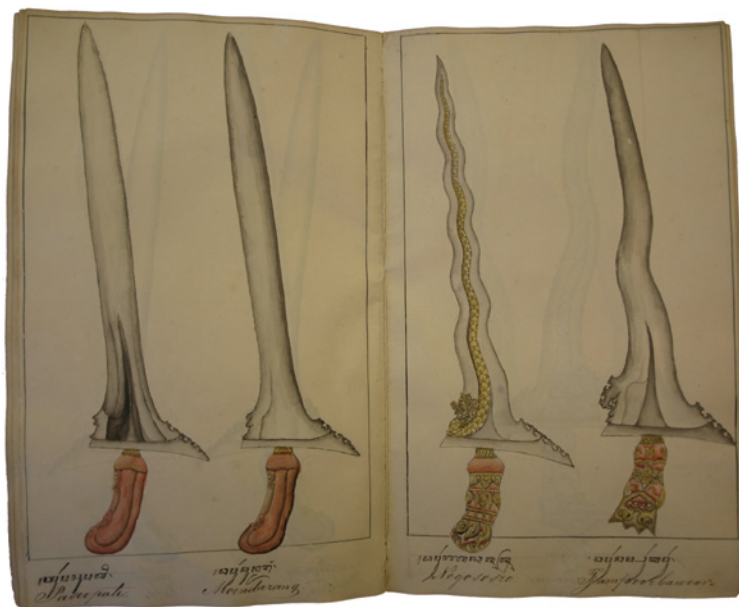
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE ART GALLERY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

Punishments in Hell are the topic of some illustrated manuscripts as in illustration 69 in *pegon* script in Sundanese from West Java and illustration 70 from Madura.

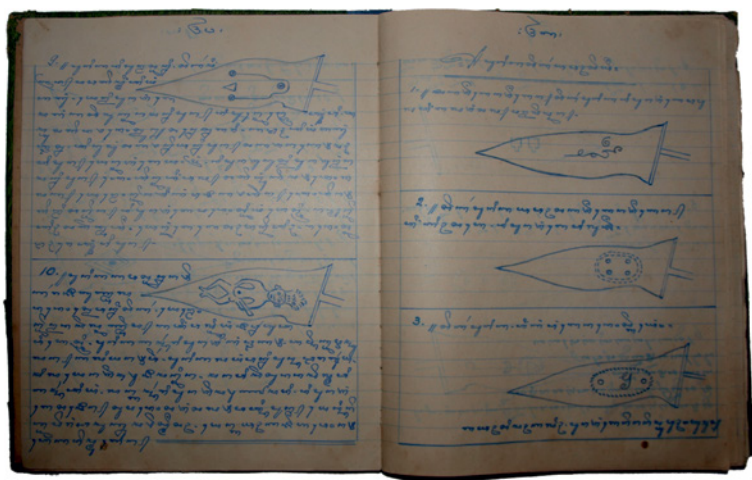
Other functional illustrations are those of traditional Javanese (ceremonial) daggers (*kēris*). The illustrations are provided to enable the reader of the manuscript to visualize the various embossed patterns on the daggers for purposes of identification. Different manuscripts on daggers were produced in different social settings from the *karaton* in Central Java up to people far removed from palaces and their surroundings.

The first manuscript (illustration 71) was made for Mr. F.W. van Net of the Council of India and made by order of the Susuhunan of Surakarta. It mentions the names of the shapes of the blades and the designs on the blades in Javanese script and Latin transcription.





ILL. 71 Crisses and Lances, Javanese, Surakarta, dated AD 1840. UBL KITLV D Or. 39, 31.5 × 19.5 cm., 105 pages.<sup>148</sup>



ILL. 72 Gunggung kempaling dhapuring kēris (Divination and Origins of Traditional Javanese Daggers). Javanese, Central Java, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 21 × 16.8 cm., 180 pages, pages 40 and 41 in the same manuscript as in illustrations 66 and 67.

<sup>148</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 829.



The next example (illustration 72) was written on pre-lined exercise book paper and from a totally different background. The information provided in this manuscript is more elaborate than the one above.

### Illuminations

Manuscripts, especially from the palaces of Central Java, are often illuminated. They may only have illuminations at the start and/or at the end of the text but some others are illuminated at the start of each chapter, especially when the manuscripts concern distinct parts of Javanese history or separate illustrious individuals in the genealogies of the royal families.

### *Wĕdana*

A separate category concerns *wĕdana* (also spelled *wadana*). These are full-page illuminations bordering the start of the text of a volume or of chapters in a volume. Some manuscripts have only a *wĕdana* on the initial recto page of the text but others start the text on the verso side of the first folia and in that case, often double page *wĕdana* are provided. The text was usually written first and the illuminations added later. We can come to this conclusion as there are quite some manuscripts where the borders that should house the illuminations have been left empty. The manuscripts portrayed below concern descriptions of the Kings of Java. It appears that any time a new king is introduced, a new and different illumination was added around the introduction to that particular king. Cod.Or. 2251 is a fine example which Pigeaud dubbed an “edition deluxe, profusely provided with gilt and polychrome headings most with their own high-sounding names, sometimes referring to the subject-matter of the chapter.”<sup>149</sup> As said above, these illuminations are anything but merely ornamental as Sri Ratna Saktimulya has explained at great length in her book of 2016.<sup>150</sup>

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149 Pigeaud 1968: 92.

150 Saktimulya 2016.





Left page: Rënggan Wëdhana

- ILL. 73 (See also pages 83–91.) *History of Javanese Kingdoms in verse*. Javanese, Yogyakarta, Central Java, dated AD 1845. UBL Cod.Or. 2251. 31.5 × 21 cm., 226 pages. Four examples of rënggan wëdhana gapura and two examples of illuminations at the end of a chapter.<sup>151</sup> PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

<sup>151</sup> Vreede 1892: 145–146; Pigeaud 1968: 92.





Right page: Gapura Purwa Srikarsa





Left page: Rënggan Wëdhana Gapura





Right page: Rinenggeng Patra





Left page: Rēnggan Wēdhana Gapura





Right page: Wiyangga Supatra Rēsmi





Left page: Rënggan Wëdhana





Right page: Makutha Parang Cuwiring









Sample of an illumination at the end of a chapter





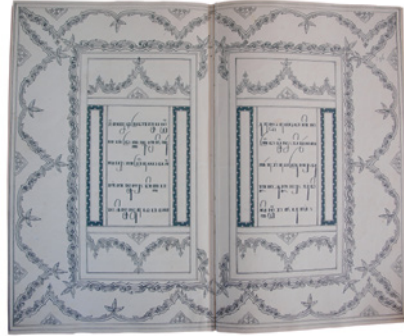
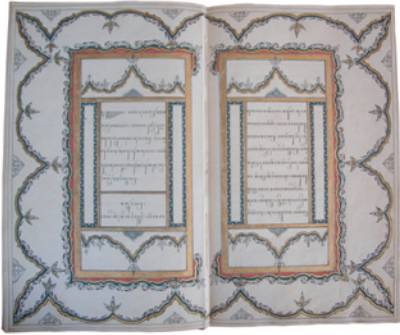
ILL. 74 *Genealogy of Javanese kings from Adam up to 1830 mainly of Yogyakarta. Javanese, Yogyakarta, Central Java, dated AD 1845. UBL Cod.Or. 8807, 21.5 × 18 cm., 178 pages 52-v and 53-r.*<sup>152</sup>

The second example, in illustration 74 Cod.Or. 8807, is also about Javanese kings and is an example of a totally different style of *wēdana* illumination.

Many other kinds of illuminations may adorn the opening and final pages of manuscripts from Java. Sometimes the maker abandoned his work before it was completely finished, as in illustration 75 where the end-pages have not been provided with color. Incidentally, the maker of this manuscript also made the manuscript *Abiyasa*, Cod.Or. 2193 in Leiden University Library. This is obvious from the way the illuminations have been made. KITLV D Or. 20 was presented to the KITLV by Dipakusuma, the Regent of Purbalingga, in 1858 so that Cod.Or. 2293 may be assumed to have come from the same origins. Both have the same illuminations at the start and at the end of the text.

<sup>152</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 500. Curiously, in his catalogue, Pigeaud omitted to mention that the manuscript is full of illuminations.





ILL. 75 *Palasara Krama (Palasara's Marriage)*. Javanese, Purbalingga, Central Java, undated but before AD 1858. UBL KITLV D Or. 20, 33 × 20.4 cm., 196 pages, opening and end pages.<sup>153</sup>



ILL. 76 *Abiyasa (Wayang Story of Abiyasa)*. Javanese, Purbalingga, Central Java, undated but before AD 1874. UBL Cod.Or. 2193, 33 × 20.5 cm., 150 pages, opening pages and pages 150–151.<sup>154</sup>

Other illuminations may be found at the start of manuscripts and they display great variety and complexity. Consider the following examples.

<sup>153</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 826.

<sup>154</sup> Vreede 1892: 254; Pigeaud 1968: 84.





ILL. 77 *Wiwaha (Arjuna's Marriage)*. Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but before 1911. UBL NBG 234, 34.5 × 22 cm., 89 pages, opening pages.<sup>155</sup>



ILL. 78 *Raden Kasim (Poem of Raden Kasim on his Quest for Religious Knowledge)*. Madurese, Madura, undated but before 1892. UBL Cod.Or. 3156, 20 × 15 cm., opening pages.<sup>156</sup>

<sup>155</sup> Juynboll 1911: 83; Pigeaud 1968: 752.

<sup>156</sup> Vreede 1892: 415.





ILL. 79 Cērita Samun (*Tale of Samun*). Sundanese, West Java, undated. PNRI SD 187, 32.9 × 21.3 cm., 185 inscribed pages, opening pages.<sup>157</sup>

PHOTOGRAPHED BY MUNAWIR HOLIL.

Of course, a number of *Qur'ān* manuscripts from Indonesia also has illuminated opening pages. Every region has its own specific style which may be consulted in the publications of Asep Saefullah, Syatri, Yunardi, Abdul Hakim, Syaifuddin, and especially Ali Akbar and Annabel Teh Gallop listed in the bibliography to this book. The book *Ragam Mushaf Al-Qur'an Kuno Nusantara* merits special attention. It was published in 2015 for an exhibition on the occasion of the Mukhtamar NU no. 33 in Jombang, East Java and different illuminations from various areas of Indonesia were included.<sup>158</sup> Another book, *Khazanah Mushaf Al-Qur'an Nusa Tenggara Barat* edited by Ali Akbar and published in 2016 is likewise very important for the variety of *Qur'ān* illuminations it contains from Lombok. Illustrations 80 and 81 show manuscripts from Java; illustration 82 is an example from Madura.

<sup>157</sup> Berhrend 1998: 310; Holil 2016: 27.

<sup>158</sup> It was published by the Lajnah Pentashihan Mushaf Al-Quran, Badan Litbang dan Diklat, Kementerian Agama RI. See also the illustrations in Saefullah 2005 and 2007, and Saefullah and Islam 2009.





ILL. 80 Qur'ān. Arabic, Karangrejo, Wonokromo, Central Java, dated AD 1879. Collection Bayt al-Qur'an & Museum Istiqlal, Taman Mini Indonesia Indah 0065/2000, 32.5 × 20.5 cm. PHOTOGRAPHED BY ALI AKBAR.



ILL. 81 Qur'ān. Arabic, Karangrejo, Wonokromo, Central Java, dated AD 1879. Collection Bayt al-Qur'an & Museum Istiqlal, Taman Mini Indonesia Indah 0065/2000, 32.5 × 20.5 cm. PHOTOGRAPHED BY ALI AKBAR.





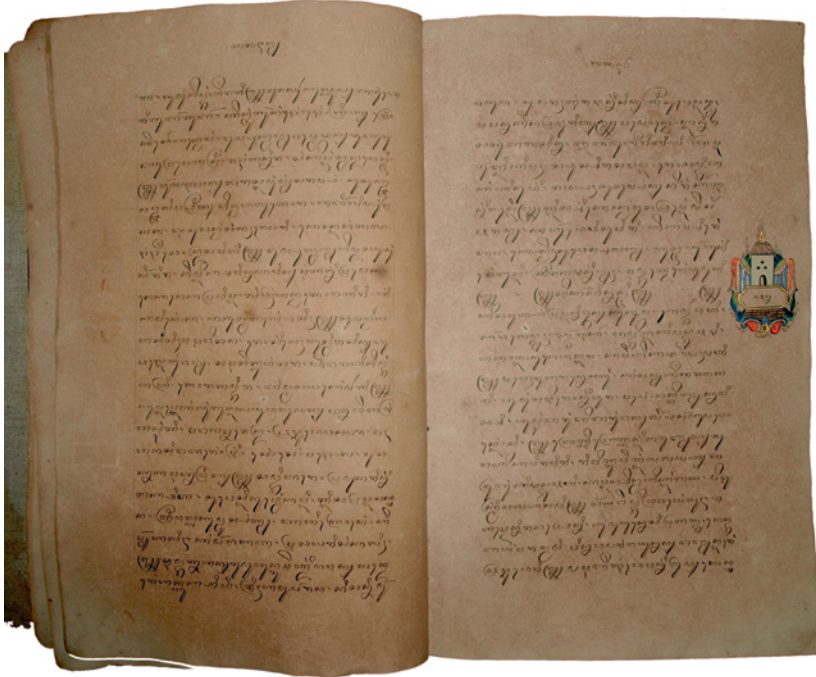
ILL. 82 Qur'ān. Arabic, Bangkalan, Madura, East Java, dated around 1900. Collection Art Gallery of South Australia 2017A33(a&b), Adelaide, d'Avergne Boxall Bequest Fund 2011, 43 × 29 cm., 2 volumes 104 and 95 pages, volume one pages 50 and 51. PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE ART GALLERY OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

### *Rubrications and Other Decorative Adornments*

Other adornments in manuscripts concern rubrications.<sup>159</sup> They may be found in the margins but also within the body of the text. Sometimes it is not clear why these rubrications have been put in the text but they may indicate parts of the text that are of particular interest.

<sup>159</sup> For other examples see Berhend 1996: 197, Saktimulya (ed.) 2005 and 2013: 77–81, and Saktimulya 2016: 194–213 who offers a detailed description and explanation of many rubrications from manuscripts from the Pakualaman in Yogyakarta.



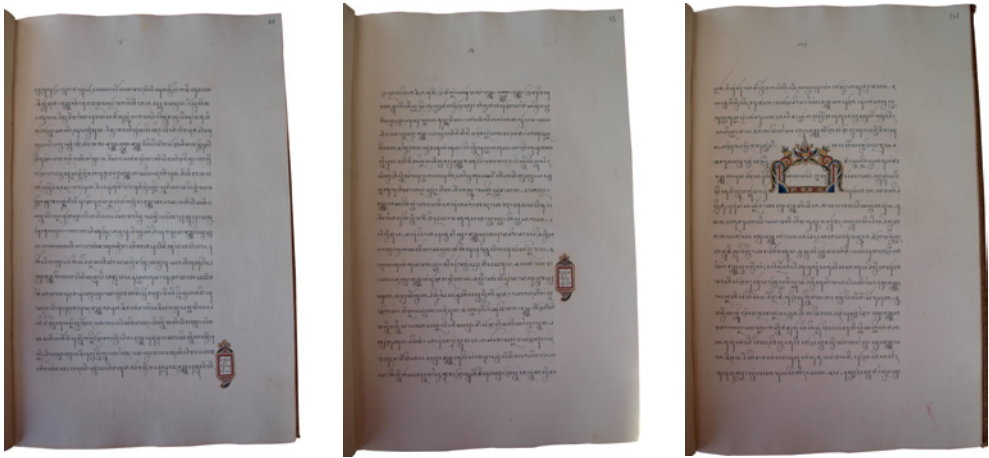


ILL. 83 Sĕrat Prataka (*Romance of Jaka Prataka*, volume III). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AD 1894. PDS H.B. Jassin 899 221 091 Pra S, 33 × 20.2 cm., 468 pages, pages 163 and 164.



ILL. 84 Sĕrat Prataka (*Romance of Jaka Prataka*, volume III). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AD 1894. PDS H.B. Jassin 899 221 091 Pra S, 33 × 20.2 cm., 468 pages, pages 1545 and 1546.





ILL. 85 Babad Pakualaman (*Chronicle of the Principdom Pakualaman*). Javanese, Pakualaman, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1727 = AD 1800. UBL KITLV D Or. 15, 43 × 29 cm., 25 + 156 pages, pages 68, 88 and 168.

### Commissioned Manuscripts

Texts are often academically edited without too much attention being paid to the fact that some manuscripts originate from a living textual tradition while others were commissioned for and/or by scholars from Indonesia and abroad or had been written by these scholars themselves. During colonial times, the Dutch and others had these copies made to add to their manuscript collections for study.<sup>160</sup> These “scientific copies”<sup>161</sup> may have been written on paper or on the same material as the original manuscripts such as *lontar*. Commissioned manuscripts on *dluwang* I have never come across. These manuscripts are “not natural, organic products of Indonesian literary culture, but copies commissioned by scholars, or by institutions acting on their behalf, for specifically European purposes.”<sup>162</sup> These commissioned manuscripts were thus not made to have a role in the original context of the text, but have a completely different role in academic and other circles. In the words of Tim Behrend, such a (Javanese) manuscript “is thus a copy which, though produced from a living

<sup>160</sup> Sometimes information about this is added to a manuscript. For instance, manuscript J that Brakel used for his edition of the *Hikayah Muhammad Hanafiyyah* (Tale of Muhammad Hanafiyyah) states that “Moehammad Noerdin completed copying it in the house of Dr. G.A.J. Hazeu, Salemba, Jakarta August 27, 1907” (Brakel 1975: 78).

<sup>161</sup> Behrend 1988: 25.

<sup>162</sup> Behrend 1992: 26.



Javanese tradition, has never itself had a role within that tradition. It has instead been a Javanese artefact in a Dutch world.”<sup>163</sup> Nowadays, especially in Bali, manuscripts are still commissioned, or have been until recently, for instance, by the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali, the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja, the Pusat Kajian Lontar of Udayana University in Denpasar and other venues that want to possess texts on *lontar*.<sup>164</sup> These manuscripts are thus made by the people from the living tradition but meant to play a role outside that tradition as they are to be used for scholarly or other study purposes but may, of course, also be consulted by people from the culture for their own use. The exact relationship and the differences between these two groups of manuscripts has not yet been the topic of detailed research but may be important for our understanding of textual and especially manuscript traditions. Commissioned manuscripts are usually copied from existing ones with the intention of producing exact copies, or even ‘corrected’ or ‘adapted’ versions regardless of the requirements of the textual tradition the manuscripts come from. They may even have been commissioned to record texts of which no manuscripts exist but this has not been indicated in the manuscripts, so for these no original manuscript tradition is in evidence at all. These commissioned manuscripts can be consulted for textual study and as manuscripts in themselves, but not for the study of the original tradition of manuscripts and the texts they contain, as the relation between the text and that tradition is seriously disrupted and any conclusions on aspects of codicology and about the textual transmission of that tradition are out of the question. In addition, little research has been devoted to this subject, but I have doubts as to whether Behrend is right in his contention that “the copying proceeded in line with the transmissional dynamic of the Malay and Javanese traditions,”<sup>165</sup> if only because we do not know what exactly those traditions were and we have little knowledge of the demands made on the copyists in the original setting or in the scholarly setting in which these commissioned manuscripts were produced. Behrend also contradicts himself or points to different scholarly settings in his description of the Cohen Stuart (CS) copies collection in the National Library of Indonesia when he says “CS copies are clearly set in the tradition of Dutch philology, their goal being much like that of photocopying today: to get as

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<sup>163</sup> Behrend 1987: 55.

<sup>164</sup> Indonesian researchers in particular now tend to use these easily available copies rather than manuscripts that originated from the field and are preserved in Bali or in other collections in Indonesia or in the world. For example: Tim Penulis 1992–1993 on the *Kakawin Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.

<sup>165</sup> Behrend 1992: 27.



clear an image as possible of the text under scrutiny"<sup>166</sup> and thus I wonder if they were made according to the Malay or Javanese transmissional dynamics Behrend writes about. In Bali, present-day copying efforts are often inspired by government or semi-government projects intended to preserve the tradition from the outside rather than by the people in Bali themselves, many of whom happily resort to photocopying machines when they need a text.

The differences between commissioned manuscripts and those made under 'original' cultural circumstances may include the use of different writing materials (paper rather than *lontar* or *dluwang*), different writing agents, different use of punctuation marks (even adding punctuation marks where the original has none or employing an entirely different punctuation system), different ways of indicating canto and stanza divides, the addition of white lines and other modern ways of page make-up, a different balance between the paper size and the text block, and so forth and so on. We will see below that commissioned *lontar* manuscripts also differ from the 'real' ones.

In some cases, texts were not copied to be used for academic research but as presents for visiting dignitaries and others and may never have been intended to be read or used otherwise. Among many examples are the illustrated manuscript of the *Kidung Dampati Lalangon prasi* (The Diversion of the Spouses) that was presented to Governor General Jonkheer Mr. B.C. de Jonge when he visited Bali in 1935, which is illustrated in illustration 227 in Chapter Three and the beautifully illustrated manuscript of a *pawukon* presented to Mr. Bernasco in 1969, as discussed in Chapter Eight and illustrated in illustration 389.

Apparently, there was not only a one-way donation of manuscripts from Indonesians to foreigners but gifts were also made in the reverse direction. This may be seen from the description of manuscript W.78 in the collection of the Kawedanan Agung Punakawan Widya Budaya in the Karaton Yogyakarta containing the *Babad Ngayogyakarta: Hamengkubuwana I Dumugi Hamengkubuwana III* (Chronicle of Yogyakarta: Hamengkubuwana I up to Hamengkubuwana III) which was "Donated to His Highness Sultan VIII on the nineteenth of September by W. Hasselman."<sup>167</sup>

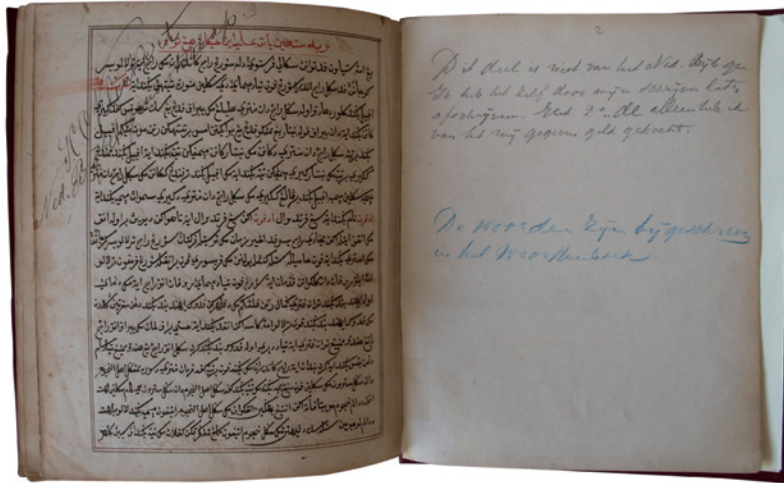
Occasionally, the information that a manuscript is a commissioned copy is clearly stated in the manuscript as in illustration 86. The text on the right-hand page reads: "This volume is not owned by the Bible Society. I had it copied by

<sup>166</sup> Behrend 1992: 31.

<sup>167</sup> "Op den 19 Sept. 1930 aangeboden aan Zijne Hoogheid Sultan VIII door W. Hasselman." Lindsay, Soetanto and Feinstein 1994: 112.



my clerk. With the money I was given I purchased the second part only. The words have already been included in the dictionary.”<sup>168</sup>



ILL. 86 Hikayat Hang Tuah (*Tale of Hang Tuah*). Malay, dated between AD 1864 and 1867 (?). UBL NBG Kl. 4a, 20.5 × 16.5 cm., 330 pages, opening pages.<sup>169</sup> Klinkert's signature and the words 'Nederlandsch Bijbelgenootschap' (Dutch Bible Society) have simply been written over the text.

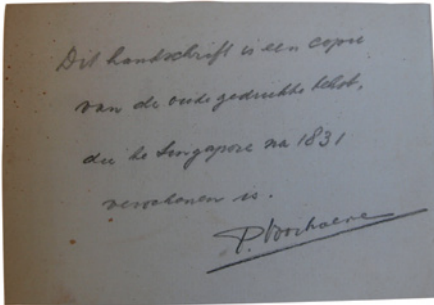
There is something tricky about these manuscripts because it may happen that, for instance in Bali, someone copies a commissioned manuscript to be used again in the 'original' tradition. We should therefore be careful with definitive statements. We have to assume that anything is possible. It may serve to mention here that I Nengah Tinggen, a highly respected and nationally decorated Balinese *kakawin* scholar, used Kern's edition of a *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* from Java that was published in The Hague in Holland in 1900 when he wrote his book on the basics of *kakawin* practice (Tinggen 1988, third edition 2004) and he thus put this Leiden scholarly work back into the Balinese tradition. That Kern's book was already incorporated in the Balinese tradition is illustrated by the copy on *lontar* preserved in the Gedong Kirtya Library in Singaraja (IVB/12/1102).

168 Dit deel is niet van het Bijb. Gen. Ik heb het zelf door mijn schrijver laten afschrijven. Het 2e deel alleen heb ik van het mij gegeven geld gekocht. De woorden zijn bijgeschreven in het woordenboek.

169 Van Ronkel 1921: 7; Iskandar 1999: 703.



Also in the case of Malay texts this happened as stated by D. Lenting as early as 1846. He thought he had acquired a second manuscript of the *Hikayat Sultan Ibrahim* (Tale of Sultan Ibrahim) but he soon discovered that “this was probably a handwritten copy of the printed text.”<sup>170</sup> Sometimes catalogers or some member of the library staff provide the information in the manuscript that it is a copy of a printed text, as in illustration 87.



ILL. 87

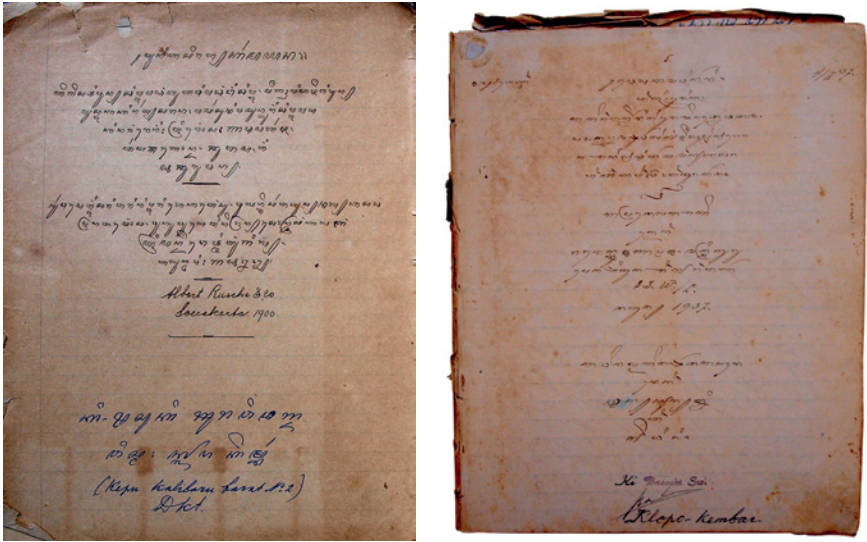
Sejarah Melayu (*Malay Chronicles*). Malay, latter part of the 19th century. UBL NBG Kl. 5, 20.5 × 17 cm., 446 pages. The text reads:<sup>171</sup> “This manuscript is a copy of the old printed text that was published in Singapore after 1831. P. Voorhoeve.”

Manuscripts that are exact or almost exact copies of printed works deserve special mention. The two examples in illustration 88 were apparently written by or for Ki Basuki Surawidagda and mention Wisma Klop Kembar as the place of residence of the owner or the copyist. The second has a stamp of Ki Basoeeki Swi while in Latin script the name Klop Kembar has been added. This might mean that both copies come from the same collection but looking at the handwriting they were not written by the same individual. The first illustration shows the cover of a handmade copy of a printed edition of the *Sĕrat Karmayana* (Buddhist Philosophy) published by Albert Rusche & Co in 1900. The second shows the cover of a handmade copy of the *Sĕrat Wedhatama Winarni* (Didactic Poem written by Mangkunagara IV) published by Tan Koen Swie in Kediri in 1937.

<sup>170</sup> “[...] dat dit vermoedelijk slechts een afschrift van het gedrukte was.” Lenting 1846: iii.

<sup>171</sup> *Dit handschrift is een copie van de oude gedrukte tekst, die te Singapore na 1831 verschenen is. P. Voorhoeve.* Van Ronkel 1921: 40; Iskandar 1999: 703.





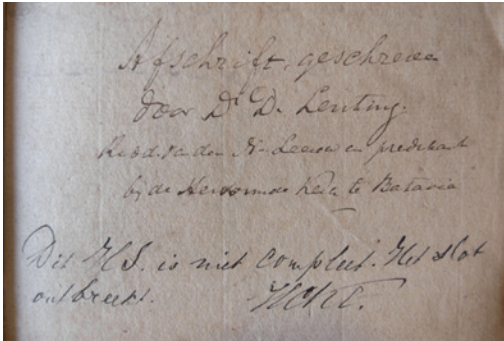
ILL. 88 Sĕrat Karmayana (*Buddhist Philosophy*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, first half of the twentieth century. PC, 21,5 × 17 cm., 97 pages. Sĕrat Wedhatama Winarni (*Didactic Poem written by Mangkunagara IV*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, first half of the twentieth century after 1937. PC, 21,5 × 17 cm., 146 pages.

### **Scholarly Copies in the Original Script**

A special kind of manuscripts concern copies of texts made by foreign scholars in the original script for scholarly or study purposes. It is not always clear if the copy of, for instance, a Malay text was written by a clerk in the employment of a foreign scholar or written by the scholar himself. Sometimes information on this issue may be found in the manuscript, but by no means always. The fact that the manuscript in illustration 90 has only been written on one side of the page rather than on both may make us suspicious. Illustration 89 shows a manuscript written by D. Lenting in the nineteenth century and it is now part of the NBG Klinkert collection in Leiden University Library. We know this because that information is written in the manuscript in Dutch. As the handwriting in NBG Kl. 33 that contains two texts, *Hikayat Nabi Musa Munajat* (Tale of the Prophet Moses's Ascent to Mount Sinai) and *Hikayat Nabi (Muhammad) mengajar anaknya Fatimah* (Tale of how the Prophet instructed his daughter Fatimah)<sup>172</sup> is the same then, because of this note, we may surmise that Lenting also wrote this manuscript. Only the recto sides of the leaves (when we look at the leaves from right to left rather than from left to right as the manuscript is written in *jawi*) have been used and it is written in the same hand and made for the same scholarly purposes.

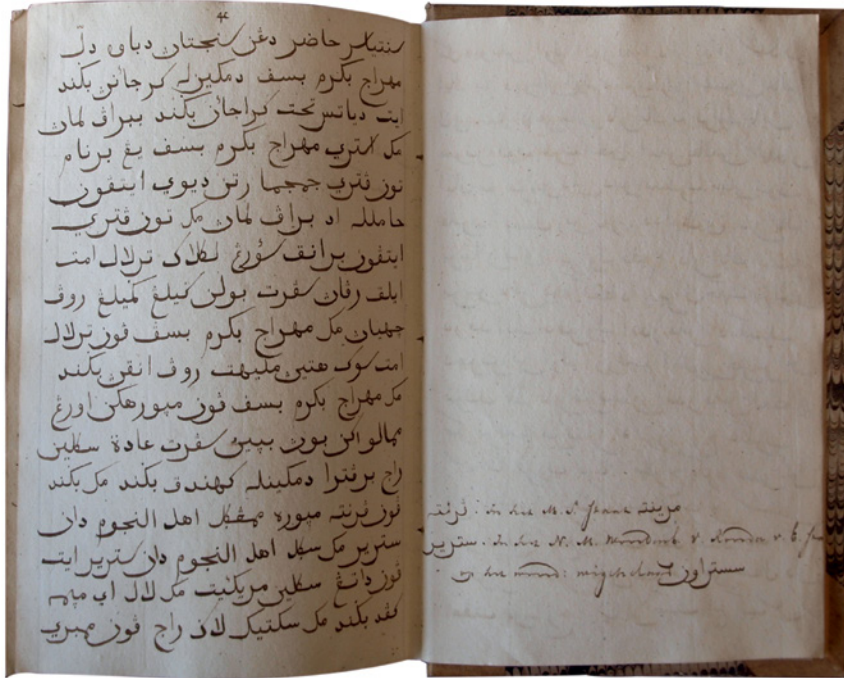
172 Van Ronkel 1921: 30, 35; Iskandar 1999: 714. The similarity in the handwriting was not noticed by Iskandar.





ILL. 89

Hikayat Indraputra (*Tale of Indraputra*). Malay, undated but first half of the nineteenth century. UBL NBG Kl. 2, 19 × 12 cm., 356 pages.<sup>173</sup> This statement is written before the text starts. The text reads:<sup>174</sup> "Copy made by Dr D. Lenting, Knight of the Dutch Lion and minister in the Dutch Reformed Church in Batavia. This manuscript is incomplete. The end is missing. HCKL[inkert]."



ILL. 90 Hikayat Indraputra (*Tale of Indraputra*) (*Tale of Indraputra*). Malay, undated but first half of the nineteenth century. UBL NBG Kl. 2, 19 × 12 cm., 356 pages, page 4.<sup>175</sup> Only the recto sides of the pages of this manuscript have been inscribed and the verso sides (when looked at from right to left as is necessary with manuscripts in Arabic or Arabic-derived script) were left empty to be used for scholarly notes.

<sup>173</sup> Van Ronkel 1921: 7; Iskandar 1999: 702.

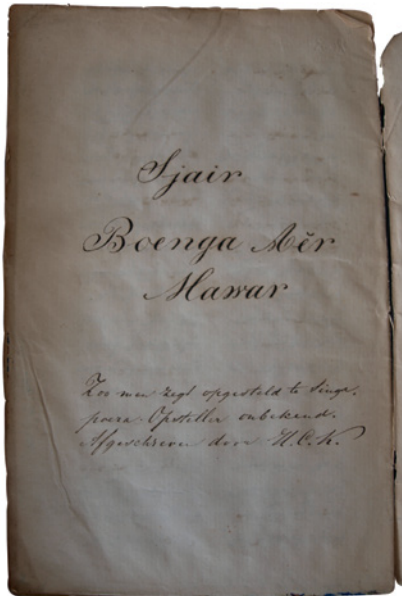
<sup>174</sup> "Afschrift geschreven door Dr. D. Lenting Ridd. van den N. Leeuw en predikant bij den Hervormde Kerk te Batavia. Dit handschrift is niet compleet. Het slot ontbreekt. HCKL."

<sup>175</sup> Van Ronkel 1921: 7; Iskandar 1999: 702.

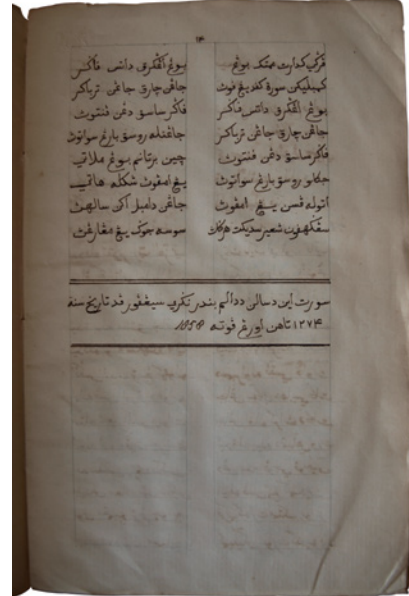


Klinkert himself also copied manuscripts in the original *jawi* script as may be seen in illustration 91 of the *Syair Bunga Air Mawar* (Poem of the Rose).

The practice of writing manuscripts in the original script by foreigners is apparently quite old. Farouk Yahya mentions a manuscript of the *Hikayat Yusuf* (Tale of the Prophet Joseph) dated 1 October 1604 (Cambridge University Library, Dd. 5. 37) that was written in *jawi* script by the Dutch merchant Pieter Willemsz. van Elbinck, probably in Aceh.<sup>176</sup>



The title is provided in an old Dutch spelling for Malay while the Dutch text says: "It is said that it has been written in Singapore. Author unknown. Copied by H.C.K.[linkert]."



The colophon at the bottom at the end of the manuscript reads: "This book has been copied in the port of Singapore in the year 1264 or in the year of the white men 1858."<sup>177</sup>

- ILL. 91 *Syair Bunga Air Mawar* (Poem of the Rose). Malay manuscript dated AH 1274 = AD 1858. UBL Klinkert 186, 21 × 13.5 cm., 14 pages, page 24.<sup>178</sup>

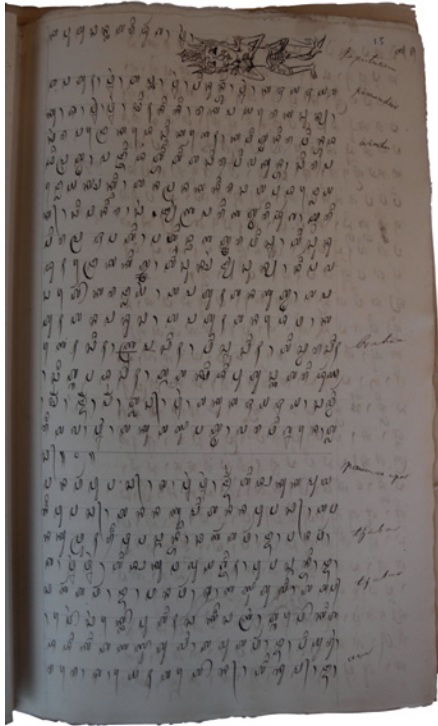
176 Farouk Yahya 2016: 45–46 with illustration.

177 *Surat ini disalin di dalam bandar negeri Singapura pada tarikh sanat 1264 tahun orang putih 1858.*

178 "Zoo men zegt opgesteld te Singapoera. Opsteller onbekend. Afschreeven door H.C.K."



In other traditions in the archipelago foreigners also busied themselves with manuscripts. The most obvious example is Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk who made copies of Balinese and Old Javanese texts in the original script during his stay in Bali in the nineteenth century as may be seen in illustration 92. This manuscript contains notes on exorcism in Balinese and in Balinese script and was written by Herman Neubronner van der Tuuk. Apparently he also copied *rajahan* (magical illustrations).



ILL. 92

*Balinese notes on exorcism. Balinese, Bali, late nineteenth century. UBL Cod.Or. 3916 (2), 34 × 20.5 cm., 8 folio, page 15.<sup>179</sup>*

### *Lending Libraries*

Manuscript copying is more diverse than the simple notion of copies made 'in the field' and copies made for people outside the 'original' setting. Some engaged in copying activities because they worked for or owned a lending library. Some research has been done in this particular field, especially with regard to Malay literature. Kratz published an article in 1977 about the lending library

179 Juynboll 1911: 338; Pigeaud 1968: 160.



run by the Palembang brothers Kemas Abdul Khamid bin Hasan and Kemas Ali bin Hasan in 1886. This was followed by Teuku Iskandar in 1981, Chambert-Loir in 1984, 1991 and 2009, and Braginsky in 2002 who all discussed lending libraries in Jakarta.

Teuku Iskandar makes the interesting observation that in the Riau region of Indonesia and in Malaysia no lending libraries are known to have existed.<sup>180</sup> Apparently it was an urban phenomenon where manuscripts seem to have been used for entertainment.

Behrend talked of a lending library in Semarang and the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen purchased three manuscripts from this library (*Sěrat Menak Cina* (The Teachings of the King of China to his Daughter), *Panji Dewakusuma Kěmbar* (Romance of Panji Dewakusuma Kěmbar) and *Babad Mataram* (Chronicle of the Realm of Mataram), now KBG 18–20 in the National Library of Indonesia).<sup>181</sup> Behrend and Pudjiastuti mention another manuscript, *Sěrat Menak Gandrung dumugi Menak Kandhabumi* (Romance of Menak Amir Hamza from Menak Gandrung to Menak Kandhabumi) (University of Indonesia Library, NR 536) that was from a lending library that operated in the Semarang area at the end of the nineteenth century and that was possibly Chinese-owned.<sup>182</sup>

Another example, this time from Ambarawa, Central Java, concerns a Javanese manuscript of the *Babad Cina* (Chronicle of China) (Private collection) On the first page is written in Malay:<sup>183</sup>

Respectfully. Those of you who wish to borrow this book of the history of Cina Tjap Pee Lo Wan Ong, please take care not to damage it – and do not lend it to others. Whoever reads this book of Tiang Seng Paet Lo, may you be well and gain much profit. Ambarawa, 19 October 1901.

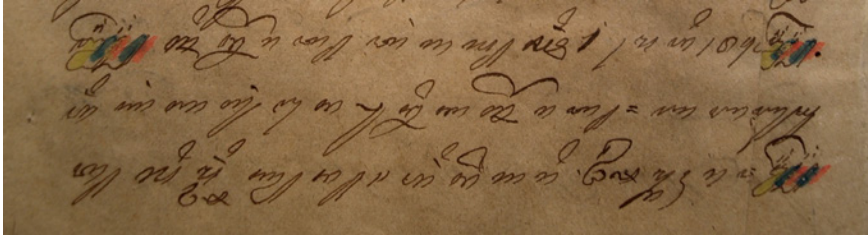
180 Iskandar 1981: 145.

181 Behrend 1998: 171.

182 Behrend and Pudjiastuti 1997: 177.

183 “Dengan Hormat. Hoendjoek bertaoe soedara soedara njang soeka pindjim inie boekoe lajang watjan Babatnja Nagri Tjina Tjap Pee Lo Wan Ong saja moehoen djangan bikin sam-pee roesak = en djangan kasee pidjim lain lain orang = siapa njang batja ini boekoe tiang seng paet lo. Slamet dengan banjak oentoeng. Ambarawa din 19 october 1901.”





ILL. 93 Babad Cina (*Chronicle of China*). Javanese, Ambarawa, Central Java, dated AD 1898. PC, 33 × 20.5 cm., 760 inscribed pages. The last part of the last page contains the colophon:<sup>184</sup> "Written on 1 May 1898. The owner of the manuscript is great-grandfather Lim Ing Kyan from Ambarawa." As is indicated by the information provided at the start of the manuscript, the scribe originated from Jepara.

### Personal Manuscripts

Manuscripts of this category have not yet been studied in depth but I think they deserve particular attention. They contain what people thought worthwhile recording and they are therefore of a delightfully unpredictable nature. They contain information on Islam and other religions and beliefs, philosophy, life lessons, often in combination with jottings on the births of family members, payments due and paid, recipes for medicines and food dishes, genealogical information, information on royal blood lines, and much other information that was apparently worth remembering such as traffic signs and the pronunciation of the numerals from one to ten in different languages. As other studies are lacking I can only present a few examples here.

The first example is a tiny notebook that contains genealogical information but also addresses of friends and family and recipes for cures and so on. Interestingly, all genealogical information in the manuscript was written in Javanese script with the exception of these two pages which were written in Latin script. Illustration 94a shows the layout of the burial grounds for the *trah* (descent group) of W. Sastradipraja. Note that because of the thin paper, the ink shows through from the reverse pages. Illustration 94b contains notes on how to peel potatoes, that rice burned during cooking is a good medicine against vomiting and what to give a child when it throws up and has stomach problems.

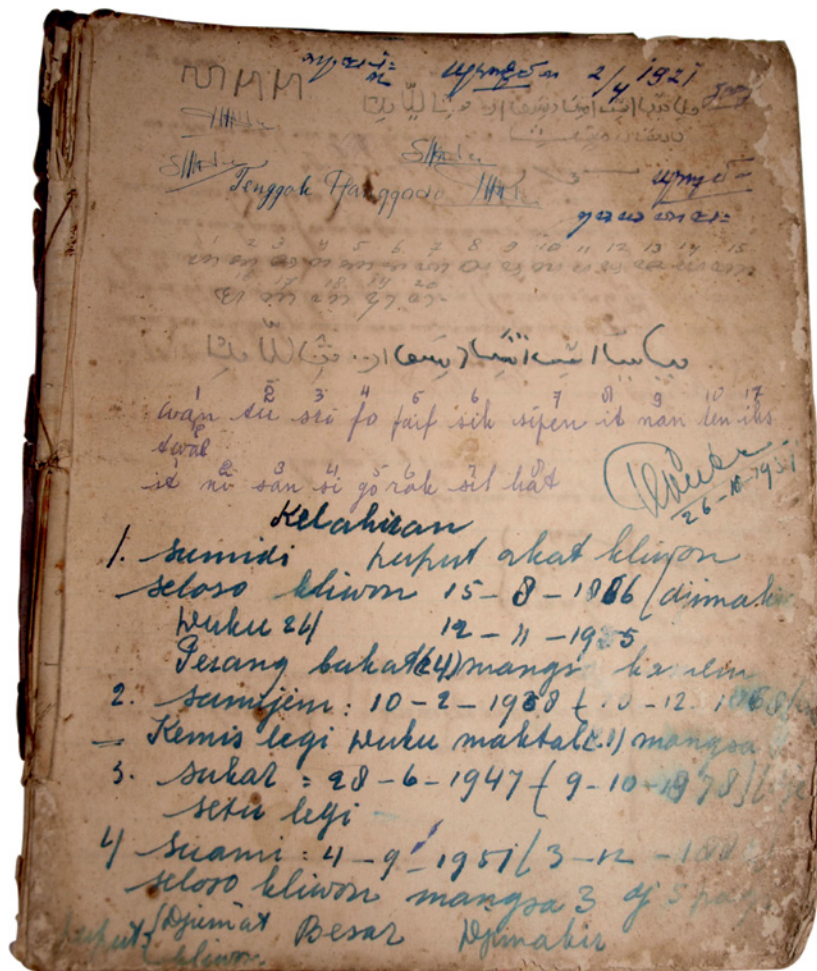
184 "sinĕrat tanggal ing 1 mei 1898. ingkang kagungan punika sĕrat, baba buyut lim ing kyan. ing nĕgari ambahrawa."





ILL. 94 Tiny notebook from R. Soehodo Hodowidigdo (Born Ngasem 12 May 1919) containing genealogies and other information. Yogyakarta, 1970s. PC, 10.5 × 8.2 cm., 110 pages, pages 26 and 27.





ILL. 95 Book of notes. Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but from the first half of the twentieth century. PC, 21 × 16.5 cm., 35 pages. Example of a page from a manuscript containing a variety of information for personal use. It has Islamic text in Arabic script, the Javanese alphabet, counting in English and Japanese. The names and dates of the births and deaths of the children of the owner have been added to the lower part of the page. It also has try-outs of signatures and a variety of other jottings.







was written between 16 October 1991 and 7 December 1992. The bound volume is at present in the Bayt al-Qur'an & Museum Istiqlal in Taman Mini Indonesia Indah in South Jakarta.<sup>185</sup> The example in illustration 97 is a large *Qur'ān* on display in the Grand Mosque of Central Java in Semarang. It was written by Drs. Hayat from the Universitas Sains Al-Quran (Unsiq) in Wonosobo, Central Java who took two years and three months to make it. It measures  $145 \times 95$  cm. and was received by the mosque on 26 October 2005.



ILL. 97 Large handwritten Qur'ān on display in the Grand Mosque of Central Java in Semarang.

Large manuscripts may also be found in Minangkabau in West Sumatra. For instance, a manuscript containing the *Silsilah Keturunan Kerajaan Inderapura* (Genealogy of the Kingdom of Inderapura) in the collection of the Inderapura royal family. It is written in Arabic, *jawi* and Latin scripts in Arabic and Malay and measures  $507 \times 57.2$  cm.<sup>186</sup> A large manuscript was also recently discovered in Lombok. It is a '*naskah sabuk*' or 'belt manuscript' written on a long strip of fabric. It was found in the village of Ketangga in East Lombok in 2003 and is no less than 11.43 meters long and 43 centimeters wide. It is written in Arabic script and deals with Islamic matters.<sup>187</sup> Illustration 98 is an example of a very small Malay manuscript of only  $4 \times 3$  cm.

185 Tim Penyusun, Shohib et al. 2010: 16.

186 Yusuf 2006: 93.

187 Sodri 2005: 2–3.





ILL. 98 *Tiny manuscript of the Mohor Nubuat (Seal of the Prophecy). Malay, undated. UBL Cod.Or. 8759, 4 × 3 cm., 82 folio, pages 24–25, and 74–75.<sup>188</sup>*

I have the impression that as time went by, paper manuscripts were produced on factory-made paper using standard measurements. Pre-lined exercise books available in shops had standard sizes as much of the paper was imported, for instance from Holland or other places in the world. We see over time that the variation in paper sizes diminished, especially in the modern era.

The size and quality of the paper may serve as an indication of the socio-cultural provenance of the manuscript. Expensive, large, hand-made water-marked paper manuscripts are usually found in elite circles whereas common school exercise books were mostly used by individuals from less exalted social levels. However, this information should be used with care because there is no hard and fast rule here.

The size of the paper is important, but also the size of the text block. Sometimes the paper may be large but the text occupies only a little space on that paper. The balance between paper size and text block size may reveal much of the origin and the use of the manuscript and should therefore be noted. A mismatch in this regard may also indicate that a manuscript was probably commissioned or rebound.

### ‘Authentic’ Manuscripts

Many a philologist or aspiring philologist, especially in Indonesia, may entertain the notion that a manuscript could be authentic and thus, by implication, could also be inauthentic. I think we might better avoid this notion as it adds to problems in our efforts to understand the tradition of the transmission of

<sup>188</sup> Iskandar 1999: 586.



texts in manuscripts. One of these dangers is that manuscripts of later dates or from dubious backgrounds may be discarded in favor of manuscripts deemed more authentic for whatever reason. For me, all manuscripts are authentic and the distinction is meaningless. It is a distinction that has led to curious consequences in editions made in the past. Supomo used authenticity as the first of four criteria in his selection of the ten manuscripts he used for his edition of the *Kakawin Arjunawijaya* (Arjuna's Victory).<sup>189</sup> Recent copies of other extant manuscripts can apparently not be authentic as he saw fit to exclude five manuscripts from his study based on this criterion. If this would be the case, almost all Balinese manuscripts should be excluded from text studies as most are relatively recent, and this begs the question as to what 'recent' actually means? Most, if not virtually all, manuscripts in collections are copies of other, extant or now lost manuscripts and thus, apparently, the copy part of the argument was not the issue, but the time of writing. That because of the methodology they use philologists may discard a copy of a known other copy is a useful tool in their trade but it does not mean that these discarded copies are not manuscripts in their own rights and as such worthy of study.

### 'Fake' Manuscripts

In 2006, Annabel Teh Gallop discussed the notion of 'fake' manuscripts in her presentation at the ASEASUK Conference in Oxford. Her paper was entitled "Fakes or fancies? Some 'problematic' Malay-world manuscripts." The idea of 'fake' was taken over by Edwin Wieringa in 2014 in his article in *Heritage of Nusantara*. Apparently, the *Qur'ān* manuscript the University of Cologne bought in 2012 should be considered a 'fake' as it has a 'misleading' appearance.<sup>190</sup> It transpired that the manuscript was assembled from various sources to make it more 'sellable' to the public which in this case worked well as the manuscript ended in no less a place than the Library of the University of Cologne (Cod. Malaialogie 001/2012).

In Lombok, a new brand of manuscripts emerged in the 1980s that were inscribed by untrained hands and only contained small parts of much larger works like the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*. These were obviously made for the tourist market. They were adorned with fancy wooden boards and meant to stand upright.

188 Supomo 1977: 83.

190 Wieringa 2014: 1.





ILL. 99 *Fake or tourist lontar manuscript from Lombok. Javanese, Lombok, undated but 1990s. PC, 2.8 × 22.5 cm., 41 inscribed leaves.*

These manuscripts are an enigma. On the one hand they should be seen as manuscripts because they contain handwritten text. On the other they are unusual because they were not meant to be read or used but were only produced to be sold for profit. This kind of manuscripts constitutes a new development and one wonders what other 'fake' manuscripts linger in libraries waiting to be 'exposed'.

### Manuscript Quality, Beautiful and Ugly Manuscripts

In terms of quality manuscripts differ greatly. Some are beautifully written and use expensive and durable material and they have been well preserved whereas others were made of cheap material and have been kept in much less favorable circumstances. *Lontar* manuscripts from palaces and priestly houses in Bali were often made on long, beautiful, thick, and well prepared *lontar* leaves which could stand the test of time, especially if they were preserved in the mini-acclimatized conditions of their own separate wooden boxes (*kropak*) (see Chapter Three). There is a great difference between the *lontar* manuscripts from Bali and the Balinese community in Lombok and those of other groups in Lombok that used *lontar* leaves of a much lesser quality which deteriorate much more quickly in the harsh tropical climate. Quality is something that may reveal the esteem people had for the text they wrote or tell us about the cultural and economic conditions of the writers or owners of these manuscripts, or simply of the availability of writing materials at the time the manuscripts were produced.

The social distribution of literacy in Bali in the past has been discussed at length by Raechelle Rubinstein in her magnificent book, *Beyond the Realm of the Senses*, published in 2000. She discussed accounts of foreign visitors and sojourners on the island and it transpired that in Bali and Lombok, up until the end of the nineteenth century, only Balinese people from certain castes<sup>191</sup> were allowed to possess, read, and copy particular kinds of texts. In

191 Simply said, Balinese society is divided into four castes: *Brahmana*, *Ksatriya* and *Wesya* (together making up the *Triwangsa*) and the *Jaba* (or outsiders).



his *Landsverordeningen van Bali and Lombok* (State Ordinances of Bali and Lombok),<sup>192</sup> Liefcrinck cited an edict issued by Agung Gede Ngurah Karangasem, the Balinese ruler of Lombok. In it the stipulations on *lontar* ownership are laid down. The three castes were allowed to have any text they wanted, but the casteless *jaba* were only allowed to have certain texts. *Kakawin*, *parwa*, *kidung* and other texts were for this reason not easily available for them to read or copy. They were allowed to own these texts, but only if a member of the *triwangsa* had given them to them. It is thus small wonder that texts like *kakawin* were written on beautiful *lontar* leaves as only the *wesya*, *ksatriya* and *brahmana* castes were allowed to have them and they were also the ones with money to spend. Another reason we do not have a large number of manuscripts of these texts from the casteless *jaba* community is that, because inferior material was used, they may have disappeared due to many reasons, including such factors as insect infestations and a climate distinctly hostile to the preservation of physical objects.

Quality also depends on use. Palace manuscripts with elaborate and beautiful illustrations and illuminations were probably seldom opened and thus tend to show less wear and tear than other manuscripts that have been used often under all sorts of circumstances in the field such as during rituals.<sup>193</sup> The first may be regarded as regalia manuscripts that stem from text traditions different from the second. Palaces may have had manuscripts for a variety of social and ritual purposes, but they probably also preserved manuscripts because they added to the prestige of the court. The palaces of Central Java house large collections of beautifully written and illuminated manuscripts. In the past, many of these have left the palaces and found their way to the National Library of Indonesia and to collections in such places as Leiden and London.

Of course not all manuscripts from royal or aristocratic families are beautiful, but no researcher on manuscripts can resist being pleased and marveling at the beauty of finely produced and well preserved manuscripts, and especially in the past, many are the denunciations in philological studies because manuscripts were crudely written or in a terrible condition. This having been said we have to bear in mind that manuscripts that are not aesthetically interesting should not be overlooked in manuscript studies, because they may reveal much about manuscript cultures and for philologists, indeed may contain the best texts. That, indeed, beautiful manuscripts do not necessarily contain accurate texts was, for example, revealed by a manuscript of a Javanese translation of the *Muntahī* by Hamzah Fansuri (collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 7736). Drewes and Brakel were at first favorably impressed by its fine

192 Liefcrinck 1915: I: 80–85.

193 On the use of ugly manuscripts in Thai Buddhist textual traditions see McDaniel 2008: 146ff.



writing but later discovered all kinds of flaws, especially in the Persian and to a lesser extent Arabic quotations which they considered “garbled almost beyond recognition.”<sup>194</sup> In Old Javanese manuscripts the same may be encountered. For instance, manuscript Br. 661 of the *Sārasamuccaya* (Compendium of High Ideals) in the collection of the National Library of Indonesia was describes as follows by Raghu Vira in his edition of the text of 1962 “The writing is clear and beautiful but the readings are horribly corrupt.”<sup>195</sup>

In Java, many manuscripts are exercise books that are often dirty, look unattractive and the script that is used in them often being hard to read. They are generally made for private purposes and written in an everyday hand. However, they contain the gist of what for the general Javanese people was important to believe, remember, and preserve. Although they are often crudely written and hard to understand, they nevertheless may ultimately be more important for our understanding of Javanese daily life than a beautiful copy of a well-known text.



ILL. 100 Parimbon Jawi Isi Rupi-Rupi Pathi 24 Juli 1900 (*Book of Assorted Notes, Pathi. 24 July 1900*). Javanese, Pati, Central Java, dated 1900. PC, 22 × 16.5 cm., 44 pages. Two pages of a manuscript using exercise book paper. The ink is eating its way through the paper and the picture of the anthropomorphic figure on the page on the left is actually on the reverse side of the leaf.

PHOTOGRAPHED BY DANKER PEEMAN.

194 Drewes and Brakel 1986: 252.

195 Raghu Vira 1962: 1.



### Numbers of Manuscripts, Popularity of Texts

In the case of some texts manuscripts are rare and only a few of them are available for study. This is the case with various *kakawin*, among them the *Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarṇana*, *Kṛṣṇāyana*, and *Pārthayajña* (Pārtha's Sacrifice). For the longest time only the manuscript of the *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarṇana* from the Cakranagara Palace in Lombok was available for study and scholars concluded that no others existed. They were proven incorrect when Hedi Hinzler and Jan Schoterman published their discovery of two other manuscripts of the text they had found in Bali,<sup>196</sup> one in the Griya Punya Sidemen and the other in the possession of Ida Bagus Made Puniya of the Griya Pidada in Amlapura while yet another manuscript was rumored to exist.<sup>197</sup> Similarly, the Balinese *Kidung Dampati Lalangon* was long considered to have been transmitted through one manuscript only. Also this proved to be erroneous and more manuscripts have appeared.<sup>198</sup> Conversely, manuscripts of other texts are ubiquitous as many of them are preserved in public, semi-public and private collections in and outside the original culture from which they stem. One instance is the *Sērat Yūsuf* (Poem of the Prophet Joseph) of which numerous *lontar* manuscripts are kept in almost all collections of Indonesian manuscripts throughout the world. Their large numbers may be explained by the fact that, for instance in Madura, passages of this text were sung or recited by young men, often from manuscripts they had written themselves. As each participant had to bring his own manuscript, copies of the *Sērat Yūsuf* abound.<sup>199</sup> A similar situation seems to have been the case with the *Rēngganis* (Romance of Rēngganis, Princess of Jamintoran, part of the Menak Amir Hamza Cycle) and especially the *Puspakrama* (Romance of the Prince of Puspakrama) from Lombok which was the most 'popular' text on the island and of which hundreds of manuscripts exist as the text was sung for a variety of ritual purposes. Other reasons for the presence of large numbers of manuscripts for particular texts concern texts people have to copy themselves as one of the requirements to be accepted into a Muslim Sufi Brotherhood (*tarekat*) as is the case in Madura. These examples offer some insight into the fact of why there are so many

196 Hinzler and Schoterman 1979.

197 Interestingly, this text which, according to Supomo (1972: 281), "probably was not considered an important work in those days" (he means, when it was written) has been edited and/or translated no less than nine times in Dutch, Russian, English and Indonesian. Van der Meij 2011a: 329.

198 Van der Meij 2011c.

199 Pigeaud 1975: 74.



manuscripts of a particular text but their presence seems to have little to do with the popularity of the texts they contain.

The availability of a large number of manuscripts does not necessarily point to the popularity of the text and, conversely, the fact that few manuscripts of a text exist does not automatically mean that that text was unpopular. The crucial question here is, of course, what is meant by 'popular.' I have never found any notion in the field that texts were ever considered 'popular.' There may be so many reasons why manuscripts do or do not survive the ages that any conclusion about text popularity based on the unpredictable availability of manuscripts, especially in public collections, is hazardous. A particular text may have been extremely popular but virtually no manuscripts have survived precisely because of that popularity. In such a case nobody bothered to keep a copy as everybody else already had one. They may have used cheap, poor quality materials and may not have been preserved in libraries simply because people forgot to store them there.

Another reason why we may find large numbers of manuscripts of a text or of a genre of texts is that the texts have a specific function in society. In Bali, for instance, there are thousands of manuscripts on traditional medicine and witchcraft but we may hardly conclude that because of that these subjects should be considered popular.

A more fundamental reason why it is hazardous to speak of popularity for texts is because we know little of the manuscript collection policies of libraries in the world. The manuscripts they have are more reflective of the private proclivities of collection owners and library staff and do not necessarily reflect manuscript conditions in the field at the time they were collected or at any other time.<sup>200</sup> We do not know if manuscripts may have been offered for inclusion in libraries but were refused because they were too expensive, the purchasing budget had already been exhausted for that year, or for other reasons. Perhaps they may also not have contained the texts the library staff itself happened to be interested in at the time they were offered for purchase. Fashion in text studies may also have guided purchasing dynamics and researchers (or their heirs) may have donated or sold the manuscripts they had of a text they happened to have studied. In short, especially with the dearth of information on private collections still 'out there' it is extremely hard to say anything about manuscript collections and thus about popularity. I fear that public manuscript collections only partially reflect the manuscript reality at present or in the past.

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200 On this, see also Van der Meij 2008: 361.



### Collective Volumes

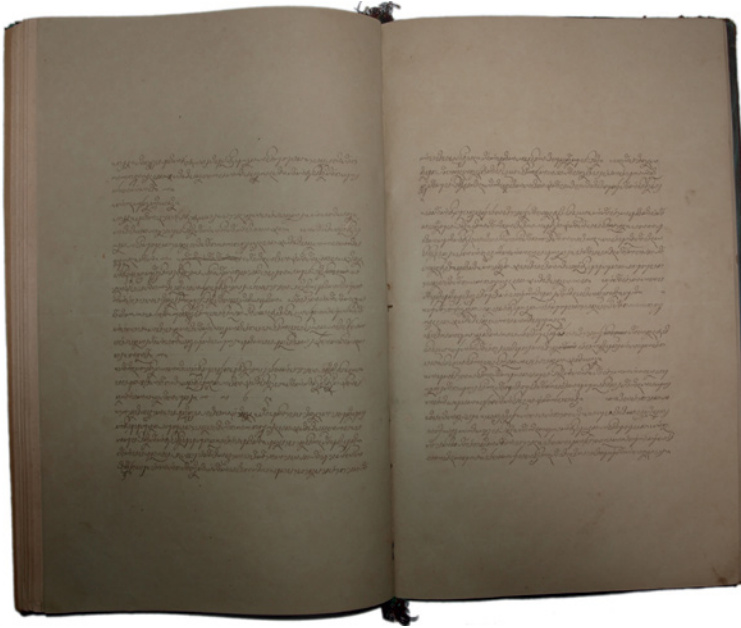
Many manuscripts in the Indonesian world contain one text but countless others contain more than one. These may be different texts but they may also be two 'copies' of the same text in a single codex such as the example in illustrations 101 and 102 which concerns two versions of the same collection of agreements between the Karaton Yogyakarta and the Dutch and the English up to around 1830. Interestingly, the first text is the neatly written version on expensive paper of the second text which is written in a hasty hand on much less expensive paper, but both bound in one leather binding.



ILL. 101 *First text. Prajangjian ingkang Sinuwun Kangjèng Sultan Hamengkubuwana (Agreements of His Majesty Sultan Hamengkubuwana etc.). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but from the first half of the twentieth century. PC, 34 × 21 cm., and 34 × 20.6 cm., 94 + 55 inscribed pages, pages 2 and 3.*

Little research has come to my attention that studied the relationships between multiple texts in the same codex. If more than one text is encountered in a manuscript, this information is not always mentioned in editions. This is a pity because it may well be that there is a reason why different texts have been put into one manuscript.





ILL. 102      *Second text. Prajangjian ingkang Sinuwun Kangjĕng Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana (Agreements of His Majesty Sultan Hamengkubuwana etc.). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but from the first half of the twentieth century. PC, 34 × 21 cm., and 34 × 20.6 cm., 94 + 55 inscribed pages, pages 1 and 2.*

The example of the longest-known single manuscript of the Old Javanese *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarṇana* is exceptionally interesting. We tend to talk about the *lontar* manuscript of the *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama* (former collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 5023 which was returned to Indonesia in 1975 and now has the class-mark 000 NB 9 in the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta). The manuscript indeed contains the *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama* but it contains much more. It contains no less than 11 *ka-kawin*: 1. *Kakawin Lubdhaka Śiwa Rātri* (Lubdhaka's Observance of the Night of Śiwa) (leaves 1–28); 2. *Kakawin Kuñjarakarṇa* (Buddhist Edifying Tale of Kuñjarakarṇa) (leaves 29–62); 3. *Kakawin Jinarti Prakĕrti* (Buddhist Praise of the Tathāgata) (leaves 63–67); 4. *Kakawin Kĕrta Samaya* (Edifying Moralistic Kakawin) (leaves 67b–91b); 5. *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarṇana* (leaves 92–135b); 6. *Kakawin Nirārtha Prakĕrta* (Moralistic-didactic Poem) (leaves 137–144); 7. *Kakawin Sangu Sĕkar* (Flower as Companion) (leaves 144–153b); 8. *Kakawin Añang Nirārtha* (Nirārtha's Love Poems) (leaves 153b–155a); 9. *Kakawin Lambang Puṣpa* (Lyric Song of the Flower) (leaves 155a–157a); 10. *Kakawin*



*Añja-Añja Sañcaya Turida* (Ghost of Overwhelming Love) (leaves 155a–155b); and 11. *Kakawin Añja-Añja Sungsang* (Upside-down Ghost) (unfinished).

Curiously, in the catalog of the National Library of Indonesia, the manuscript is listed under the designation *Nagarakertagama lan sanesipun* (*Nagarakertagama* and others)<sup>201</sup> and all the other texts have been omitted in the index which points to the fact that the other texts are apparently considered of less importance. This is, of course, untenable. All the texts in the manuscript are equally important. As far as I know, no research has ever addressed the question why these texts were put into one manuscript. Is it incidental that the *Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarṇana* is flanked by these other texts from both Hindu and Buddhist backgrounds and what does this mean for an edition of the text?<sup>202</sup>

In Bali, multiple manuscripts contain only the historical text *Usana Bali* (Sacred Chronicle of Bali) or the *Usana Jawa* (Sacred Chronicle of Java) although the second is rarer than the first. However, other manuscripts contain both plus the *Tēgēsing Bhuwana* (The Meaning of the Countries in the World) and/or the *Tutur Kramaning Aji Asta Kosali* (Traditional Architectural Practices and the Ritual Design and Construction of Buildings). It appears that a close relationship between these texts exists and that it is by no means accidental that manuscripts that contain all three texts exist.<sup>203</sup>

Also in the Muslim Javanese world, many manuscripts were produced that contain a variety of different texts. Manuscripts of this kind have been described by Pigeaud in his catalog of the Javanese manuscripts preserved in Leiden University Library and other public collections in the Netherlands. Compilations concern collections of *suluk* on mysticism (e.g. Cod.Or. 1795), Islam (e.g. Cod.Or. 3945) and a host of didactic and moralistic texts (e.g. Cod.Or. 1828).

Other manuscripts are composites and compilations of different texts centering on a single theme such as Cod.Or. 1853 in the collection of Leiden University Library. This manuscript contains seven versions of the *Paniti Sastra* (Didactic Moralistic Poem). Text one is in Old Javanese in Indian verse meters composed following the 18th century Central Javanese tradition. It is called the

201 Behrend 1998: 296.

202 Cod.Or. 5023 was actually not the only manuscript because there is a copy written on paper that is preserved as KITLV D Or. 350 in the Leiden University Library. The situation is in fact even more complicated as ms. Br. 493 of the National Library of Indonesia also contains the *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarṇana* written in Latin script. These manuscripts have never been mentioned in the editions I know of, however.

203 On these texts and their relationships see Creese 2016: 176–184, 189.



*Paniti Sastra Těmbung Kawi Sěkar Agěng* (Didactic Moralistic Poem in Large Poetic Meters) and was written by Prabu Widayaksa. The second is a word for word translation of this text in modern Javanese prose with commentary. Text three is a version in modern Javanese but in (quasi) Indian verse meters called *kawi miring* written by Raden Ngabehi Yasadipura dated 1798 and is the same as text four. Text five is the same text but in modern *macapat*<sup>204</sup> verse following a manuscript of the Winter collection. Text six is also a *macapat* version but written by Tumenggung Sastranagara and dated AD 1818, and finally text seven is a prose version written by Panji Puspawilaga and dated AD 1842.

Compilation manuscripts in prose include the manuscripts that contain the last four books (*parwa*) of the Old Javanese *Mahābhārata*: *Āśramawāsaparwa*, *Mosalaparwa*, *Prasthānikaparwa* and *Swargārohanaparwa*. These texts are seldom encountered in separate *lontar* manuscripts because they are rather short and often a collection of all four is simply called *Catur Parwa* (Four Parwa).<sup>205</sup> Curiously, five *lontar* manuscripts that contain only one of the four are kept in the library of the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali and this is probably because they were commissioned as such to abide by one of the library's rules which seems to stipulate that each *lontar* manuscript is to contain only one text. This may be concluded from the catalog of the collection in which no compilations are found.<sup>206</sup> This may be yet another example to show how manuscripts in the field and those commissioned for outside reasons may differ. Mention should be made as well of one manuscript that contains only the last two of these texts, which would seem unusual.

Many manuscripts clearly indicate where one text ends and where another starts. This is, however, far from always being the case and there are sometimes reasons for discussion if and where a new text starts. An example of a manuscript that contains two texts but has to be read all the way through in

204 On *macapat* see Chapter Six on verse.

205 Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 3134, 3889, 3909, 5030, 5033, 5034 (= BCB prft 60), 6443, CB 124 (Pigeaud 1967: 118), National Library of Indonesia KBG 561, 41 L 841a-d, 55 L 856, 55 L 857, 55 L 984, 64 L 962 (Behrend 1998: 534–535), a copy in the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali in Denpasar and a copy in a private collection all contain the four texts. Only one manuscript contains only two of the four Cod.Or. 3908: *Prasthānikaparwa* and *Swargārohanaparwa*, and the following only one: Cod.Or. 4078, Br. 522, *Āśramawāsaparwa*, Cod.Or. 4340, Br. 523 and 65 L 1023 *Mosalaparwa*, Br. 524 *Prasthānikaparwa*; and Cod.Or. 4532, Br. 525 *Swargārohanaparwa*.

206 *Mosala Parwa*, P/III/3/DISBUD, *Prastanika Parwa* P/III/6/DISBUD and P/III/7/DISBUD, *Suarga Rohana Parwa* P/IV/3/DISBUD, and *Asrama Parwa* P/V/2/DISBUD (spelling as in the catalogue).



order to discover this is the short biographical Malay *Syair Sunur* (Poem of the Biography of Daud Sunur from Pariaman, Minangkabau) written in the nineteenth century. Manuscripts usually contain two texts, the *Syair Sunur* and the *Syair Mekah dan Madinah* (Poem of Mekah and Medina) or *Syair Rukun Haji* (Poem on the Requirements Needed to Become a Full-Fledged Haji). In all these manuscripts, there is absolutely no indication whatsoever that one text has ended and the other has started, causing researchers to think that they were dealing with only one text.<sup>207</sup>

### Fragments of Other Texts in Manuscripts

There seems to have been a tradition for some manuscripts in Javanese from Lombok to start with a tiny fragment of a text other than the main text. For instance, texts that are sung during important rituals may be preceded by a tiny fragment of the *Sĕrat Jatiswara* to enhance the sanctity of the occasion in which the manuscript is sung.<sup>208</sup> This may be because the Sasak people considered this the most important text on the island and when the *Sĕrat Jatiswara* is read in combination with other texts it will be cited first.<sup>209</sup> This is what apparently also happened with the *Puspakrama* from Lombok. Cod.Or. 22.475 in the collection of Leiden University Library starts with one page of the *Sĕrat Jatiswara* and Behrend has a manuscript in his personal collection of the *Sĕrat Menak Amir Hamza* which is likewise preceded by one leaf with a fragment of the *Jatiswara*.

### Titles

One characteristic of many manuscripts is that they do not carry titles. Apparently, titles were not seen as important and thus they were not added. As a result, editors and catalog makers felt forced to provide titles to the texts they had to deal with. Often, the name of the protagonist or the first clear personal name is taken as the title as is the case, for instance, with the *Puspakrama*, *Cilinaya* (Romantic Panji Poem), *Joharsah* (Tale of Joharsah) and other texts from Lombok. The same holds for manuscripts from Bali. The fact that outsiders

<sup>207</sup> Suryadi 2002: 24–25.

<sup>208</sup> Wacana et al. 1985: 45.

<sup>209</sup> Supratno 1994: 7.



provide the manuscripts with titles leads to the curious situation that these texts are known under different names in the places from where they have come. For instance, the *Gita Yuddha Měngwi* (Song of the Battle of Mengwi) from Bali, which was composed in the late nineteenth century, is not known under that name in Bali but under the name *Kidung Nderet* (Song of Nderet). The way this manuscript got its name is quite a complicated story as Hedi Hinzler related in her introduction to the facsimile of this manuscript (collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 23.059).<sup>210</sup> In general, Hedi Hinzler cautions us about the titles of Balinese manuscripts: “When dealing with Balinese texts, one has to be very careful when giving titles; If *Usana Bali* is referred to, one has to check exactly which text is meant, and whether the title *Usana Bali* always stands for the same texts.”<sup>211</sup>

Many Old Javanese manuscripts from Bali, however, do carry titles. They are usually not found at the start of the manuscript but rather at the end and in order to find it we have to look for the expression *Iti* followed by the title of the text. To just mention one example from among thousands: *Ithi, twājñāṇa nirmalā, bhathara Nawaruci, hapusira hěmpu Śiwamūrtti*, “This is the holy *Twājñāṇā, Bhathara Nawaruci*, written by Mpu Śiwamūrtti” (Cod.Or. 4343).<sup>212</sup> Another expression used to introduce the title at the start or at the end of the text is *nihan*. Yet again one example from among many: *Nihan tatwa hajñana nirmmalā*, “Thus is the holy *Tattwajñāna*” (Cod.Or. 5372).<sup>213</sup>

It may happen that the title of the manuscript is not mentioned in the text but indications of the title are provided. They are usually added to the manuscript on the manuscripts’ covers, on separate pages preceding the text and by added tags that tell the title and so forth. More on this may be found in Chapter Eight.

## Multiple Titles

Quite a few texts carry more than one title or have more than one title assigned to them. Some examples are the *Nawaruci* which is also known as the *Tattwajñāna* or (incorrectly) *Bima Suci* (Bima’s Adventures in Search of the Water of Life). The *Kakawin Wṛttasañcaya* (Didactic Poem on Indian Prosody)

<sup>210</sup> Hinzler 1994: iii.

<sup>211</sup> Hinzler 1986: 126.

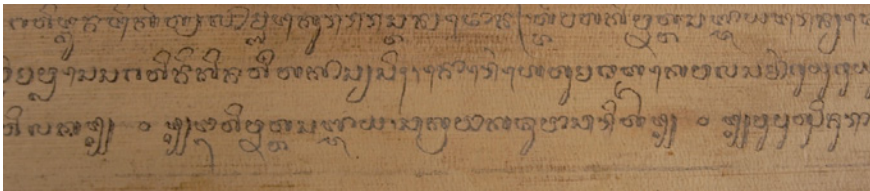
<sup>212</sup> Prijohoetomo 1934: 20.

<sup>213</sup> Prijohoetomo 1934: 21.



is known also as the *Cakrawakadūtacarita* (Tale of the Messenger Duck), the *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama* is also known as the *Kakawin Deśawarṇana* (Depiction of the Districts). *Kakawin* composed in Bali in the past also may have multiple names. For instance, the *Kakawin Candrabhairawa* (Candrabhairawa's Teachings) is also known under the name *Kakawin Dharmawijaya* (Dharma's Victory), the *Kakawin Irawantaka* (Irawan's Death) also has the title *Kakawin Pārthawijaya* (Pārtha's Victory), and the *Kakawin Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (Old Javanese poetic version of part of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*) is also known as the *Kakawin Prthuwigaya* (Prthu's Victory).<sup>214</sup> In modern times texts are provided with multiple titles as well. For instance, the *Kakawin Candra Banu* (Tale of Candra Banu), composed by I Made Degung and published in 2006, also carries the title *Kakawin Dharma Achedya* (Indivisible Dharma),<sup>215</sup> while *Sastra Panten* (Prose Treaty on Statecraft and Good Behavior) is the alternative name for the *Bagawan Indraloka* (Prose Treaty on Statecraft and Good Behavior).

The above are examples of dual titles but also even more titles may be given to a single text, for instance the *Sērat Cakrawarti* which is also known as the *Weddha-pratyana* and *Sērat Paramusita* (Poem written by Ronggowarsita). Illustration 103 shows the last page of the *Kakawin Wṛttasañcaya/Cakrawakadūtacarita*<sup>216</sup> in which both names are mentioned in the last line.



ILL. 103 *Kakawin Wṛttasañcaya* (*Didactic Poem on Indian Prosody*) or *Cakrawākadutācarita* (*Tale of the Messenger Duck*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1718 = AD 1796. UBL Cod.Or. 3712, 3.5 × 54 cm., 10 leaves, final leaf.<sup>217</sup>

214 These and other alternative names for *kakawin* composed in Bali may be found in Creese 1999.

215 Degung 2006: 277.

216 Note that in this manuscript the spelling is *Cakrawākadutācarita* rather than *Cakrawakadūtacarita*.

217 Juynboll 1907: 132; Pigeaud 1968: 130.



Naturally, these multiple titles give rise to discussion and argument. In the case of the *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarṇana* it is interesting that the manuscript ends by stating: *Iti Nāgarakṛtāgama* (Thus is the *Nāgarakṛtāgama*). However, since the text deals with a description of the kingdom Majapahit, Robson chose the second name *Deśawarṇana* as the title for his translation of the text he published in 1995. In 2009, I Ketut Riana used both names when he published his book *Kakawin Dēśa Warṇana uthawi Nāgara Kṛtāgama*. Robson explains the reasons he had chosen the name *Deśawarṇana*. The first was that it is the name used by the author which should not be passed over without good reason. The second reason is that he wanted to make some sort of break in the scholarly tradition of *Nāgarakṛtāgama* studies.<sup>218</sup> Interestingly, he did not include a translation of the colophon that is added to the work so that we cannot check from his book what the colophon had to say. In his 2009 book, I Ketut Riana included the Old Javanese text and the Indonesian translation of two colophons. For his edition he used a modern copy of the text made in 2005 which is kept in the Museum Mpu Tantular in Sidoarjo in East Java. The transliteration of the first colophon states: *Iti wawacan jawa dēśa warṇana samāptah, nāgarakṛtagama kaloktēng bhuh*. Its translation is: “Thus ends the Javanese story Dēśa Warṇana. Its popular name in the world is Nāgarakṛtāgama.”<sup>219</sup> The second colophon states: *Iti nnāgarakṛtāgama* “Thus is the Nāgarakṛtāgama.”<sup>220</sup> The discussion about the name of Prapañca’s work is not new and some of its history may be seen in C.C. Berg’s *Het Rijk van de Vijfvoudige Buddha* of 1962. Berg does not agree with the assignment of the name *Deśawarṇana* which he considers a pseudonym.<sup>221</sup>

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218 Robson 1995: 1.

219 Riana 2009: 458

220 Riana 2009: 459.

221 Berg 1962: 204-205.



## Access to Manuscripts

He now began to bring me palm-leaf books which he said had belonged to his father, who had been something of a seer and scholar as well as goldsmith. How this collection had come together I could not imagine, for the titles were strangely varied – The Laws of the Smith; The Creation of the World; Of Objects to be Buried on Building a Temple; Means of Detecting a Thief; The Tale of Birds Who Formed an Actors' Club. But I could make nothing of the texts, since they were in the old Kawi language, and I now made arrangements with Madé Gria, a scholar and dalang whom I already knew in Ubud, to come to the house a few days a week and translate into Malay these ancient writings that seemed to me so full of mystery.

COLIN MCPHEE *A House in Bali*<sup>1</sup>



Imagine the following scene. In 1993, I was with my friend, Lalu Gede Suparman, the expert *par excellence* on things Sasak, in a *griya* in Ampenan in West Lombok. A *griya* is the residence of a *pedanda*, a Balinese high priest. In West Lombok there is a population of about 60,000 Balinese and their society is comprised of all the castes we find in Bali, including priests. We were there to inquire about his manuscript collection in the framework of a project funded by the Ford Foundation. We did not previously know the priest.

A rather small person came up to us who behaved in a strange way and who started chatting in a kind of language that neither of us understood. I thought that this could not possibly be the priest. He was hopping around and we did not actually know where to look. After a while an old, thin, tall man arrived with his hair tied in a little knot adorned with a flower right on top of his head. He, of course, was the priest; the little man was his servant. How to address him? Being Sasak rather than Balinese, Lalu Gede Suparman did not know any Balinese and my Balinese was far from adequate. We started in Indonesian and after exchanging some pleasantries we asked him about his manuscript collection, if he had one.

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1 McPhee 2000: 94–95 (first published 1947).



We could see in a small cupboard in the room that manuscripts should be around, as written *lontar* leaves were spilling from it but the priest demurred and said he did not have any manuscripts and that our visit to his *griya* was therefore pointless. However, after some more time chatting about this, that and the other, he opened up to us and took us to a small pavilion somewhere at the back of his compound where his son showed us the most wonderful collection of *lontar kropak* manuscripts I had ever seen in private hands. Dismissively he said that he had some manuscripts but that his collection was only minor and deserved no special attention. For me his collection was what I had always dreamed of.

Why may this anecdote be of interest? It tells of a private collection of manuscripts and the difficulties we may encounter in order to get to see them. It tells of the suspicion the owner had towards us, people he did not know, and whose motives he was unable to fathom. He had no way of knowing whether we could be trusted.

This chapter is concerned with access to manuscripts in public, private and what I call semi-public (or semi-private if you like) collections and how they have been made accessible or what is being done to avoid accessibility. Perhaps we can add a fourth category that consists of private collections made semi-public because of catalogs having been made of them.

### Public Collections of Indonesian Manuscripts

Indonesian manuscripts abound. There are literally thousands and thousands of them in collections in and outside Indonesia. There are so many collections that Henri Chambert-Loir and Oman Fathurahman compiled the *World Guide to Indonesian Manuscript Collections* which was published in 1999. Before its publication, in 1988, Tim Behrend had already pointed to the existence of collections in Java that had escaped attention because their whereabouts had been unknown.<sup>2</sup> This guide clearly demonstrates that some countries house large collections (the Netherlands, Great Britain and, of course, Indonesia, having thousands each) whereas other countries house only tiny collections (for instance, Canada has three manuscripts; New Zealand only has a set of Proyek Tik typescript copies; the Vatican, ten manuscripts) and most hold numbers of manuscripts anywhere in between these figures. The guide provides some interesting insights. In this book, no Indonesian manuscripts are reported to be housed in any of the major Muslim countries such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia

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<sup>2</sup> Behrend 1988: 23–42.



or Iran. The fact that none are mentioned in places like Mecca and Medina is especially remarkable in view of the sometimes long sojourns of important Indonesian religious experts in these places in the Islamic holy land. Similarly, no manuscripts of a Roman Catholic content appear to be preserved in the Vatican Library, which is just as amazing as is the fact that only one collection was found in India when the ties between Hindu Bali and India are ancient and at times quite close. This does not mean that in these places no Indonesian manuscripts are preserved but it is interesting that the authors of the guide apparently could not locate them in these venues.

After all these efforts, one would be inclined to think that all manuscript collections – if not every individual manuscript in public collections – have been identified by now. This is not the case, however. There are more, and because more and more programs are underway to look for manuscripts all over the archipelago and beyond as stated above, manuscripts are being discovered in a variety of places, and many among them are privately owned. Manuscripts are, for instance, also kept in 11 private collections in South Africa in Cape Town, Fort Elisabeth and the privately-owned Malay Heritage Museum in Simons Town,<sup>3</sup> in the Pusat Dokumentasi Sastra H.B. Jassin in Jakarta, Museum Siginjei Jambi,<sup>4</sup> Museum Pustaka Tionghoa Peranakan in Serpong in West Java, the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences in Amsterdam and in the Art Gallery of South Australia in Adelaide. In 1961, the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience (Hendrik Conscience Heritage Library) in Antwerp, Belgium acquired a *Qurʾān* from Indonesia<sup>5</sup> and the Musée d'Ethnographie in Neuchâtel in Switzerland has a *lontar* manuscript of the *Kakawin Arjunawiwāha* and one leaf of an illustrated *Kakawin Arjunawiwāha*.<sup>6</sup> Accidentally, sometimes collections disappear as museums and libraries are closed or merged and it is unclear what happened to the collections. The Museum Nusantara in Delft in Holland has been closed and it is unclear what happened to the manuscripts in that collection.

Furthermore, collections are housed in Islamic boarding schools (*pesantren* in Java, *dayah* in Aceh)<sup>7</sup> such as Pesantren Peradaban Dunia Jagat 'Arsy in Tangerang Selatan in Banten, Islamic State Academies like IAIN Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin in Banten, libraries like that of the Faculty of Indonesian

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3 Mukhlis PaEni 2008.

4 Anonymous 2016: 122–123.

5 Gallop 2011: 51–52.

6 Marval and Breguet 2008: 374–376, 386.

7 See, for instance, Amiq 2009.



Literature, Andalas University in Padang, Minangkabau,<sup>8</sup> and a variety of museums in Indonesia such as in East Java, Museum Nahdlatul Ulama in Surabaya, Museum Mpu Tantular in Sidoarjo, Museum Sunan Giri in Gresik, Museum Sunan Drajat in Lamongan, and Museum Balaputra Dewa in Palembang in South Sumatra.<sup>9</sup> Others are kept in mosques such as Masjid Agung Jawa Tengah (see illustration 104), Masjid Agung in Bangkalan and Masjid Baiturrahman in Camplong, Sampang, both in Madura<sup>10</sup> as well as in Masjid Jami' Agung in Singaraja,<sup>11</sup> and Masjid Baitul Qadim, Loloan Timur in Jembrana,<sup>12</sup> both in Bali, and Masjid Agung in Banten, West Java.<sup>13</sup> Some manuscripts of the *Qur'ān* are reportedly kept at the tombs of important Muslims in Banten, West



ILL. 104 *Two manuscripts on display in the minaret of the Grand Mosque of Central Java in Semarang. One manuscript in Javanese script and the other in pegon script. Semarang, 29 November 2016.*

8 Yusuf 2006: 94–102.

9 Ikram 2004.

10 Akbar 2006: 253–261.

11 Saefullah and Islam 2009: 85–86. The article also mentions many private collections, as does Yunardi 2007.

12 Yunardi 2007: 3.

13 Gallop & Akbar 2006: 96.



Java, for instance at the tomb of Maulana Yusup, the second ruler of Banten (r. ca. 1570–ca. 1580) and at the tomb of Pangeran Mas.<sup>14</sup> I have the impression that more collections will appear in the near future because of digitization projects currently under way or planned for the near future.<sup>15</sup>

Looking at the distribution of Indonesian manuscripts across the globe we may conclude the following: from Chambert-Loir and Fathurahman's work we know of no less than 289 public and semi-public collections in the world. With the 33 mentioned above we thus have at least 322 collections at our disposal. Eighty-four repositories are in Indonesia. Other countries in Asia house 30 repositories (Brunei five, India one, Japan one, Malaysia 19, Singapore three, Thailand one). There are 16 collections in South Africa. Australia and New Zealand house 14 and one respectively totaling 15 collections. Europe has 150 collections (Austria two, the Netherlands 33, Belgium five, Czech Republic



ILL. 105 *Young Balinese students in the library of the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali, Denpasar. 12 July 2011.*

<sup>14</sup> Gallop & Akbar 2006: 96–97.

<sup>15</sup> Because these projects may change at any time and more may spring up as time goes on, it is advised to resort to using a search engine such as Google to find these programs.



three, Denmark four, France 13, Hungaria two, United Kingdom 27, Ireland two, Italy three, the Vatican one, Germany 41, Norway two, Poland two, Portugal one, Spain two, Sweden three, Switzerland four), Russia seven, and lastly, the United States has 18 collections and Canada has two.

Some collections are more interesting than others, although we have to be careful to make such statements. Some collections – such as the collection of Leiden University Library – have gained an almost mythical status for Indonesian lay people and professionals alike and one frequently hears in Java or Bali that in order to study Indonesian manuscripts a visit to Leiden is compulsory. Yet people appear to be unaware of the vast collections in Indonesia like those of the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta,<sup>16</sup> the collection of the University of Indonesia Library in Depok and of others in Central Java and Bali.

Collections differ in many respects. Some contain any number of manuscripts that come directly ‘from the field’ and contain no commissioned manuscripts. The collection of Leiden University and the National Library of



ILL. 106     *The author with I Nyoman Argawa in the library of the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali, 12 July 2011, examining lontar manuscripts of the Balinese Kidung Dampati Lalangon.*

16     On the shortcomings of these collections, see Behrend 1988.



Indonesia contain large numbers of commissioned manuscripts next to manuscripts from the field as do the collections of the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja, and the Pusat Kajian Lontar of Udayana University and Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali, both in Denpasar. We should not be surprised that the collections of the palaces in Java contain manuscripts with a special content and the same holds for the professional libraries of the priests in Bali. Collections owned by traditional healers (*balian*), of course contain manuscripts about ailments and their cures. *Pesantren* in Java and Madura have manuscripts limited to their teaching activities which center on a variety of Islamic formal subjects and thus house copies of the *Qurʾān* and treatises on *fiqh*, *hadith* and such.

How collections came into being is a fascinating but understudied subject as we have seen above. Why some people decided to donate their collections to a particular library and others not, and the personal relations that no doubt played their roles would be wonderful matters to investigate. One thing is sure though, no collection adequately represents the entire Indonesian manuscript heritage. Every collection is the result of scholarly, economic and personal interests and of course the collections depended on manuscripts that could be bought and on donations. We know what has once been ‘out there’ because



ILL. 107      *Entrance to the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja, Bali, 12 June 2011.*



of the collections at our disposal, but we cannot envisage what has been lost or may still be ‘out there’ – or we can only do so with the greatest difficulty – because specific manuscripts, for whatever reason, were not included in collections. For instance, the collection of the library of the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja was not put together randomly. Indeed, what Helen Creese stated for the collections of manuscripts from Bali is worthwhile quoting in toto:

Our present knowledge of the Javanese and Balinese literary corpus stems largely from the manuscript collections that found their way into European libraries and public institutions, and thence to the attention of generations of scholars. Thus it is less a reflection of the totality of the Balinese literary corpus than a representation of the acquisition policies and idiosyncrasies of European collectors, both private collectors and Dutch government officials, of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Even the Gedong Kirtya collection, the first major Balinese collection set up in 1928 as the Kirtya Liefvrick-van der Tuuk in Singaraja, throws more light on European textual interests than on Balinese ones, since it too was established under Dutch control and sponsorship.<sup>17</sup>

As founding curator of the Gedong Kirtya, I Gusti Putu Jlantik was instrumental in the compilation of its collection as he “exerted considerable influence on the acquisition policies of the Kirtya and its collection reflects his own interests.”<sup>18</sup> In light of Jlantik’s important role, the collection in the Gedong Kirtya apparently not only reflected Dutch interest.

Because we do not know the extent to which collections represent the manuscript situation in the past we may actually have a completely wrong idea of many features of these manuscripts. For instance, we have large numbers of manuscripts in Javanese script for texts in Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese and the impression may come up that Javanese script was the dominant script for these texts. However, it may well be that the number of manuscripts with texts in these languages written in *pegon* script is much higher than has ever been imagined. In view of the manuscripts that now emerge from *pasantren* and private collections our picture in this matter may soon be in need of serious change.

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17 Creese 1996: 150–151.

18 Creese 1998: 13.





ILL. 108      *Storage facilities in the library of the Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja, 13 June 2011.  
The lontar manuscripts are all stored in wooden boxes of the same size especially  
made for this collection.*

### Semi-Public Collections

Special mention must be made of collections that are privately owned yet publicly accessible. These are the collections of the Palaces of the Princes of Central Java, for instance. These collections have been cataloged and the manuscripts may be consulted after permission from the respective palace has been obtained. Others are collections held by private individuals but are open to the public as is the case, for instance, of the collection of the Yayasan Pendidikan dan Museum Ali Hasjmy in Aceh (Fathurahman and Holil 2007) and the Museum Pustaka Tionghoa Peranakan in Serpong. These are 'semi-public' because they are at the mercy of the wisdom or whims of their owners and not under the supervision of responsible public agencies. The contents of these collections may change at any time; manuscripts may disappear from them temporarily or permanently and they may be replaced by others. Whatever we may personally think of this, these collections are private and owners are at liberty to do with them whatever they please. In my opinion, the histories of these collections are interesting in themselves and worth studying.



### Private Collections

Apart from all the public and semi-public collections Chambert-Loir and Fathurahman included in their book, private collections exist in and outside Indonesia. In particular there are families in Bali, Lombok, Java, and South Sulawesi, but also in Aceh and Minangkabau in Sumatra, that have collections of manuscripts ranging from just one to many. Little is known about these manuscripts as they are often barred from study for a variety of reasons that are as yet insufficiently examined but are not hard to understand. People guard their manuscripts closely as they are considered heirlooms that should not be shown to just anybody. Others do not want people to know they have manuscripts because they do not want to lose them through borrowing or through any other way.

There are examples that give us insights into the practice of borrowing manuscripts. Robson stated in 1972 that borrowing manuscripts from friends was common practice<sup>19</sup> while Vickers reported that for Bali in 2005 some people have no problem speaking of the manuscripts they own while others are reluctant as there will be those who may want to borrow or buy them.<sup>20</sup> He continues with a note he found in Cod.Or. 3585 in Leiden University Library of a text of the *Kidung Malat* (Romance of Prince Panji). It states that the owner was I Teduh who gives strict instructions that the manuscript may only be borrowed for ten days to one month if special notice is given. He even “asks men and women reading at night not to put the *lontar* too close to their lamps for fear of burning the leaves. He adds a curse for those who do burn them.”<sup>21</sup>

In Bali, a constraint against access to private *lontar* manuscripts is that people regard them as sacred so that they cannot be consulted at just any time but only on specific auspicious days after certain religious rituals have been performed. This is especially so if one wants to see a *lontar* from a temple.<sup>22</sup> In East Java a similar situation was encountered. The story of a manuscript of the *Ghāyat al-Ikhtiṣār fil-Fiqh* (A very short introduction to Islamic law) that was found in the village of Sukowidi, sub district Kartoharjo, Regency of Magetan in East Java as told by Amiq and Thoiful Jinan may be taken as an example. The manuscript was first inherited in 1935 by Joyokromo the son of the owner, Imam Murnawi, but because he was not ‘strong’ enough to have

19 Robson 1972: 311.

20 Vickers 2005: 342. The real fear is that once borrowed the chance that a manuscript is actually returned is often slim.

21 Vickers 2005: 346.

22 Proyek Lontar 1975–1976.



it in his possession, he gave it to his younger brother, Martodikromo. After Martodikromo died it went to his son Mahfud but he was often ill and out of fear that his illnesses would turn fatal he passed it on to Muhammad Fadlali. After Fadlali married Rusmiati, they took the manuscript to the village of Pule in the Regency of Madiun in East Java. There it was kept in a cupboard and never opened because it was thought to be a magically charged heirloom and people were afraid of it. It was finally opened after the 100-day commemoration of Fadlali's wife's death in 1999.<sup>23</sup> In West Java, too, there are stories of people who were afraid of manuscripts. Van der Tuuk gives us a description dating back as early as 1849:

While I was Batavia I tried to get some information about the Sundanese language and I learned from various Sundanese people that literature indeed does exist in that language. However, it only consists of randomly recorded rhapsodies derived from epic poetry and Arabic religious treatises (with interlinear translations). I was unable to see any of these manuscripts; one person who owned one feared it so much that it was as if he had to hand over an amulet.<sup>24</sup>

Bali hosts numerous private collections of *lontar* manuscripts. Many families cannot do without these collections as they need the texts for their work as priests and healers, for instance, and because people are keenly interested in texts. Palaces and other residences of princely families usually have *lontar* collections to be used during literary gatherings and for reasons of prestige. One Balinese prince who was exceptionally interested in manuscripts was I Gusti Putu Jlantik from the Puri Gobraja in Singaraja, Buleleng, Bali. He accompanied the Dutch Colonial Army on its expeditions in Bali and Lombok and he obtained a large number of manuscripts from the palaces that were destroyed and looted in the course of the expeditions. A large part of his private collection is now held in a variety of libraries including the library of the University of Indonesia, the National Library of Indonesia, Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali in Denpasar, the Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali

23 Amiq and Jinan 2006: 2–3.

24 "Te Batavia zijnde heb ik mij beijverd inlichtingen te verkrijgen omtrent het Sundasch, en heb van verschillende Sundanezen vernomen dat er wel degelijk een letterkunde in die taal bestaat, maar zij zou slechts uit nu en dan opgetekende rhapsodieën uit de epische poezij, alsmede uit Arabische godsdienstige (met eene interlineaire vertaling voorziene) verhandelingen, bestaan. Ik heb echter geen van die geschriften te zien kunnen krijgen; die er één bezat, was er zo bang voor als of hij een amulet moest afgeven." (Groeneboer 2002: 88).



in Denpasar, and in Leiden University Library.<sup>25</sup> The collection was inventoried in 1922 and this list may be consulted in Leiden University Library (Cod.Or. 23.798<sup>26</sup>) and in other places that have holdings of Proyek Tik type-script copies such as in Jakarta, Berlin, London, Ithaca, Canberra, Auckland and elsewhere. It does not, of course, list manuscripts he acquired after 1922.

In Bali, some areas appear to have been more actively engaged in literary activities than others. Raechelle Rubinstein, for instance says that Sanur on Bali's south east coast had a reputation as a center of literary activity.<sup>27</sup> Her article describes the privately owned and privately-made collection of Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen in great detail and is a showcase article of how individual collections in Bali may be studied.<sup>28</sup>

Some idea of what manuscripts private collections contain – or used to contain – may be gained from the few projects that have tried to collect information on these collections. In 1922, L.C. Heyting made lists of the *lontar* collections of Pedanda Ngurah from Griya Gede Blayu, Marga, Tabanan in West Bali and Pedanda Wayan Kekeran possibly from Griya Taman Sari in Sanur in South-East Bali. Interestingly, the first collection contained 85 *lontar*, the second 84, but neither of the lists contains manuscripts on *weda* and *puja* (ritual texts). This is interesting because high priests always have these texts. This may mean that Heyting was unable to gain the level of confidence of these two priests to allow him also to list the works most intimately connected to their priestly work.<sup>29</sup>

In 1928, Heyting made another inventory in Central and East Lombok. His survey mentions 574 *lontar* manuscripts. A copy of his report containing the titles of the manuscripts that were found and their whereabouts may be consulted in Leiden University Library (Cod.Or. 11.075). Also in 1928 an inventory was made of *lontar* ownership in various districts from all over Bali instigated by the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja. It may be consulted in Leiden University Library.<sup>30</sup> In 1976 the Balinese Institut Hindu Dharma Negeri conducted an inventory of manuscript ownership in Bali and West Lombok which came up

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25 The two-volumed catalogue (*Katalog Lontar 2003 and 2004*) of this library gives information on the previous owners of the manuscripts but does not list them accordingly. They are listed according to the kind of texts. To gain easy insight into the titles of the ex-Gobraja *lontar* from this catalogue is therefore impossible.

26 Witkam 2007: 158.

27 Rubinstein 1996b: 174.

28 For the Balinese view on this remarkable man see IBG Agastia 1994.

29 Dharma Palguna 1998: 109. The lists were published in *Oudheidkundig Verslag* 1923: 86–87.

30 Collection C.C. Berg, CB 125, Pigeaud 1968: 779.



with the astonishing number of 11,239 manuscripts in a large number of private collections all over the islands. The report contains the names of the *lontar*, the names of their owners and their places of residence arranged by province. It also includes the manuscript collection of Museum Bali in Denpasar. These projects are of interest because they show what private individuals of various castes had in their collections and this may tell us of the relationships between manuscripts and texts among various layers of the Balinese society.<sup>31</sup>

In 1993, I was involved as consultant for the Ford Foundation in a similar project to map private manuscript collections in Lombok. This project identified 632 privately owned, mostly *lontar*, manuscripts in five places in the island among the Sasak and Balinese communities.<sup>32</sup> Mukhlis PaEni published his catalog of mostly privately owned manuscripts from many places in South Sulawesi.<sup>33</sup> He also edited a catalog of 114 manuscripts privately owned by 11 Malay families and the privately owned Malay Heritage Museum in Simons Town in South Africa (Mukhlis PaEni 2008).

In recent times projects have recorded private manuscript collections in various places in Indonesia. For instance, sponsored by the Centre for Documentation & Area-Transcultural Studies (C-DATS) at the Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, inventories were made of collections in Palembang in South Sumatra<sup>34</sup> and Minangkabau in West Sumatra.<sup>35</sup> The Palembang study covered 11 private collections in the city while the Minangkabau inventory covered 18 private collections, six owned by *surau* (small prayer houses also used for religious instruction) and two public collections. These surveys provide interesting insights into these collections while the way manuscripts are preserved may clearly be seen from the photographs included in these catalogs. The catalog published by Oman Fathurahman and Munawar Holil in 2007 of the collection of Ali Hasjmy in Aceh deserves special attention. It lists no less than 314 texts as encountered in 232 manuscripts. This is no doubt the largest private collection that has ended up in a museum of its own to have been cataloged so far. This publication was also sponsored by C-DATS.

An inventory and attempt at the digitization of privately owned manuscripts in East Indonesia (East Kalimantan, South Sulawesi, West Sulawesi, Southeast Sulawesi, the Moluccas, North Moluccas and West Papua) was published in

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31 See *Laporan Pelaksana Proyek Penelitian Lontar Bali dan Lombok Barat* (Institut Hindu Dharma, 16 Februari 1976).

32 Van der Meij 1994.

33 Mukhlis PaEni 2003.

34 Ikram (ed.) 2004.

35 Yusuf 2006.



2015 by the Balai Penelitian dan Pengembangan Agama Makassar (Center for Religious Research and Development in Makassar). It came up with 291 manuscripts in Malay, Buginese, Makassarese, Javanese and Arabic, in Arabic, *jawi* and Latin scripts. Many manuscripts were in Arabic only but the bulk was in Arabic and one of the other languages. Because the team who went into the field to describe, catalog, and digitize were especially assigned to look for religious (read: Islamic) manuscripts the outcome may give a somewhat distorted picture of the manuscript reality in the areas covered by the project. Unfortunately, only few descriptions of manuscripts in the catalog were provided with a picture.<sup>36</sup>

Privately owned manuscripts in Papua were investigated in two stages in 2013 (to Sorong, Pulau Doom, Kokas and Fakfak) with a result of 60 manuscripts) and in 2014 (to Raja Ampat), with a result of 26 manuscript. The catalog, with illustrations of each manuscript, was published in 2015.<sup>37</sup> The manuscripts found were written in Malay, Buginese, Arabic and combinations. The latest example is an inventory of a number of private collections in Indramayu on Java's north coast which came up with interesting findings on manuscript ownership and use.<sup>38</sup>

These programs are important for a number of reasons. They offer insights into private manuscript ownership and the distribution of texts over areas that were previously still 'terra incognita' as far as manuscripts are concerned. They also show that manuscripts travel with their owners when they move to a new place of living. It is a pity that only some program reports and catalogs offer information about the history of the manuscripts' ownership whereas most do not.

Manuscripts in private but cataloged collections are a sometimes frustrating category. We may know that interesting manuscripts are housed in these collections but we may be denied access to them for some reason or other, or may only gain access with the greatest difficulty and for exasperatingly short periods of time.<sup>39</sup>

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36 See *Katalog I Naskah Keagamaan Kawasan Timur Indonesia 2015*.

37 Titik Pudjiastuti 2015.

38 Christomy and Nurhata 2016.

39 One instance that comes to mind is the collection of the Dayah Tanoh Abée in Aceh which houses many manuscripts but access is at present unsure. See Fathurahman et al. 2010.



### *Access to Privately-Owned Manuscript Collections*

Access to privately owned manuscripts is not always easy. Usually there are no catalogs of these collections and even lists of titles may not be available. Owners themselves often cannot read the manuscripts or have never even seen them because they are stored in a chest never to be opened, and therefore they have little understanding of what manuscripts they actually possess. Others know exactly what they own but have never bothered to make a list or tell anyone what they have and after their death the knowledge disappears as their heirs have no idea because of this.

Access to these manuscripts is often difficult for a variety of reasons. Many are the amusing stories Mukhlis PaEni tells about what he had to go through in order to be allowed to see a manuscript. He often had to provide a goat for slaughter, pay money, wait for hours or make long walks through the bush in order to finally see the insect-ravaged remnant of a once beautiful manuscript. Also Husnul Fahimah Ilyas tells us of the conditions field researchers had to face when they went ‘manuscript hunting.’ They had to contend with hazardous sea journeys to far-off islands and prolonged travel in small boats over wide, crocodile-infested rivers. She even mentioned that being insured before embarking on this kind of projects is advisable.<sup>40</sup> As we have said earlier, often manuscripts are considered heirlooms that may not be shown to outsiders. Often owners weave an impenetrable net of phantasy around their ‘collections’ which often amount to nothing but a pile of old printed Dutch books dating from colonial times as happened to me once in a region of Malang in East Java in 1980. That this is by no means a new phenomenon becomes clear from Van der Tuuk, who wrote in 1850:

That there would be no Sundanese literature at all, as De Wilde stated, is completely wrong and I believe little can be said about this with any certainty as long as civilized (and usually the most religious) Muslims are unwilling to show us, unbelievers, literary work they own fearing they have to hand it over or see it defiled. One thing is certain though. Many small Muslim religious treatises may be found in the Sunda lands while Javanese texts are also by no means rare.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>40</sup> Husnul Fahimah Ilyas 2015: x.

<sup>41</sup> “Dat er volstrekt geen Sundanesche litteratuur zou bestaan, zooals De Wilde vermeldt, is geheel onjuist, en ik geloof dat hierover nog weinig stelligs te zeggen valt, zoolang de beschaafde (en dit zijn in den regel de meeste godsdienstige) Mahommedanen ongenegen zijn aan ons ongeloovigen te laten zien, wat zij van letterkunde bezitten, uit vreeze dat te moeten afstaan of verontreinigd te zien. Het is in alle geval zeker dat men in de Sunda-landen



Although little information is available on private collections outside or inside Indonesia, information occasionally pops up in the literature and sometimes text editions may mention that the editor has also used his or her own private copy or those owned by colleagues.<sup>42</sup>

### Lost Manuscripts

As the old priest lay dying, he was asked how he wanted to dispose of his large collection of *lontar* manuscripts. He replied contemptuously that as no one else was competent to interpret them, they might as well be burned. Tragically, his wishes were carried out. His young nephew (the present Lesser High Priest) participated in the burning, an event that he now remembers as a catastrophic mistake.<sup>43</sup>

This brings us to the matter of lost manuscripts. Manuscripts are usually not thrown away, especially not when they are beautifully illustrated or illuminated and have been deposited into public collections. Nevertheless, after browsing a large number of catalogs, it has become clear that surprisingly often manuscripts do indeed disappear, even from or even within libraries. Nowadays, manuscripts in private collections in Indonesia run the risk of being thrown away because the people cannot read the script and have little patience with these relics of the past. Moreover, the languages used in these manuscripts are now increasingly being replaced by modern Indonesian and the knowledge of Javanese, Madurese, Sasak and other local languages, especially in their literary forms, has deteriorated quickly despite government and other programs to halt this process. We often do not know that these privately-owned manuscripts have disappeared because we had no idea of their existence to begin with, and because dirty, ugly and damaged manuscripts run the greatest risk of being tossed into the waste bin, there is great danger that important segments of manuscript traditions are becoming lost forever. Manuscripts in South Sulawesi and Lombok have reached *pusaka* (heirloom) status for some, but in Java this seems not to be the case, as witnessed by the manuscripts

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*ene menigte van Godsdienstige Mahommedaansche traktaatjes zou kunnen vinden, terwijl Javaansche geschriften aldaar niet onder de zeldzaamheden behooren.*" (Groeneboer 2002: 106).

42 See, for instance, Van der Meij 2002: 168, Robson 2008: 34, Soekatno 2013: 42–43.

43 The priest died in 1957. Stephen Lansing 2012: 183 n. 12.



I have seen that were simply thrown out. It is not rare these days to find manuscripts among piles of waste paper in the small junk shops that line the streets of Yogyakarta.

It is not always the owners who are responsible for the fact that manuscripts disappear. That the fate of manuscripts can be particularly bad may be seen from the following. The Muslim boarding school, Pesantren Langitan in Tuban, East Java used to have a collection of manuscripts. They were all destroyed during the Second World War when the Japanese army used them to buttress the banks of a river they otherwise could not cross with their tanks because they were too swampy.<sup>44</sup> Manuscripts are sometimes buried to escape war or hidden in caves to escape enemy attention as happened to part of the Dayah Tanoh Abee collection of manuscripts in Banda Aceh during the Aceh War (1873–1914) when they were also allegedly burned.<sup>45</sup> The collection suffered even more because the Dutch Colonial Government exiled the *dayah's* leader, Teungku Muhammad Dahlan to Manado in North Sulawesi thus taking away the collection's custodian.<sup>46</sup> What is more, in the 1960s manuscripts had to be burned because white ants had ruined them and they could no longer be read.<sup>47</sup> The tsunami that hit Aceh on 26 December 2004 also destroyed manuscripts in the area.

Mukhlis PaEni recorded harrowing instances of the fates of manuscript collections in South Sulawesi. After appointments had been made with the owners to see a collection and a date had been set to microfilm them, family members had destroyed the manuscripts after their owner had died before the film crew was able to reach them.<sup>48</sup> Apparently a lack of proper communication about the collection and what was to be done with it caused the family members to take matters into their own hands and to burn them. Why manuscripts are often burned is an interesting question in itself and needs to be investigated.

Manuscripts not only disappear from private collections but may also become lost in public collections. In South Sulawesi, for instance, most manuscripts of the Matthes collection in the Yayasan Kebudayaan Sulawesi Selatan (South Sulawesi Cultural Foundation) have disappeared<sup>49</sup> while

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44 Interview with Amiḡ Ahyaḡ of the IAIN Sunan Ampel, Surabaya. Jakarta, 10 September 2013.

45 Chambert-Loir 2010: x.

46 Chambert-Loir 2010: x.

47 Chambert-Loir 2010: xi. For more on this collection see Fathurahman 2011.

48 Mukhlis PaEni 2003: xx–xxi.

49 Tol 1996: 220.



manuscripts have also vanished from sophisticated modern libraries, as will become clear below.

It is frustrating to know that a particular manuscript exists but has become mysteriously lost or is unavailable for study for other reasons such as secrecy. The Makassarese from South Sulawesi, for instance, “regard manuscripts as sacred, powerful objects capable of affecting those who possess, recite and hear them.”<sup>50</sup> In his book, Cummings talks about the insurmountable difficulties he met in his efforts to try to consult manuscripts in private collections. Sometimes, no matter what he tried, the manuscripts remained closed to him.<sup>51</sup>

Instances abound of manuscripts that have been lost but just to mention some: the manuscripts Friederich used for his edition of the *Kakawin Bhomāntaka* in the nineteenth century<sup>52</sup> can no longer be found as is the case of a manuscript of the *Babad Napoleon* (Chronicle of Napoleon Bonaparte)<sup>53</sup> which is no longer in the collection of the University of Indonesia Library (NR 346) and its present whereabouts are unknown. What, for instance, may have happened to a *ĕmbat-ĕmbatan* manuscript of the *Sri Tañjung* (Poem of Sri Tañjung) that M.L.L. Schell donated to the Municipal Library in Roermond in the south of the Netherlands in 1868. It was there in 1938 when Prijono did his research on this text and he used it as manuscript D.<sup>54</sup> Twenty-nine years later, it was gone: “A Roermond Ms. mentioned by Prijono [...] is lost.”<sup>55</sup>

Another, very old manuscript is the one Srivierius donated to Leiden University Library at the end of the sixteenth century but it has not been mentioned in any sources after 1607.<sup>56</sup> The fact that Schrieke mentions a letter in Latin stating that after the first voyage to the Indies in the early seventeenth century, more manuscripts of this kind were circulating in Holland<sup>57</sup> is fascinating, especially since all of them have (apparently) become lost.

Sometimes it is not the entire manuscript but only parts that have gone missing. Leaves of a *lontar* manuscript easily become lost, especially when they are not firmly bound by the string to hold them together. Behrend mentions that between the time a manuscript of the *Sĕrat Jatiswara* was copied (the

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50 Cummings 2002: 52.

51 Cummings 2002: 52ff.

52 Teeuw and Robson 2005: 14.

53 Behrend and Pudjiastuti 1997: 833. Dozens of other manuscripts have also not been found when Behrend and Pudjiastuti compiled the catalogue.

54 Prijono 1938: 21+.

55 Pigeaud 1967: 199.

56 Schrieke 1916: xii.

57 Schrieke 1916: xi.



end of the nineteenth century) and the time it was cataloged by Poerbatjaraka (1950), one leaf had gone missing.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately, the first *lontar* manuscript to enter Leiden University Library (Cod.Or. 266) also was not exempt from this as 14 leaves have disappeared.<sup>59</sup> The fate of the oldest manuscript in Old Sundanese, containing the *Sang Hyang Siksa Kandang Karèsian* (National Library of Indonesia 16 L 630) is similar. Between the time K.F. Holle described it in 1867 and today two leaves have gone missing, including unfortunately the leaf that contained the colophon.<sup>60</sup>

The picture would be incomplete if no mention was made that occasionally manuscripts reappear. An example from Malaysia is the *Hikayat Hikamat*, the Malay Memoires of a Sumatran Christian. It was long lost “but resurfaced among the Pendita Tan Sri Zainal Abidin Ahmad’s private papers at the Arkib Negara Malaysia in Kuala Lumpur” (SP18).<sup>61</sup> The paragraph entitled “A Missing Manuscript in an Obscure Collection” is a wonderful example of what may happen to manuscripts over time and how they may re-appear unexpectedly.

### Microfilms and Digital Manuscripts

In the 1980s and 1990s, entire collections of manuscripts in Indonesia were microfilmed by various projects, especially those funded by the Ford Foundation. Thousands of microfilm copies are now available in the major libraries on Indonesian studies like the National Library of Indonesia, the University of Sydney in Australia, Cornell University in the US and others.<sup>62</sup> In view of the large numbers of manuscripts becoming available digitally, I fear that these microfilms will linger in their depositories sadly seldom to be consulted.

At present scholars are confronted with a completely novel kind of source: that of digital manuscripts. Because manuscripts are in danger of being damaged in the process of editing because they have to be opened and closed often, manuscripts may be digitized but digital manuscripts pose a totally new challenge. Because they can be consulted on the computer screen the physical manuscripts no longer need to be consulted as often as in the past. This apparent advantage, however, has drawbacks. Because of the availability of digital versions, there are instances where the original physical manuscripts cannot

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58 Behrend 1987: 30.

59 Schrieke 1916: xii.

60 Gunawan and Griffiths 2014.

61 Ché-Ross 2007: 59.

62 For many more details see Feinstein 1996.



be viewed and this is unfortunate because codicologists and philologists still need to consult physical manuscripts if only to get the ‘feel’ of them, to smell them, to touch the paper and see how the ink and other writing agents have attached to it. Also, differences between the ink of the bulk of the text and that of text added later can sometimes only really be discovered by having a thorough look at the physical manuscript itself. In digital versions, stains and other pollutants are not always distinguishable for what they are and sometimes a simple dot-like stain can cause problems when not recognized for what it is. No digital version can therefore do away with the examination of the physical manuscript. We also need to consult the physical manuscript when we need to discuss various features of the manuscripts like paper size, script-size, lay-out and such that can help us to form a general picture of these manuscripts and can thus provide us with important clues as to how to proceed further.

The digitization of entire collections of manuscripts adds enormously to the stock of manuscripts available to be used for editions and this causes practical problems, for instance, how to deal with mountains of physical and digital manuscripts? New study protocols need to be devised to ensure that scholars do not drown in the material they want to study.

Another serious problem with digital versions is that the digitizing is often not done by specialists in manuscript preservation or in manuscript studies.<sup>63</sup> There is the danger that a manuscript may be destroyed simply because it has been wrongly handled during the digitizing process. Equally serious is the fact that what may look like a beautifully digitized version of, for instance, a *lontar* manuscript may be hard to read for the person who really wants to edit the text, especially when the inscribed letters have not been blackened in the original manuscript and the library does not allow blackening before the digitization is carried out. Differences in digital expertise over time may also result in great differences in quality and we still may have to consult the physical manuscripts in order to decipher the text the manuscript contains or at least parts of it.<sup>64</sup> The fact that sometimes only inscribed pages are digitized rather than

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63 This may lead to serious trouble. For instance, the collection of palm-leaf manuscripts of the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Bali in Denpasar has been digitized and the results may be accessed on the website of the Library of Congress (<https://archive.org>). However, at times the titles provided to the photographs of the manuscripts are incorrect and leaves have been omitted. For example, *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* 01 and 03 are not the *Rāmāyaṇa* but *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha*, and *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* 04 is the *Kakawin Arjunawiwāha*.

64 An additional problem is that manuscripts become damaged because the filming may be done by disinterested and insufficiently skilled individuals.



the entire manuscript makes the work of a codicologist hard. The manuscript is thus not digitized, but rather the text.

The greatest benefit of digital versions is that we may easily gain general information about manuscripts. It may then be easy to decide whether it is complete, what the script looks like and what other physical or textual peculiarities the manuscript has. This we can now do without having to open the manuscript often and thus digitization may slow down the deterioration of manuscripts.

### **Blogs, Portals, Social Media and Digital Search Machines**

Nowadays, no study on any subject can be complete without paying attention to and joining blogs, consulting portals and being a member of social media. This fast-changing digital world enables people to find and check information at a rate previously unimagined. The use of search engines has made it possible to find manuscripts in collections all over the globe in split seconds and to access secondary literature even when in the field, as long as an internet connection is available. However, the differences in spelling of titles of manuscripts in different collections does call for caution and prior knowledge about manuscripts is a pre-requisite before searching the web comes up with the desired results. One can only wonder what the future has in store in this regard.

### **Catalogs**

Many collections of Indonesian manuscripts have been made accessible through catalogs. Catalogs abound and catalogs of catalogs have been compiled to guide scholars and students through manuscript collections.<sup>65</sup> Catalogs have been made on the basis of the language of the manuscripts such as the four-volume *Catalogue of Javanese Manuscripts* Pigeaud compiled for all collections of Javanese manuscripts in the Netherlands but most particularly for those of Leiden University Library. Other examples are the catalogs of Malay manuscripts made by Teuku Iskandar (1999) and Edwin Wieringa of Dutch collections of Malay manuscripts (1998 and 2008). Other catalogs attempted to catalog entire manuscript collections in particular libraries regardless of the languages. An example of this is Tim Behrend's 1998 catalog of the National Library of Indonesia in Jakarta. Still other catalogs describe the entire wealth

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65     Chambert-Loir 1980; Van der Molen 1984.



of Indonesian manuscripts in an entire country like the one compiled by Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop for the United Kingdom and published in 2014 (first edition 1977), or in a specific city like the three catalogs Nancy Florida made of Javanese manuscripts in Surakarta in Central Java.<sup>66</sup> Still other catalogs limit themselves to sample collections in a specific country such as the catalog Mukhlis PaEni edited in 2008 for South Africa. Nowadays, lists or catalogs need no longer be published on paper but may be consulted digitally and one example available on the internet is the list of the entire oriental manuscript collection of Leiden University Library compiled by Jan Just Witkam.<sup>67</sup>

Catalogs differ in the kinds of information they provide, ranging from merely titles and class-marks to detailed information on scripts, kinds of paper, watermarks, the history of the manuscript and its owners, scribes, contents and cross-references to language and contents of other manuscripts like the two catalogs Edwin Wieringa painstakingly compiled and published of a part of the collection of Malay manuscripts in Leiden University Library.

A new kind of book containing information about manuscripts concerns work carried out for the Indonesian central or regional governments and usually consists of mappings or inventories of manuscripts in the field. Although not 'catalogs' in the strict sense of the term, they do provide information about individual manuscripts and on privately-owned manuscripts in the field and in areas not usually covered by existing catalogs.<sup>68</sup>

We should bear in mind that catalogs are not always up to date as manuscripts may have been acquired that have yet to be cataloged and detailed information on those manuscripts is not yet available. We should bear in mind too that our personal contacts with librarians and curators may lead us to the information we need.

Manuscripts may no longer be in the library or other repositories where they once were when a catalog was made. For instance when Sri Ratna Saktimulya edited the catalog of the manuscripts of the Perpustakaan Widyapustaka, Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta, which was published in 2005, she found that manuscripts Girardet had described in his book of 1983 were no longer to be found in the library.<sup>69</sup> Nancy Florida noted the same in her catalog of the

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66 Florida 1993, 2000, 2012.

67 Inventory of the Oriental Manuscripts in the Library of the University of Leiden, Ter Lugt Press, Leiden, at present 25 volumes. Website: <http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info/inventories/leiden/>.

68 See, for instance, Massoweang et al. 2010 for a recent example on manuscripts in the Moluccas, Kuta in East Kalimantan and Palopo, South Sulawesi.

69 Saktimulya 2005: vii.



manuscripts in the collection of Museum Radya Pustaka in Surakarta where 31 of 448 manuscripts could no longer be located.<sup>70</sup> They included “richly illuminated catalogues of ceremonial sunshades (RP 86 and RP 89), an exceptionally fine illuminated manuscript of calendrical divination (RP 234), four bound volumes of batik textile samples from the early twentieth century (RP 223 A–D), a *Kakawin Bratayuda* produced in the Karaton Surakarta around 1783 – possibly for its then crown prince (RP 376), and twenty-four of the museum’s twenty-nine single-page autograph manuscripts of the nineteenth-century poet Raden Ngabehi Ronggowarsita, Java’s most renowned wielder of the poetic and prophetic pen (RP 362 and RP 370).<sup>71</sup> We should not jump to conclusions and see this as proof that manuscripts have been misappropriated or even stolen. I argued that it may simply be that they were being used when the catalog was being made and therefore not in the library.<sup>72</sup> RP 234 was replaced by “another fine exemplar of the genre, with *wayang*-style illustrations in color and gold leaf. Like the missing manuscript, it appears to date from the mid-nineteenth century.”<sup>73</sup> All this might suggest that something else had been going in in the collection. To remove a manuscript and replace it with another valuable one does not seem to make much sense. The situation in the collection of the Perpustakaan Widyapustaka, Pura Pakualaman is actually more complicated. Apart from manuscripts not present at the time of cataloging, some fifty manuscripts have been added to the collection since 1983.<sup>74</sup>

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70 Florida 2012: 19.

71 Florida 2012: 19.

72 Van der Meij 2008: 364.

73 Florida 2012: 172.

74 Saktimulya 2005: vii.



## *Lontar* and *Gěbang* (*Nipah*) Manuscripts



ILL. 109 *Lontar* Palm in the region of  
Tejakula, North Bali.

In view of their large numbers, especially in Bali and Lombok, it is remarkable that a thorough study of the various elements that make up a *lontar* manuscript – made of the leaves of the Palmyra or *lontar* palm (*Borassus flabellifer*) – has never been attempted. With exceptions, for instance Pigeaud's catalogs of German collections<sup>1</sup> and Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop's 2014 catalog of collections in Great Britain, boards, strings, string ornaments, boxes and such tend to have been left out of the discussions of the manuscripts which usually center on the sizes of the leaves and the numbers of pages and written lines per page.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Pigeaud 1975; Pigeaud and Voorhoeve 1985.

<sup>2</sup> For a lengthy description of *lontar* and *nipah* production and use see Van der Molen 1983: 88–95.



### *Lontar Manuscripts*

A *lontar* manuscript consists of any number of leaves of the *lontar* palm. The production process of these leaves has been the topic of articles by Ginarsa (1975), Hinzler (1993) and Rubinstein (1996a) and other references on *lontar* leaf production may be found in the bibliographies to these articles. The *lontar* palm is dioecious and my informants in Bali told me that the leaves of the male *lontar* palm are to be preferred for use as writing material rather than those of the female palm trees which may be used for ritual purposes because they are more pliable. *Lontar* manuscripts come in a large variety of sizes and may or may not have been provided with protective covers made of wood or bamboo, or with matching wooden boxes (*kropak*). In Madura, Java, Bali and Lombok, *lontar* manuscripts usually have three perforations through the leaves, one at the left, one slightly off the center and one on the right. The distance from the perforation at the left of the leaf to the perforation in the middle (called *puser*, 'navel' in Bali) is shorter than that at the right. The left side of the leaf is called the 'head' of the leaf whereas the longer right side is called the 'leg'. The leaf is thus conceived of as a human body. The illustrations of Sundanese *lontar* manuscripts in *Illuminations* only show one perforation in the center of the leaves but none at the sides.<sup>3</sup>

It appears that different manuscripts have perforations of different sizes, some being rather small and others comparatively large. A closer inspection of these perforations may also provide information about makers and users. The measurements of these perforations and the distances from the perforations to the sides of the leaves and to each other may reveal *lontar* production practices that differ from place to place between individual producers.<sup>4</sup> In some cases, some leaves at the sides have been provided with extra perforations which makes me think that these leaves were meant to be used for other texts. However, they had apparently not been used and were provided with new perforations to match the leaves to be used for these texts (see illustration 110).

In other cases, apparently two different leaves were used as in the example in illustration 111. The first batch of leaves has three perforations in the expected places but starting with leaf 18 the leaves change and only have perforations on the left and in the center and none on the right. Moreover, the perforation on the left is much closer to the side of the leaf than in leaves 1–18.

<sup>3</sup> Ekadjati 1996: 101–128.

<sup>4</sup> Van der Molen 1983: 90–91.





ILL. 110

Puspakrama (*Romance of the Prince of Puspakrama*). Javanese, Lombok, undated. UBL Cod.Or. 22.469, 3 × 29.5 cm., 97 leaves. Note the two perforations at the right-hand side of the manuscript which have also been made in the corresponding protective wooden cover.



ILL. 111

Kakawin Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (*Old Javanese poetic version of part of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*). Old Javanese, Lombok, dated Śaka 1822 = AD 1900. PC, 3 × 32 cm., 49 inscribed leaves.



Added leaves at the start and/or end of a *lontar* manuscript may be of the same *lontar* fabrication as the rest of the *lontar*, but may also come from another stock of leaves as in illustration 112. The added leaf has no perforations at the sides and three perforations in the middle, unlike the rest of the leaves of this *lontar* manuscript. Also in this case, the perforations at the sides are unusually close to the sides of the leaves.



ILL. 112 Kakawin Bhomāntaka (*Bhoma's Death*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. PC Toenggoel Siagian, Jakarta, 3.5 × 42.3 cm., 112 inscribed leaves, leaves at the end.

At the start of the same *lontar* manuscript, we see that the perforations at the sides in the first leaf are smaller than the perforation in the other leaves and on a different position from the sides of the leaves. A sure sign that something has happened. And indeed, the leaf has been added later with text inscribed in another hand. Apparently the first leaf had gone missing and a new leaf was added so that the person still had the start of the text of the *Kakawin Bhomāntaka*. Note also that the distance of the text from the perforation in the first leaf is different from that of the other leaves. The leaves are also of a different texture and clearly made of different *lontar* material.

The perforation in the center of the leaves is just off the middle to the left to enable people to decide where the opening of the text in the *lontar* manuscript is. A string runs through the perforations in the center of the covers



ILL. 113 Kakawin Bhomāntaka (*Bhoma's Death*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. PC Toenggoel Siagian, Jakarta, 3.5 × 42.3 cm., 112 inscribed leaves, showing leaf one and leaf two.



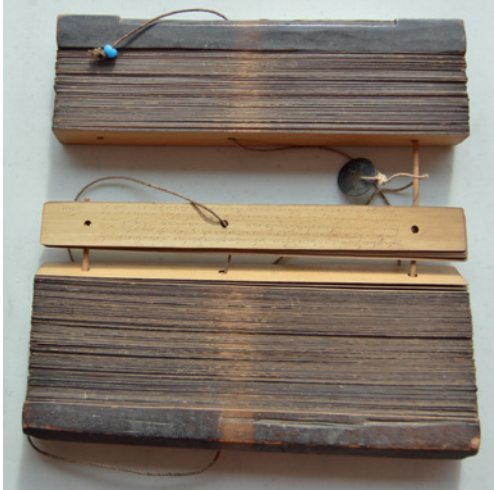
and the leaves and the whole is tied together by wrapping the string firmly around the entire manuscript. Usually one or two ornaments are attached to the string. If there is only one it is usually attached in such a way that when the string is taken up by the ornament, the first leaf of the manuscript points upwards. Below we will look at a variety of other elements that make up *lontar* manuscripts.

### Protective Covers

Many *lontar* manuscripts have been provided with two wooden or bamboo protective covers, one at both ends of the manuscript. These manuscripts are called *cakĕpan* in Bali and *takĕpan* in Lombok. So far, little attention has been paid to the kinds of wood or bamboo that were used. This is a pity as these covers may tell us of the socio-cultural backgrounds of the owners of the manuscript, the time they were made and the area where the manuscripts come from. When the protective covers are well-made to the exact size of the *lontar* leaves, and are free from stains and other kinds of damage the conclusion may be that the *lontar* manuscript is either (relatively) new or has been preserved in conditions that were favorable to preservation. When they are damaged, stained or show clear traces of having been used often they may stem from other surroundings and have been used much more often. Many protective covers clearly reveal the geographical origins of the manuscripts. For example, from their covers one can immediately tell if a *lontar* manuscript is from the Sasak community in Lombok. These covers are usually rather dark or even blackish and are often carved with many showing traces of paint. The presence of patina on the covers reveals whether a manuscript was often used or not. When the patina is glowy, the manuscript has been used often. As the illustrations below will show, the protective covers at the front and at the back of the manuscript are often not the same, probably to allow the owner to know where the text starts. Also instances occur where the cover is lacking either at the front or at the back or that one or both of them has obviously been replaced at a later date for some reason or other. The illustrations below show that some protective covers have been carved only at the surface while in other cases the decoration continues on the sides as well. Some *lontar* manuscripts have three perforations through the covers and the leaves and this may mean that a wooden stick was once inserted through the perforations at the sides of the leaves and the covers to keep the leaves more sturdily together.

If the size of the *lontar* leaves and the protective covers matches it may be considered proof that they were made at the same time and that the protective





ILL. 114

*Ramayana Macapat (Rama's Quest in macapat verse). Javanese, Lombok, dated AD 1921. PC, 2.6 × 23.8 cm., 204 inscribed leaves. The letters have been carved into the leaves but have not been provided with black soot, making them hard to read. Note the wooden pins that are used to run through the perforations at the sides of the leaves and the covers to provide extra strength to the manuscript. Note also that the two ornaments at both ends of the string are not the same.*<sup>5</sup>



ILL. 115      Wedan Ubulan. Balinese, Bali, undated. PC, 3.5 × 35.4 cm., 50 inscribed leaves.

covers and the *lontar* leaves form a unity. Newly added covers not always match the size of the leaves as perfectly as the original ones. In illustration 115, the covers are substantially larger than the *lontar* leaves and this may indicate that they were added later.

### ***Wooden Protective Covers from the Sasak Community in Lombok***

The wooden covers of *lontar* manuscripts from Lombok are usually half round, flat or have beveled edges without any other ornamentation. However, covers of *lontar* manuscripts from Lombok are also otherwise decorated as the examples below show. The first two manuscripts have simple wooden beveled covers and are otherwise unadorned or varnished.

The next set of covers are partly beveled and have three perforations. The string has recently been replaced as has been the case with almost all *lontar* in this collection because of a string-replacement project having just been

<sup>5</sup> Rather than being 'unusual' (Pigeaud 1975: 66), these pins are often seen in *lontar* manuscripts from Lombok.





ILL. 116      *Kabar Kiamat (Notes on Islamic Eschatology) and Uug Buleleng (Fall of the Kingdom of Buleleng). Sasak, Lombok, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3668 (top), 30.6 × 3 cm., 100 leaves; Cod.Or. 3664 (bottom), 3 × 30.4 cm., 45 leaves.*<sup>6</sup>



ILL. 117      *Siti Fatimah (Song of Siti Fatimah). Javanese, Lombok, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali Denpasar 038/BPB/IVd/91, 3 × 23 cm., 103 inscribed leaves.*

finished, but apparently, in this case, the two original Chinese coins (*kepeng*) have been retained.

<sup>6</sup> Juynboll 1912: 198, 202–203.



In illustration 118, the floral decorations on the two covers differ. Note the damage to the leaves, a common occurrence with manuscripts from Lombok. Note also that the covers and the leaves only have one perforation at the left-hand sides of the leaves, which means that the manuscript used to be hung on the wall, which would probably have been bamboo-woven. The text starts at the top.



ILL. 118      *Monyeh (Poem of the Prince Disguised as a Monkey). Sasak, Lombok, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar. No class-mark, 3 × 27.5 cm., 97 inscribed leaves.*

In illustration 119, only the cover at the end of the text has three perforations and the decorations on both covers differ. The decorations on the left and on the right of the front cover also differ. The text starts at the bottom.

The covers in the example in illustration 120 were beveled first on all sides and subsequently the cover at the start was adorned with carvings. The text starts at the top.

The decorations on the front and back of the covers in illustration 121 differ from those at the sides. Both covers only have one perforation through the center. The covers were beveled first along the length and subsequently adorned with carvings on all sides. The text starts at the top.





ILL. 119      *Gaguritan Nur Nabi Muhammad (Poem on the Light of the Prophet Muḥammad). Javanese, Lombok, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 056//BPB/lvd/91, 3.3 × 37 cm., 70 inscribed leaves.*



ILL. 120      *Menak Amir Hamza (Romance of Menak Amir Hamza). Javanese, Lombok, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar. No class-mark, 3 × 31 cm., 41 inscribed leaves.*

In illustration 122, the partly painted decorations on the two beveled covers are not exactly the same and both covers only have a perforation in the center. The string has been recently replaced but the old Chinese coins have been retained.





ILL. 121 Puspakrama (*Romance of the Prince of Puspakrama*). Javanese, Lombok, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 037//BPB/IV/91, 3.3 × 30.6 cm., 79 inscribed leaves (incomplete).



ILL. 122 Cilinaya (*Romantic Panji Poem*). Sasak, Lombok, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar. No class-mark, 3.1 × 30.8 cm., 72 inscribed leaves.





ILL. 123 Puspakrama (*Romance of the Prince of Puspakrama*). Javanese, Lombok, undated.  
UBL Cod.Or. 22.472, 3 × 24.5 cm., 159 inscribed leaves.

The covers in illustration 123 were beveled first along the length but not at the left and right-hand sides and subsequently adorned with dissimilar carvings.

Protective covers from Lombok are seldom adorned with colored patterns. One example with illumination at the outside is portrayed in illustration 124. The covers are beveled at all sides and subsequently painted in a subdued kind of red and adorned with diamond shaped decorations. The text starts at the top.

In the second example both the outsides and insides of the protective covers have been painted. The covers on the outside have been painted with red and black. The inside has been provided with a regular checkered pattern in black, yellow and red both at the start and at the end. The catalog mentions that the manuscript is probably from Lombok but because of these covers my own feeling is that it may originate from Madura.





ILL. 124      *Wilobang (Menak Amir Hamza Romance of Wilobang). Javanese, Lombok, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3663, 3.5 × 39.5 cm., 102 leaves.*<sup>7</sup>



ILL. 125      *Sudamala (Poem in which Durga is Exorcised by Sadewa). Javanese, Lombok? Madura?, undated but before AD 1862. UBL REM 22-1, 4 × 38.5 cm., 47 leaves.*<sup>8</sup>



ILL. 126      *Sudamala (Poem in which Durga is Exorcised by Sadewa). Javanese, Lombok? Madura?, undated but before AD 1862. UBL REM 22-1, 4 × 38.5 cm., 47 leaves.*<sup>9</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Juynboll 1911: 26; Pigeaud 1968: 125.

<sup>8</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 810.

<sup>9</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 810.





ILL. 127      *Gaguritan Nurpiah (Poem of Nurpiah). Javanese, Lombok, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 036/BPB/1vd/91, 2.5 × 28 cm., 94 inscribed leaves.*

Specific to Lombok is the practice of providing some manuscripts with a partial flap of goatskin to protect the opening part of the manuscript. I have never seen this in other areas and even in Lombok it is not encountered very often. These flaps may be an indication of a particular manuscript tradition from a certain place but this has to be established. In illustration 127, the leather flap is attached to a manuscript of the *Gaguritan Nurpiah* (Poem of Nurpiah) but it is usually found on manuscripts that contain the *Sĕrat Yusup* (Poem of the Prophet Joseph).<sup>10</sup> The covers of this manuscript have beveled edges but are otherwise unadorned.

#### *Wooden Protective Covers from Bali and the Balinese Community in Lombok*

Wooden covers from the Balinese communities in Bali and Lombok are mostly unadorned and have been made of a variety of woods. See the following examples. Illustration 128 shows a finely made cover of a *lontar* manuscript of from the Balinese community from Lombok that has only one perforation in the center of the covers. Illustration 129 shows a manuscript dating from 1858 = AD 1936 from the Singaraja area that has wooden boards that have been made much less finely. The text starts at the bottom.

*Lontar* manuscripts from Bali sometimes have beautifully decorated protective covers. They are usually inspired by traditional Balinese iconography as in the example in illustration 130. However, they may also be decorated in a

10      Oral information from I Nyoman Argawa, October 2015.





ILL. 128 Kidung Dampati Lalangon (*The Diversion of the Spouses*). Balinese, Lombok, undated. PC, 3.4 × 28.5 cm., 33 leaves.



ILL. 129 Kidung Rare Sasigar (*Poem of the Half-Child*). Balinese, Bali, dated Śaka 1858 = AD 1936. PC, 3.5 × 32.4 cm., 43 leaves, leaf 43a. Unadorned round covers with no perforations at the sides.

free style, as for instance in the case of the manuscripts of the *Usana Bali* and *Tingkah ing Iman* dating from the first half of the 19th century in the Royal Library in Copenhagen and portrayed in the catalog of that collection that was published in 1977.<sup>11</sup> Illustration 130 shows the illuminated covers of a *lontar* from Bali dating from Śaka 1783 = AD 1861. The covers have been decorated with flowery designs. The cover at the start has also been decorated with a so-called *karang* figure in the center. The cover at the end of the manuscript (in this case,

11 Van Naerssen, Pigeaud and Voorhoeve 1977 plates 20 [Jav (Bal) 3 (C. a. 96)] and 25 [JAV 2 (Cod. Javan. 1)] and pp. 85–87 and 100–102.





ILL. 130 Purwadigama Sasana Sastra Sadodërta (*Old Javanese Law Book*). *Old Javanese, Bali*, dated Śaka 1783 = AD 1861. UBL REM 214-13, 4 × 45 cm., 31 leaves.<sup>12</sup>

the cover at the top of the illustration) has furthermore been decorated with a Banaspati head in the center.

#### *Wooden Protective Covers from Madura*

The covers from *lontar* manuscripts from Madura may be of wood and probably also of bamboo. The fact that it was not possible to consult many *lontar* manuscripts from Madura makes my observations somewhat premature. I have never come across wooden covers from Madura that have been decorated with carvings. Painted wooden covers exist however. The samples in illustrations 131 and 132 is a *lontar* with simple beveled wooden covers along the length but not at the ends and with no other adornments.

The second example is of a long *lontar* with covers that were beveled first and subsequently painted in green and yellow. It still retains the two wooden pegs at the sides.

The last example is also of a long *lontar* with stepped-beveled edges along the length but not at the sides and subsequently painted in black and red.

<sup>12</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 811.





ILL. 131      *Jaya Lengkar Wulang (Romance of Panji's Great-Grandfather Jaya Lengkar Wulang). Madurese, Madura, undated but before AD 1892. UBL Cod.Or. 3154, 3.3 × 23.6 cm., 207 inscribed leaves.*<sup>13</sup>



ILL. 132      *Jaya Lengkar Wulang (Romance of Panji's Great-Grandfather Jaya Lengkar Wulang). Madurese, Madura, undated but before AD 1892. UBL Cod.Or. 3154, 3.3 × 23.6 cm., 207 inscribed leaves.*<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup>      Vreede 1892: 418.

<sup>14</sup>      Vreede 1892: 418.





ILL. 133 *Sêrat Yusup (Poem of the Prophet Joseph, from Madura). Javanese, Madura, dated AD 1860. PC, 3,3 × 42,5 cm., 90 inscribed leaves.*



ILL. 134 *Sêrat Yusup (Poem of the Prophet Joseph, from Madura). Javanese, Madura, undated. Private Collection J.J. Witkam, 3,5 × 40,8 cm., 17 leaves.*





ILL. 135 Putru Sangaskara (*Ritual and Offerings with Reference to the World Beyond the Grave*). Bali, Balinese/Old Javanese, dated Śaka 1864 = AD 1942. PC, 3.4 × 45.3 cm., 39 inscribed leaves.

### *Bamboo Protective Covers*

Many *lontar* manuscripts in Bali have bamboo protective covers. This is much less so in Lombok. There appears to be no direct relation to the contents of a *lontar* manuscript and the fact that bamboo was used for its covers. Bamboo covers are seldom decorated. They usually have perforations in the center and none at the sides. I have come across only a very small number of exceptions where three perforations have been made, as in the covers of the *Kakawin Ghaṭotkacāśraya* illustrated below in illustration 139.

The bamboo chosen for the covers ideally has the same internodal length as the length of the *lontar* leaves they are to protect. This is not always the case, however, and many *lontar* manuscripts show that the length of the leaves and that of the covers are not a perfect match. It seems that in the production process of the manuscript, the *lontar* leaves may have been made to the size of the bamboo covers to match the internodal distance or, conversely, that bamboo was sought that had the right internodal distances. If the bamboo is wider than the width of the *lontar* leaves this may cause damage to the leaves as they tend to curl up inside the internodal space. Above, in illustration 135, the inside of the bamboo cover and the internodes are clearly visible.



Many different species of bamboo exist and some varieties are used more often than others. Often manuscripts use what is called *bambu tutul*, a variety of bamboo with dark spots, because it is more durable than other bamboo varieties. It appears that the size and form of the spots depend on the particular variety of *bambu tutul* that was used, but also on the soil in which the bamboo grew. In the light of this, botanical information may prove important for the establishment of the circumstances in which the bamboo grew and may help to determine the age and geographical origins of the bamboo. It may be assumed that the place where the bamboo grew was not located too far away from the place where the *lontar* leaves were inscribed. In passing, it should be noted that *bambu tutul* is nowadays rarer in Bali than it was before.<sup>15</sup> Below some illustrations of *bambu tutul* are presented. Both the bamboo at the start and at the end of the manuscripts have been presented as also here front and end covers usually differ.



Bamboo at the start.



Bamboo at the end.

- ILL. 136 Candakarana (*Kakawin Theory and Guide to Kakawin Composition*). Balinese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar, 023/BBD/Vb/91, 3 × 36 cm., 34 inscribed leaves.

15 Oral information from I Nyoman Argawa, October 2015.





ILL. 137 Bhagawan Kamandaka (*Teachings on Leadership and Statecraft*). Balinese, Bali, undated. PC,  $3.6 \times 30.3$  cm., 34 inscribed leaves. End cover at the top of the illustration.



ILL. 138 Saptamahabhaya (*Seven Major Dangers, mantras*). Balinese, Bali, dated Śaka 1850 = AD 1928. PC,  $3.7 \times 40.2$  cm., 18 inscribed leaves. Opening side at the top of the illustration.



ILL. 139 Kakawin Ghaṭotkacāśraya (*Ghaṭotkaca to the Rescue*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1779 = AD 1857. PNRI 53 L 584,  $3.3 \times 41.7$  cm. Bamboo covers are apparently also used for more exalted texts like this Old Javanese poem. Only the leaves on the a-sides of this manuscript have been inscribed.



### *Decorated Bamboo Protective Covers*

Decorations made on bamboo are rare exceptions. One example is the *lontar* manuscript of the *Bima Swarga* (Poem of Bima's Trip to Hell) illustrated below.



ILL. 140 *Bima Swarga* (Poem of Bima's Trip to Hell). Balinese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 020/BBD/11a/91, 3 × 34.5 cm., 55 inscribed leaves, bamboo at the end.

### *Binding Strings*

The binding strings of *lontar* manuscripts are usually made of cotton but may be made of any other material. In Lombok, sturdy, colored plastic binding strings are often found of the kind used for making fishing nets and so probably reveal the origins of these manuscripts. The strings should not be too sturdy because they may ruin the *lontar* leaves through which they run when the manuscript is opened and closed frequently. The strings are usually long enough to be able to be wound around the entire manuscript a couple of times to bind it.

In collections in Bali these strings have sometimes been replaced by new ones. The Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali in Denpasar did this using black synthetic strings as in illustrations 143, 156 and 160 and the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja did the same with bright colored ones in red, dark and light blue, as may be seen, for instance, in illustration 170.



ILL. 141  
Kakawyan Lētusan  
Gunung Tolangkir (Song of  
the Eruption of Mount  
Tolangkir). Balinese, Bali,  
dated 27 September 1963.  
Collection Balai Bahasa  
Provinsi Bali, Denpasar  
070/BPB/111b/91, 3.6 ×  
45.8 cm., 31 leaves. Light  
blue plastic fishing string.  
Note that the writing in the  
first line is discontinued in  
the middle whereas in the  
last line it is continued.



The relationship between the string and the manuscript is often hard to establish. When a manuscript has been well-kept but the string shows signs of wear and is dirty, the string may be the original one that was attached to the *lontar* when the manuscript was produced. However, if a manuscript predates the material from which the string is made, as would be the case with the plastic string mentioned above, it is clear that it is a replacement.

There are other bindings, however, for which no specific term has been encountered. Some manuscripts have strings running through perforations at both ends of the *lontar* leaves. This is rare. Only a few such examples have been found in collections and two of them are illustrated below. In these two cases the perforations are not in the center of the width of the leaves but rather at the top, as is normally the case with *ĕmbat-ĕmbatan* manuscripts discussed more in detail below. Usually this kind of manuscripts are stored by hanging them on a nail on the wall. Both examples have no perforations in the center.



ILL. 142      Gaguritan Uug Mĕngwi (*Fall of the Kingdom of Mengwi*). Balinese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar o64/BPB/vc/91, 3.4 × 44.5 cm., 15 inscribed leaves.





ILL. 143      *Kawisesaning Calonarang (Notes on Magic Incantations directed at Calonarang). Balinese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 083/BPB/111b/91, 3.1 × 18.2 cm., 42 inscribed leaves. The black strings are replacements of the original strings, as are the newly made coins.*

There are two different ways in which the string may be tied around the manuscript. One is that the ornament stays at the side of the protective cover and the string is tied over the leaves and then the end is wrapped around the strings over the manuscript as in illustration 160 below. The second way is to bind the string around the manuscript and to secure the ornament over the



leaves which may cause damage at the center of the leaves as the coin is being scraped over the leaves when the manuscript is opened and closed as in the illustration below.



ILL. 144      Puspakrama (*Romance of the Prince of Puspakrama*). Javanese, Lombok, undated.  
UBL Cod.Or. 22.472, 3 × 24.5 cm., 159 inscribed leaves.<sup>16</sup>

### *String Ornaments*

The string through the central leaf of a *lontar* manuscript is often provided with one or two string ornaments. This ornament may be anything that comes in handy. However, that being said, most often it is a Chinese coin (*kepeng*) that is used,<sup>17</sup> or coins from the times of the Dutch East Indies that have a perforation in the middle. That this is by no means always the case may be seen from the illustrations below. It may well be that certain ornaments were used for specific texts to set these manuscripts apart from others so that the owners or users could easily identify which manuscript was which.

In many cases, strings only have one ornament at the opening end of the manuscript. When the manuscript is taken up by the ornament, the start of the text points upwards so that the user knows where the text starts. This is not always done, however and especially when the string has been replaced by a person unfamiliar with *lontar* manuscript reading usage, the coin may find itself at the wrong end of the string. Because strings may break over time, they are

<sup>16</sup> Witkam 2007: 71.

<sup>17</sup> A useful tool for the identification of these coins is Krause, Chester L. and Clifford Mishler; Colin R. Bruce (eds.) 1985.



replaced when necessary and when strings are replaced on old manuscripts it may be an indication of the attention the owner places on his collection and may point to the manuscript having being used regularly, at least up to the day the string was replaced.

The first examples of string ornaments provide no clear clue as to when they were attached as there is no way to date them at any specific time.



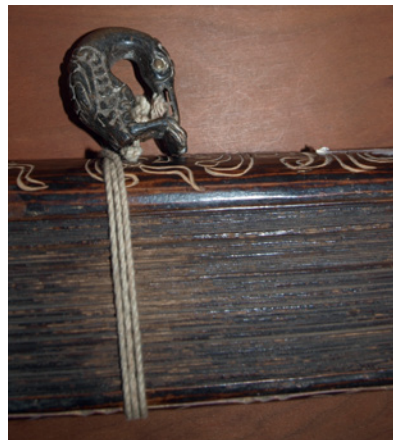
ILL. 145  
*String ornaments at both ends of the string. A simple white button and a white bead were used. Mantras, Balinese, Bali, undated. PC.*



ILL. 146  
*Two red beads were attached at both ends of the string. Kakawin Smaradahana (Burning of Smara, the God of Love). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1773 = AD 1851. PC.*

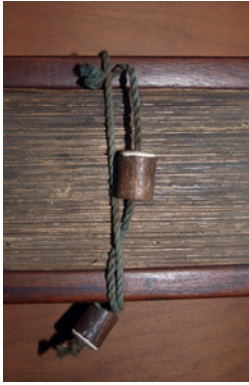


ILL. 147  
*String ornament in the form of a peg only at one end of the string. Sĕrat Yusup (Poem of the Prophet Joseph, from Madura). PC.*



ILL. 148  
*String ornament in the form of a bird only at one end of the string. Puspakrama (Romance of the Prince of Puspakrama). Javanese, Lombok, undated. PC.*





ILL. 149

*String ornaments in the form of wooden beads at both ends. Sĕrat Menak Amir Hamza (Romance of Menak Amir Hamza). Javanese, Lombok, undated. PC.*



ILL. 150

*Tortoise shell at one end of the string. Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (Rāma's Quest). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali Denpasar 112/BPB/vb/91.*



ILL. 151

*Glass green bead at one end of the string. Wangbang Wideya (Javanese Romance of Prince Panji). Javanese, Bali, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3633.<sup>18</sup>*



ILL. 152

*Glass black and white bead at one end of the string. Wangbang Wideya (Javanese Romance of Prince Panji). Javanese, Bali, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3643.<sup>19</sup>*



ILL. 153

*Damar Wulan (Romance of Damar Wulan, from Lombok). Javanese, Lombok, undated. PNRI 83 E 55. A metal hook at one end of the string.<sup>20</sup>*

<sup>18</sup> Juynboll 1907: 206; Pigeaud 1968: 122.

<sup>19</sup> Juynboll 1907: 207; Pigeaud 1968: 123.

<sup>20</sup> Behrend 1998: 375.



Many strings of lontar manuscripts from Bali and Lombok have been provided with one coin or with two coins one at each end of the string. These coins are of special interest because they may give us a clue as to whether the string and/or the ornament were provided after the writing was finished or later. If a coin was minted later than the date the manuscript provides then it was clearly attached to the string later than the writing. This is only valid for modern coins that carry dates but not for datable old Chinese coins because they were all made much earlier than manuscripts and thus no connection between the manuscripts and the coins can have existed.

For instance, The coin illustrated below in illustration 159 is from a manuscript that has two coins that were minted by the Dutch in 1938 and 1945. The manuscript was finished in 1932. This means that the coin of 1938 was attached at least in this year and the other even later. If they were attached at the same time, 13 years had elapsed from the moment of the completion of the manuscript and before the coins found themselves at both ends of the strings.



ILL. 154

*Traditional old kepeng coin at one end of the string of a lontar manuscript from Bali.*



ILL. 155

*Coin from the Dutch East Indies time dating back to 1826, attached at the end of the string of a manuscript which dates back to Śaka 1785 = AD 1863. Kidung Malat (Romance of Prince Panji). PC.*





ILL. 156

*New kepeng coin with Balinese characters and new black string attached to a manuscript. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali.*



ILL. 157

*Modern 50 Rupiah coin, into which a hole has been drilled, and placed at one end of the string. Pratitin Panak Iseni from Bali inscribed in Śaka 1934 = AD 2012. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar. No class-mark.*



ILL. 158

*Old, worn Chinese coin and 5 cent coin of the Dutch East Indies of 1921. Kidung Rare Sasigar (Poem of the Half-Child). Balinese, Bali, dated Śaka 1879 and AD 1958. PC.*



ILL. 159

*Dutch East Indies 1 cent coin of 1938. Datu Daha (Poem of Datu Daha). Sasak, Lombok, dated AJ 1351 = AD 1932. Private collection J.J. Witkam.*



### **Lontar Leaves**

*Lontar* leaves are called *lěmpir*. They come in a variety of qualities and sizes, the size, in general, being matched to the length of texts as will be related below. The Karangasem area in the east of Bali has a reputation for producing the best quality leaves. In general, texts meant to be kept for a long time are written on durable high-quality leaves (when available) whereas manuscripts containing texts for daily use – and which could apparently easily be reproduced – were written on less durable *lontar* leaves. The *lontar* material used by the Sasak community in Lombok is usually of a much lower quality than that used in Bali and better leaves were probably imported from Bali for the use of the Balinese community in West Lombok. Long leaves are also seldom used for texts among the Sasak community in Lombok probably because of the poor quality which makes that long leaves break easily. Perhaps people in remote areas in Lombok made their own leaves for their own use without having the material, desire, or sophisticated skills necessary to make durable leaves.

It is not quite clear whether leaves were produced to provide for texts or that they were made in any numbers for people to make a selection. Looking at manuscripts where empty leaves were added to complete texts makes me think that leaves were bought and when not used simply added to the text rather than discarded. Looking at the bewildering variety of leaf sizes makes me think also that leaves were prepared when a person wanted to write a text or have a text written. In modern times the variation in leaf sizes has lessened because fewer people are engaged in the production of *lontar* leaves and in *lontar* writing. At other times I have the impression that texts were shortened because no empty *lontar* leaves were available. These remarks are speculative however and their validity needs to be verified.

In Bali especially, the sides of the leaves were dyed with a red preservative to prevent insect infestation. This was usually done with leaves used for important texts or for people who could afford to buy those leaves for whatever texts they wanted to inscribe or have inscribed for them. In some instances we see that the scribe had to resort to the use of *lontar* leaves from various sources which can sometimes readily be seen as some leaves were dyed and others not as in illustration 160. In Lombok and Madura this dyeing process was not customary.

### **The Writing Process**

In general, those who produced *lontar* manuscripts kept a balance between the length of a text and the size of the *lontar* leaves they used. Very long texts





ILL. 160      *Wrēhaspati Tatwa* (*Śiwaiteic text containing religious speculation*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1868 = AD 1946. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 164/BPB/IIIb/91, 3.5 × 49.5 cm., 106 inscribed leaves. A number of leaves have been dyed at the start and at the end, but not those in between.

such as the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Kakawin Bhomāntaka* were written on long *lontar* leaves between 50 and 60 centimeters in length. Hinzler gives us a good and useful idea of the different texts found in manuscripts of different sizes in Bali.<sup>21</sup> She is, however, clear on the relationship between the length of the *lontar* leaves and the status of the text written on them. However, the relationship between the length of the text and the size of the leaves is underrepresented in favor of status arguments. She pays little attention to the practical side of the size of a *lontar* manuscript. Rubinstein mentions that the leaves used for manuscripts is proportional to the size of the texts they contain and to their subject matter<sup>22</sup> and Marrison is of the same opinion.<sup>23</sup> Indeed, a large text on short leaves would make the *lontar* manuscript extremely thick and unmanageable. A short text with practical medicinal information is much easier to carry around when short leaves are used. A short *kakawin* may be of great value and yet is written on short leaves to maintain a comfortable balance between the size of the manuscript and the text. A manuscript with only a few leaves between the boards is awkward and rarely encountered.

*Lontar* manuscripts from Lombok, such as those of the *Sērat Menak Amir Hamza* may be very large indeed and contain hundreds of long leaves. A small text such as the *Ana Kidung* or *Kidung Rumēksa ing Wēngi* (both Song Guarding at Night) is written on tiny palm leaves no longer than approximately 11 centimeters in length, like the *Nabi Aparas* (Song of the Prophet's Shaving). Incidentally, many *lontar* manuscripts have no indication on the boards about their content. It may well be that for owners, the size of the *lontar* may have

<sup>21</sup> Hinzler 1993: 451–455.

<sup>22</sup> Rubinstein 1996: 131.

<sup>23</sup> Marrison 2002: 84–85.



been an indication of its content – a factor that would be useful, especially in large collections.

This balance between the length of the text and the length of the leaves seems to have been standard practice for manuscripts that were made by or for the people themselves. Manuscripts made for projects both at the present time and in the past usually have different measurements. For instance, the *lontar* manuscripts that are made today and were made in the recent past in Bali for the Udayana University, and the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali both in Denpasar and for the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja, for instance, do not abide by the general rules explained above and are usually written on long leaves of roughly the same size, regardless of the length of the text. Also, other commissioned manuscripts do not adhere to customs pertaining to size and content. Usually, writing materials are provided by the commissioner and are therefore used regardless of the nature of the text. If no other information is available, a clear mismatch between manuscript size and content may indicate that a manuscript does not come from its traditional cultural surroundings.

The scripts used in *lontar* manuscripts range from Javanese in local varieties from Java and Madura; Balinese and Javanese and Sasak from Lombok; as well as Arabic, Latin and Chinese scripts. However, the last three are seldom encountered. Latin is usually only used for signatures or dating information. Below is a rare example of a small piece of text in Arabic written in Arabic script in a small palm-leaf manuscript from Lombok added to the *Nabi Aparas* (Song of the Prophet's Shaving).

The only example of Chinese script I know of in a *lontar* manuscript is Sloane 1403.A in the British Library, which was part of the Sloane collection of 1753.<sup>24</sup> Apart from the script, the leaf is peculiar as there are no perforations at all.

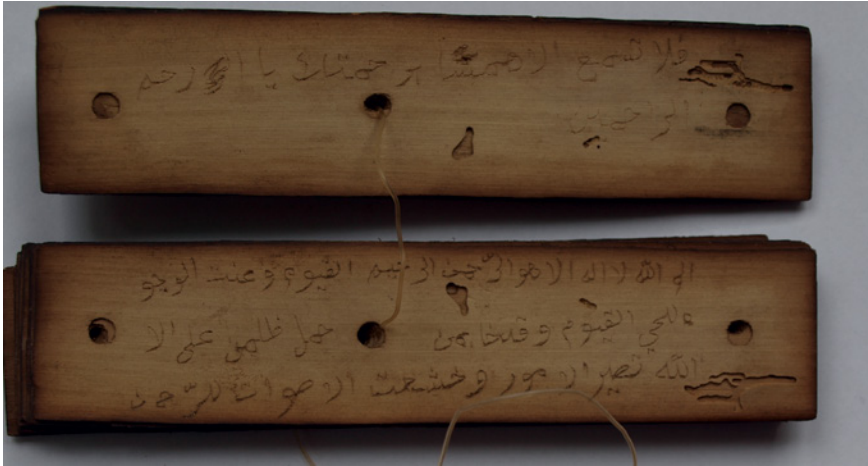
Usually a number of leaves have been prepared before the inscription process and they will be of the same or nearly the same size. Often the leaves have been provided with four lines running the length of the leaves and lines may also have been made at the sides and in the middle to mark the place where the writing should start and end. This may be seen from the fact that leaves without text, usually added at the end of a manuscript, have been provided with lines as well but contain no text.

The letters are carved into the leaves with a short, sharp, knife-like instrument and after incision the letters are provided with black soot, usually made of burned candlenuts (*Aleurites moluccana*). Seldom is another color used for

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24 Ricklefs 1969: 245; Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop 2014: 45.





ILL. 161 Nabi Aparas (*Song of the Prophet's Shaving*). Javanese and Arabic, Lombok, undated. PC,  $2.8 \times 13.2$  cm., 24 inscribed leaves, leaves 47b and 48a.



ILL. 162 *Untitled*. Javanese and Chinese, Java, undated but before 1753. Collection British Library Sloane 1403.A.,  $3 \times 29.2$  cm., one leaf, leaf 1b.<sup>25</sup>  
PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE BRITISH LIBRARY.



ILL. 163 Kidung Dampati Lalangon (*The Diversion of the Spouses*). Balinese, Lombok, undated. PC,  $3.4 \times 28.5$  cm., 33 inscribed leaves, opening of the manuscript. Clearly visible are the four lines and the lines to demarcate the distance the text should have from the string perforation and the sides.

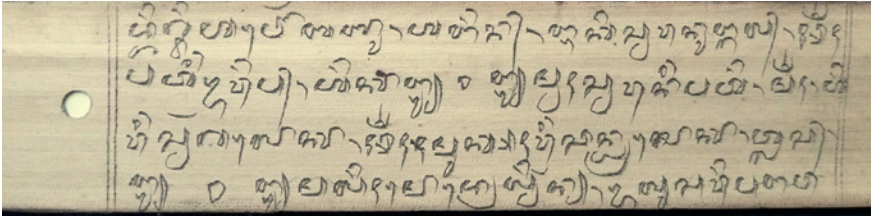
this purpose. The only instance I know is that the color red has been used in a manuscript of the *Babad Surapati* (Chronicle of Surapati) written before 1862 probably in East Java. It is preserved in the collection of the Royal Netherlands

25 My thanks go to Annabel Teh Gallop for providing me with the photograph and the measurements.





ILL. 164      Bang Bungalan (*The Way to Make Offerings to Malevolent Beings*). Balinese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 01/BBD/1b/91, 3.2 × 22.3 cm., 27 inscribed leaves, pages 14b and 15a. Instance of a manuscript where the text has been written in pre-lined columns.



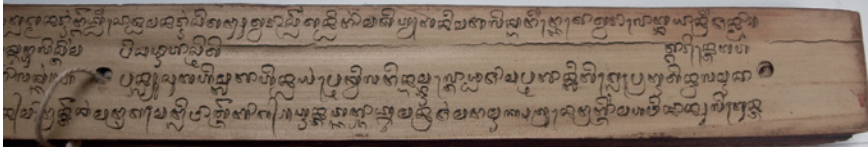
ILL. 165      Putusin Kamoksen (*Text on Death and Deliverance*). Balinese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 109/BPB/11a/91. Leaf 3a. The borders of the text from the sides and from the center are indicated by double lines. PHOTOGRAPH BY I NYOMAN ARGAWA.

Academy of Arts and Sciences in Amsterdam (Acad. 240).<sup>26</sup> Because the string perforation is just off the center, the scribe needs to start his writing at the correct side of each leaf so that the leaves can be tied neatly without leaves sticking out at either side. That sometimes the scribe has started at the wrong side can be seen when suddenly one or more leaves are up-side-down but this seldom happens and when it does it may have been done on purpose to deliberately confuse the reader as stated above in Chapter One.

Occasionally, when the quality of the *lontar* leaves is not too high and cracks are encountered, scribes are forced to skip the damaged part of the leaf as in the instance below.

<sup>26</sup> Witkam 2006: 87.





ILL. 166 Kidung Rusak Kadiri (*Fall of the Kingdom of Kadiri in Lombok*). Balinese, Lombok, undated. PC, 3.3 × 37.5 cm., 39 inscribed leaves, leaf 15a.

### Numbering in *Lontar* Manuscripts

*Lontar* manuscripts were numbered on one side of the leaf only, usually on the left hand verso sides (b-sides) of the leaves with only rare exceptions where they were provided on the recto sides (a-sides) or at the right-hand ends. It seems that in general, the leaves were numbered before the text was inscribed. We may draw this conclusion as often leaves at the end of manuscripts contain no text but do have page numbers. It may be seen as well from the fact that it often happens that in a *lontar* manuscript, the numbering of the leaves is disturbed but the text is not. Either the scribe has made a mistake in the numbering as he went along, or a leaf was discarded for whatever reason and thus the number of that leaf is missing. Another indication is that in manuscripts the numbering has often been corrected probably because one or more leaves were thrown out during the inscribing process while the numbering was undisturbed up to that point (see illustrations 359 and 360). This phenomenon is not limited to palm-leaf manuscripts from Bali and Lombok and appears to have occurred over centuries, as the Oldest Sundanese *gĕbang* manuscript (*Sang Hyang Siksa Kandang Karĕsian*) dating back to Śaka 1440 = AD 1518 also has a disturbance in the numbering of the leaves. In this manuscript the leap is no less than 11 numbers (21–31) while the text contained in the manuscript is not disturbed.<sup>27</sup>

### Text in *Lontar*

It seems almost a rule that a *lontar* leaf contains four lines of text on each side. When a text ends before the four lines are filled, it means that the text is or has been considered finished by the scribe or he abandoned his work. Some manuscripts have two, three or five lines of writing but these are exceptions. Where the writing occupies less than four lines this usually occurs either when

<sup>27</sup> Gunawan and Griffiths 2014: 2.



the leaves are too small to contain that number of lines or the script is too large, and also in *maarti* texts (which we discuss below). Some manuscripts vary in the number of lines they use per page but this is rare.



ILL. 167 Kakawin Arjunawiwāha (*Arjuna's Marriage*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1716 = AD 1794. UBL Cod.Or. 5107, 3.5 × 49.5 cm., 69 inscribed leaves.<sup>28</sup> Rare example of a lontar manuscript with only two written lines per page. The text is written in two columns.

The writing almost never starts before the perforation on the left side or continues beyond the perforation on the right. In general also, no prediction can be made if the text in the first and fourth lines runs all the way over the leaf between the left and right perforations and past the perforation in the middle, or if the text is divided into two columns. Both are found and I don't understand why Rubinstein considers running first and fourth lines exceptional as she states "I have seen this occasionally, but it is not the norm in Bali."<sup>29</sup> Any definitive rule on the practice of *lontar* writing can only be determined after a thorough investigation has been made of a large sample of *lontar* that are dated and for which the provenances have been established. This has not been done so far. It may be that the Balinese community in Lombok adhered to other *lontar* writing practices where continuous first and fourth lines was more customary than in Bali but this needs to be established first.

28 Juynboll 1907: 115; Pigeaud 1968: 266. According to Pigeaud, only two lines were filled and two other lines meant for the Balinese glosses were not. I think he errs because there is no room for two more lines on the leaves and only two lines were meant to be written. Incidentally, Pigeaud says the manuscript has 69 pages whereas it has 69 inscribed leaves totalling 137 pages.

29 Rubinstein as quoted in Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop 2014: 269.

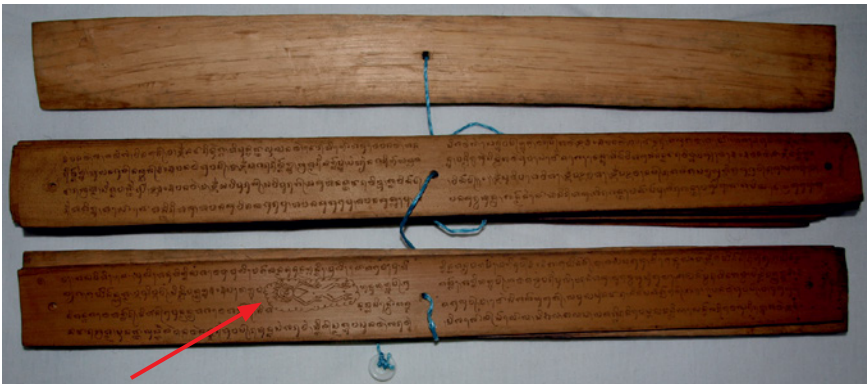




ILL. 168 Kidung Rusak Kadiri (*Fall of the Kingdom of Kadiri in Lombok*). Balinese, Lombok, undated. PC, 3.3 × 37.5 cm., 39 inscribed leaves, leaves 12b–13a.

The writing usually does not continue right up to the perforation in the center, as in illustration 168. Some space is left uninscribed at the center around the perforation as most damage occurs at that part of the leaves because of the opening and closing of the *lontar* and the dragging of the leaves over the string.

*Lontar* manuscripts from Bali that deal with sorcery and black or white magic often contain *rajan*, drawings that are as efficacious as the *mantras* they accompany (see also below). They usually appear within the text where they belong or are put on separate leaves in the vicinity of that text. In the instance below, the text is divided into two columns. The *rajan* is placed right between the text where it belongs.

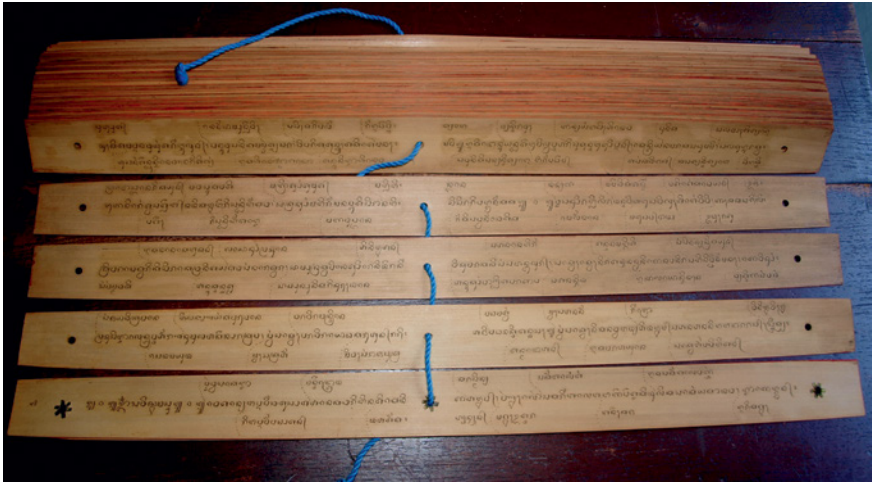


ILL. 169 Tatamban (*Javanese-Balinese Lontar on medicine*). Balinese, Bali, undated. PC, 3.8 × 40.5 cm., 47 inscribed leaves, leaf 5b.



### Maarti Texts

In Bali many manuscripts of *kakawin* poems written in Old Javanese have been provided with Balinese explanatory glosses (*maarti*) that are usually, but not always, linked to the text they explain by lines of small dots as in the example below.<sup>30</sup> Sometimes all the glosses in the entire manuscript are related to the text they explain by these dotted lines; sometimes there are no dots at all; and sometimes parts of the text have been provided with dots and other parts not.



ILL. 170 Kakawin Sutasoma maarti (*Tale of Sutasoma, with Balinese glosses*). Old Javanese (in the center) with accompanying Balinese glosses, Bali, undated. Collection Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja 111B/974/28, 3.7 × 51 cm., 68 leaves.



ILL. 171 Kakawin Sutasoma maarti (*Tale of Sutasoma, with Balinese glosses*). Old Javanese (in the center) with accompanying Balinese glosses, Bali, undated. Collection Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja 111B/974/28, 3.7 × 51 cm., 68 leaves.

30 For more on these texts with glosses see Hinzler 2009: 238–239.



Hinzler discussed these *maarti* texts in 2009. Usually it is not the entire *kakawin* that is copied with glosses in a single manuscript but only certain cantos or *sarga* (in the case of the *Rāmāyaṇa*) probably because they were brought to *mabasan* sessions in which they were read aloud and explained. Mostly, *maarti* manuscripts are available of the most important classical prose parts of the *Mahābhārata* and *kakawin* texts from Old Java such as the *Kakawin Bhomāntaka*, *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Bhāratayuddha*, *Arjunawiwāha*, *Smaradahana*, *Sutasoma* and so forth while also some later *kakawin* composed in Bali have been provided with Balinese glosses. To her list may be added the *Kakawin Pārthayajña* (Pārtha's Sacrifice) (private collection), *Kakawin Kalēpasan* (Text on Deliverance) (Collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 23.058) and the *ĕmbat-ĕmbatan* of the *Dharmasrama* (Obligations of Persons as they Go through Life) in the collection of University of Indonesia Library, (LT 209) which, in the catalog by Behrend and Pudjiastuti of 1997, is not recognized as a *maarti* text. We should also add the *Kakawin Bhārgawaśikṣa* (The Teachings of Bhārgawa) in the collections of Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 16.256, 21.687 and 21.711, and the Gedong Kirtya, IIB/1374/39, under its alternative name *Kakawin Kalisangara* (The End of the Era) and the *Kakawin Kangśa* (Tale of Kangśa) in Leiden, Cod.Or. 23.907. The relationship between the Old Javanese and the Balinese glosses in these manuscripts has received little scholarly attention and whether or not changes can be detected over time in these glosses that may point to changes in the knowledge of Old Javanese of the writers of the manuscripts that contain *maarti* texts has not been explored. It is not only Old Javanese texts that were provided with glosses. Middle Javanese texts also were thus presented in manuscripts that contain the *Kidung Tantri* (Poem of Tantri Fables), *Kidung Malat maarti* (Romance of Prince Panji), *Sri Tañjung* (Poem of Sri Tañjung) and other texts.<sup>31</sup>

### *Knotted Markers and Other Bookmarks*

Sometimes, *lontar* leaves in manuscripts show cut-out indentations at one or both ends to indicate certain positions in the text deemed of special interest to the owners or users. Others have small pieces of string or grass or some other material through the perforations at the left or at the right – sometimes

31 Hinzler 2009: 238–239.



through both – of one or more leaves. Seldom is a similar knotted string marker encountered at the string perforation of a leaf as in the illustration below. No detailed investigation into this phenomenon has been made so far for any of the traditions where *lontar* manuscripts were, and are, in use. These bookmarks were probably provided so that the owners or users could more easily find their way in the manuscripts. It is not always clear why bookmarks were added to the leaves. Sometimes they indicate the start of a new canto but usually, even in one manuscript, not every canto was marked in this way but only some, and these were probably those in which something happened of great interest or importance. Whether they mark “passages that were read in some long-past recitation” as stated by Behrend is a conclusion we cannot yet make on the basis of the material at hand.<sup>32</sup> In view of the fact that in Lombok *lontar* manuscripts are used during rituals, those parts of the manuscript were probably indicated that had a direct bearing on the ritual. In Bali and Lombok, entire texts are not sung during rituals but only those parts that are needed for the ritual itself.<sup>33</sup>

In illustration 172 below we see that two different bookmarks were used. One is the indentations made at both sides of some of the leaves and the other is the addition of a knotted string marker at the right side of the second leaf from the bottom that has been added width-wise.

In illustration 173, the marker has been provided in the perforation in the middle, which is rather unusual.

The placement and the way these small strings are tied may indicate individual preferences and may be used to identify *lontar* manuscripts that share the same owner. The illustration below features a small *lontar* with room for just three lines of text. The small strings through the perforations on the right indicate a passage of interest to the owner on leaf 29b and the start of a new canto (in the poetic meter *asmarandana*, see the next chapter) on leaf 28b. The strings on the right are tied length-wise but in the next illustration of a manuscript of the *Puspakrama*, the bookmark is on the left and is tied width-wise.

32 Behrend 1996: 167.

33 See Van der Meij 2012: 120–126.





ILL. 172

*Joharsah (Tale of Joharsah). Javanese, Lombok, undated. PC, 3,1 × 8.5 cm., 118 inscribed leaves.*



ILL. 173

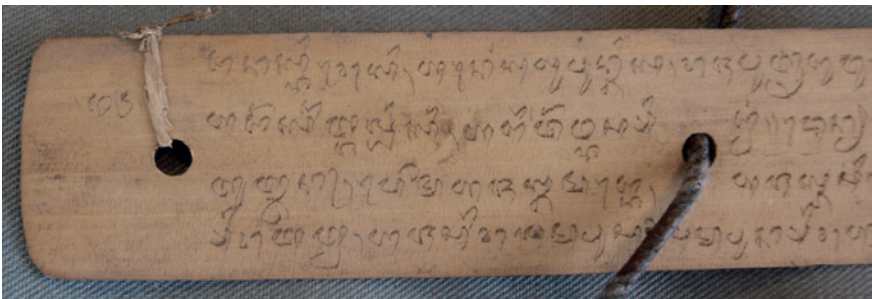
*Ramayana Macapat (Rama's Quest in macapat verse, from Lombok). Javanese, Lombok, undated but before 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3780, 3,5 × 38 cm., 134 leaves, leaf 102.<sup>34</sup>*

34 Juynboll 1911: 66–67; Pigeaud 1968: 138.





ILL. 174 Menak Amir Hamza (*Romance of Menak Amir Hamza*). Sasak, Lombok, Śaka 1780 = AD 1858. UBL Cod.Or. 3807, 2.4 × 21 cm., 88 leaves 28b and 29b.<sup>35</sup>



ILL. 175 Puspakrama (*Romance of the Prince of Puspakrama*). Javanese, Lombok, undated. UBL Cod.Or. 22.469, 3 × 29.5 cm., 97 leaves.

These bookmarks also occur in Bali and Madura. Because of the perishable material of these bookmarks they have often disappeared. In some cases, they were apparently roughly removed from the leaves with the result that the cuts in the leaves due to the tearing out of these bookmarks remain and indicate where they once used to sit.

35 Juynboll 1912: 199.



The use of either more durable or, conversely, more easily perishable material for these markers may point to notions that these indications were intended to have either a permanent or a temporary character.

In the following *lontar* manuscript from Bali or Lombok of the *Kakawin Bhomāntaka* we see that bookmarks have also been used. It is not clear if there ever were more marks than those remaining but the four that still remain are all of a different material and color and thus the owner could easily decide on the part he thought necessary to read. The bookmarks clearly mark passages in the text in canto 2, 37, 38 and 51 where lessons are given about life, *dharma* and honor.



ILL. 176      *Kakawin Bhomāntaka (Bhoma's Death). Old Javanese, Lombok, undated.*  
*PC Toenggoel Siagian, Jakarta, 3,5 × 42.3 cm., 112 inscribed leaves.*

### Ěmbat-Ěmbatan

*Ěmbat-ěmbatan*, are *lontar* manuscripts without covers and with the leaves having just one perforation at the left-hand side near the rib through which a string runs. Often, the leaves have been prepared with less care than the leaves used for *cakěpan*, the central ribs of the leaves have not been removed and the leaves have been folded. Only the outsides of the leaves are inscribed. They



often look rather messy when the outer ends of the leaves have not been neatly cut and the whole may make a broom-like impression.

According to Raechelle Rubinstein they are used for less important texts, such as the compilations of notes.<sup>36</sup> I wonder if she is right. The collection of Leiden University Library has quite a few *kakawin* fragments and even the texts of complete *kakawin* written on *ĕmbat-ĕmbatan* such as the *Kakawin Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (Old Javanese poetic version of part of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*) (Cod.Or. 3730) and *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha* (War of the Bhāratas) REM 16-569, as well as texts in Balinese including the *Tuong Kuning* (Song of Tuong Kuning), Cod.Or. 3621(4). I think that these leaves were used for a reason and not simply for inferior texts or notes. The fact that a complete Balinese translation of the *Kakawin Wṛttasañcaya* (collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 5427) was written on *ĕmbat-ĕmbatan* as can be seen in illustration 320 suggests that important texts were also written on these leaves. *Ėmbat-ĕmbatan* leaves are by no means always inferior to other *lontar* leaves and some examples shown in this book consist of sturdy thick *lontar* leaves that are of much better quality than *lontar* leaves of *cakĕpan* manuscripts.

*Ėmbat-ĕmbatan* manuscripts used to be hung on the wall and for that a hook was necessary. The example below shows both the hook and the string.



ILL. 177      *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha (War of the Bhāratas). Old Javanese, Bali, undated but before AD 1861. UBL REM 16-569, 4 × 34 cm., 40 leaves.*<sup>37</sup>

36      Rubinstein 1996b: 175.

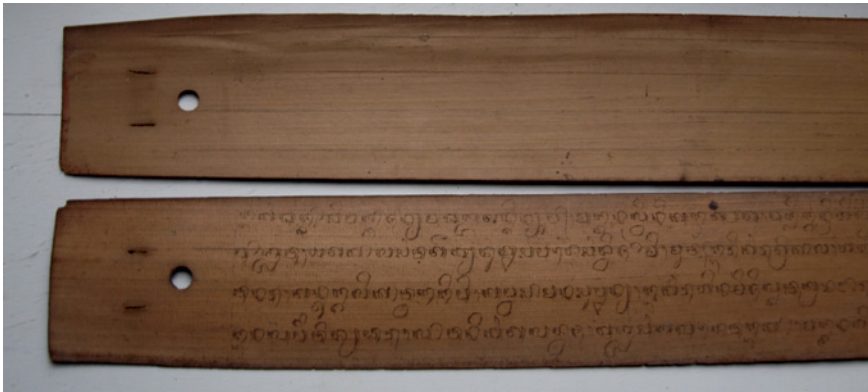
37      Pigeaud 1968: 810.



### Lěmpiran

A *lěmpiran* is a *lontar* manuscript without covers and consisting of a collection of leaves of the same size usually reinforced by extra leaves at the start and at the end which are not used for writing but only to ensure that the manuscript can be handled without ruining the first and last leaves containing the start or the end of the text. If a manuscript has no covers but the leaves are not reinforced it may be a sign that the covers have gone missing. In other instances, one or more extra leaves have been added before the text starts and after it has ended without having been fastened. Often, when the text is finished but not all the leaves have been used, they were added at the end of the text, probably also for this reason or to be used should any leaves later be damaged.

In Bali, the leaves used for reinforcement may contain text that has been discarded, as for instance when serious mistakes were made that could not be solved easily or elegantly and rather than being thrown away these leaves were used for reinforcement. We can recognize this quite clearly by peeping inside the reinforced leaves or, as in illustration 178 where the stitchings are no longer in place but the perforations of the stitchings reveal that the inscribed leaf was used for the purpose of reinforcement.



ILL. 178 Catur Parwa (*The last four books of the Old Javanese Mahābhārata*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. PC, 3.5 × 52.4 cm., 50 inscribed leaves.



*Stitchings on Reinforced Front and Back Leaves*



ILL. 179 Joharsah (*Tale of Joharsah*). Javanese, Lombok, undated. PC,  $3.3 \times 18.5$  cm., 119 inscribed leaves. Typical opening of a lontar from the Sasak community in Lombok. All three perforations in the first leaf have been reinforced with red thread. No extra leaf has been added for additional reinforcement.



ILL. 180 Jatiswara (*The Wandering Islamic Student Jatiswara*, from Lombok). Javanese, Lombok, undated. PNRI 81 E 18,  $3.4 \times 19.8$  cm., 129 inscribed leaves. Note that in this instance, the reinforcements of the first leaves were not done in circles around the perforations but perpendicular to the length of the leaf.

As has been said, the *lontar* leaves at the opening and at the end of a manuscript are often reinforced with one or two other leaves that have been firmly attached to it. I have never seen more than two extra leaves. The number of added leaves may point to personal preferences or to specific places and times. Two examples are shown above of the way reinforcement was done among the Sasak community of Lombok who generally used cotton thread – sometimes colored – for the purpose. In Bali, the leaves were usually tied together by metal wire, sometimes iron, sometimes gold or silver or another metal and sometimes they were simply stapled together. I have no idea when staples came into use in Bali but I have the strong impression that staples were added not by the original producer or owners of the manuscripts but in the repositories where they are now. A large variety of patterns can be found and they may be important for identifying certain *lontar* scribes or owners, with changes in fashion over time perhaps indicating the place of origin of different manuscripts. The



stitches at the left and right sides of the leaves tend to be the same but different from those at the center. The patterns of stitchings at the opening of the manuscript and those at the end need not be the same, however, as is shown in the illustrations below. This is probably done so that the owner knows where the text starts. When the stitching patterns at the opening and closing part of a *lontar* are the same, there is no way of knowing whether one is looking at the start or at the end of the manuscript as empty *lontar* leaves in the same *lontar* manuscript look very much alike. Only after the leaves have been turned do the opening and closing parts become evident.

*Reinforced Front and Back Leaves in Lontar Manuscripts from Bali*

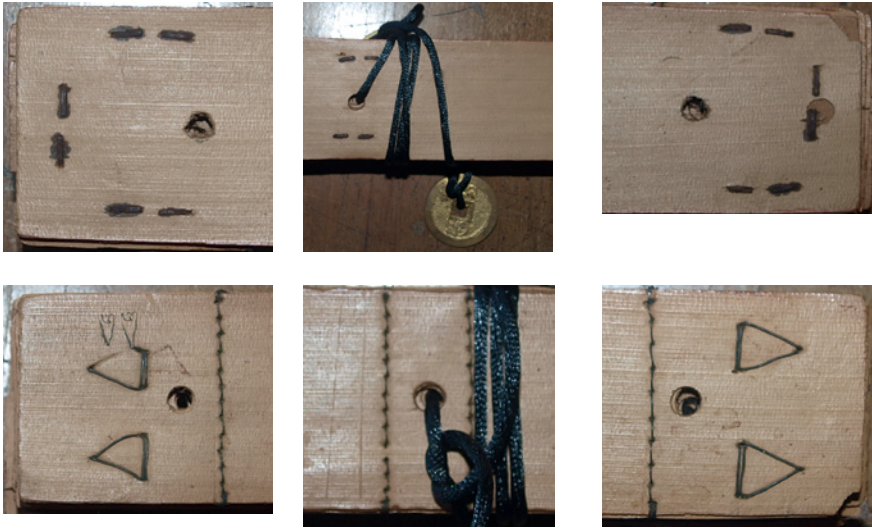
Below follow a number of examples with explanations of the various stitchings of reinforced leaves at the beginning and end of *lontar* manuscripts. Where only one set of photographs has been included this means that only the leaves at one end of the manuscript have been reinforced, this often being at the beginning. In the examples below we see that there is apparently no correspondence between the status of the text and the way these reinforcements have been made. Usually, but not always, care has been taken to use a kind of metal material that does not corrode over time, which is not the case with staples that do corrode and that do so in the tropics probably after a short time after having been stapled to the leaves.

The leaves at the start of this manuscript of the *Kakawin Ratnawijaya* in illustration 181 are simply stapled together and because this way of reinforcement has been done in such a dramatically different way than that at the back, I have the impression they have been added later. The staples have started to corrode. At the end of the manuscript the perpendicular single metal wires have been folded over the sides of the leaves at the top and at the bottom and the distances between the stitchings are very short.

In illustration 182 all the single perpendicular wires have been folded over the sides of the leaves both at the top and at the bottom. The distances between the stitchings are very short. Stitchings have been made in almost the exact same way in two manuscripts kept in the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali of the *Cacaron Lindu Dewasa Paweton* (Offerings for Chthonic Beings in Relation to Earthquakes)<sup>38</sup> and *Cuntaka Graha mwah Mantra* (Notes and Mantras on Ritual and Ritual Impurity) dated 1898 and

38 See <https://archive.org/stream/cacaron-lindu-dewasa-paweton/cacaron-lindu-dewasa-paweton-300ppi#page/no/mode/1up>, accessed 23 November 2016.





ILL. 181 Kakawin Ratnawijaya (*Ratna's Victory*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 114/BPB/Vb/91, 3.5 × 49 cm., 22 inscribed leaves.

1903 respectively.<sup>39</sup> Another is in the collection of Leiden University Library (Cod.Or. 23.012) and contains the *Sastra Yamapūrwatatwa* (Text on Funeral Ritual) from 1898. All four used to be part of the *lontar* collection of I Gusti Putu Jlantik in Singaraja.



ILL. 182 Kakawin Usana Bali Māyantaka Carita (*Sacred Chronicle of Bali*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 159/BPB/111b/91, 3.5 × 45.1 cm., 26 inscribed leaves.

39 See <https://archive.org/stream/cuntaka-graha-mwah-mantra/cuntaka-graha-mwah-mantra-250ppi#page/n8/mode/1up>, accessed 23 November 2016.



The stitchings on the opening page of the *Kidung Sumanasāntaka* (Death by Sumanasa Flower) are rather elaborate and have been executed with care. There are no perpendicular stitchings or wires folded over the edges of the leaves.



ILL. 183 *Kidung Sumanasāntaka* (Death by Sumanasa Flower). Bali, Middle Javanese, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3722, 3.5 × 48 cm., 75 pages.<sup>40</sup>

Also rather elaborate stitchings that have been well executed were made at the start of this manuscript of the *Calon Arang* (Exorcist Tale of the Witch Calon Arang). There are no perpendicular stitchings or wires folded over the edges of the leaves.



ILL. 184 *Calon Arang* (Exorcist Tale of the Witch Calon Arang). Old Javanese, Bali, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3581(1), 3.5 × 34.5 cm., 161 leaves (in total).<sup>41</sup>

The opening leaves of the following manuscript also have an elaborate stitching pattern and this, too, was part of I Gusti Putu Jlantik's collection. The

<sup>40</sup> Juynboll 1907: 229; Pigeaud 1968: 131.

<sup>41</sup> Juynboll 1907: 249; Pigeaud 1968: 114.

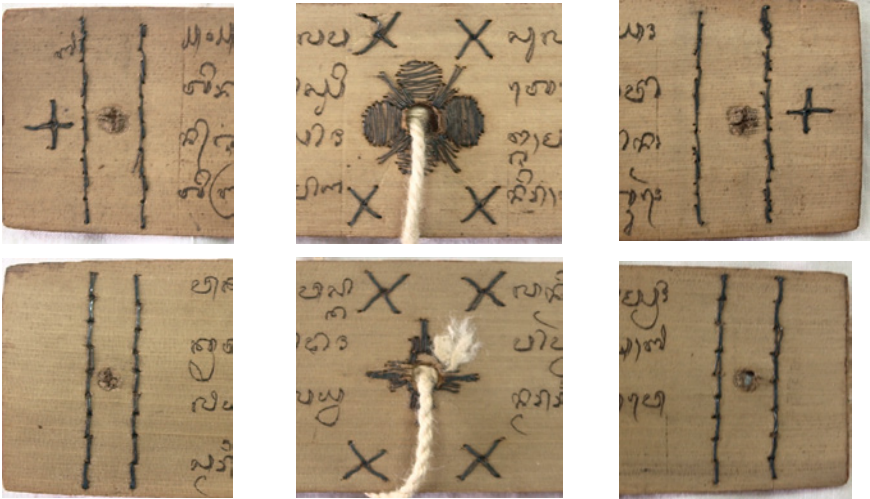


double perpendicular stitchings have been folded over the edges of the leaves and the distances between the stitchings are short.



ILL. 185 Gita Yuddha Mēngwi (*Song of the Battle of Mengwi*). Balinese, Bali, dated before AD 1894. UBL Cod.Or. 23.059, 3.3 × 46.7 cm., 17 inscribed leaves.<sup>42</sup>

The stitching at the start of the manuscript of the *Wirāṭaparwa* (Fourth Book of the Old Javanese *Mahābhārata*) dated 1877 and those at the end differ and the single wires are not folded over the sides of the leaves. The distances between the double perpendicular stitchings are once again short.



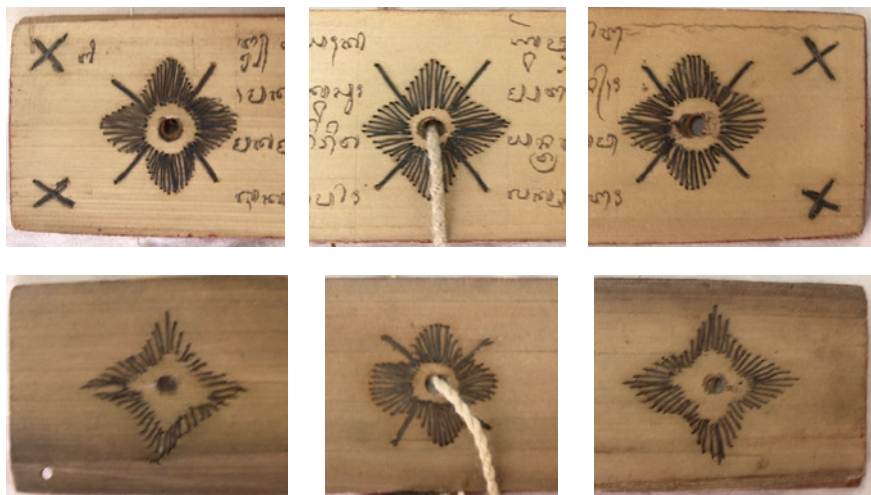
ILL. 186 Wirāṭaparwa (*Fourth Book of the Old Javanese Mahābhārata*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1799 = AD 1877. PNRI 63 L 959b, 3.5 × 51.3 cm., 92 inscribed leaves.<sup>43</sup>

42 For a detailed description of this particular manuscript see Hinzler 1994.

43 Behrend 1998: 365.



The stitchings at the start and at the end of this manuscript of the *Rāmāyaṇa Uttarakaṇḍa* (Seventh book of Rāma's Quest) in illustration 187 differ. However, in a way they resemble those of the manuscript in illustration 186. Both manuscripts were inscribed in AD 1877.



ILL. 187 *Rāmāyaṇa Uttarakaṇḍa* (Seventh book of Rāma's Quest). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1799 = AD 1877. PNRI 63 L 960, 3.8 × 54 cm., 115 inscribed leaves.<sup>44</sup>

A simple method of reinforcement can be seen in the following example. This method just makes use of short, single, stitched wires at the sides and double wires in the center.



ILL. 188 *Aji Kamandaka* (Teachings on Leadership and Statecraft). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. PC, 3.5 × 38.3 cm., 34 inscribed leaves, opening leaves.

<sup>44</sup> Behrend 1998: 365.



In illustration 189, the first pages have been reinforced by stitchings and by a metal ring around the perforations. Note that the stitchings are much larger and that the wires are folded over the sides of the leaves both at the top and at the bottom. Most of the stitching around the perforation in the center has disappeared but the indents they left in the leaf show what they looked like. This manuscript from 1898 was probably part of the collection of I Gusti Putu Jlantik because the perforations have been reinforced as is the case with many of his manuscripts. All the rings around the perforations were attached in the same way at the front and at the back.



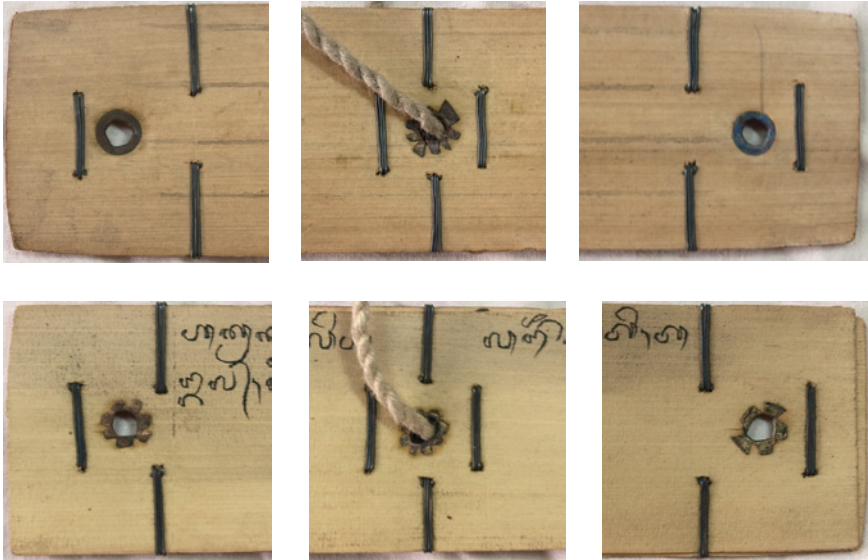
ILL. 189      Kakawin Pārthayajña (*Pārtha's Sacrifice*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1820 = AD 1898. PNRI 53 L 845, 3.6 × 52 cm., 36 inscribed leaves,<sup>45</sup> starting and finishing pages.<sup>45</sup>

In the example below, some of the reinforcement rings around the perforations have been added in different ways. The ones at the left and right in the first row have been applied differently from the rest. Also here the triple wires are folded over the sides of the leaves and look much like those in the example above.

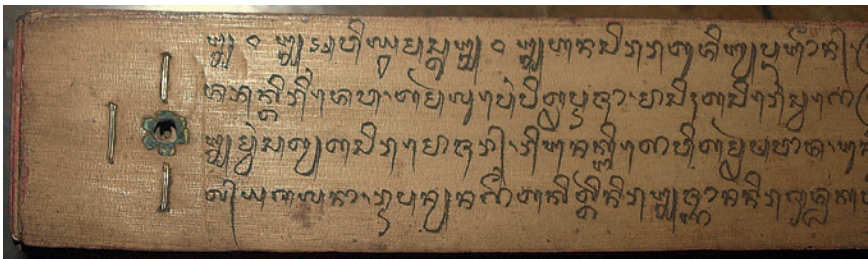
The following manuscript (illustration 191) also belonged to I Gusti Putu Jlantik. Extreme care was made to prevent damage to the manuscript. All perforations in the leaves were reinforced by a metal ring. Note that gold is used to doubly bind the initial leaves of this manuscript. The stitchings used in the *lontar* manuscripts from I Gusti Putu Jlantik's collection differ and I have the impression that the iron rings around the perforations were added to the manuscripts after he acquired them but he did not have the stitchings themselves changed.

45      Behrend 1998: 362.





ILL. 190 Kakawin Smaradahana (*Burning of Smara, the God of Love*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1812 = AD 1890. PNRI 53 L 844, 3.8 × 41.3 cm., 67 inscribed leaves,<sup>46</sup> opening and ending pages.



ILL. 191 Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (*Rāma's Quest*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar n2/BPB/vb/91, 3.5 × 56.5 cm., 180 inscribed leaves.

### Sloppy and Neat Stitchings

The way the leaves are tied together can be done in a sloppy or in a neat way. Two sloppy ways are illustrated first and subsequently one neat way of doing this where the metal wires were neatly sewn into the leaves.

46 Behrend 1998: 362.



Short stitchings were applied in the manuscript of the *Kakawin Arjunawiwāha* below and the wiring has not been executed neatly side by side.



ILL. 192 *Kakawin Arjunawiwāha (Arjuna's Marriage). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 069/BPB/vb/91, 3.5 × 43.2 cm., 58 inscribed leaves.*

The following stitches look rather clumsy and no attempt has been made to make an elegant pattern. Note that the wires are folded over the leaves both at the top and at the bottom. The manuscript dates from 1892.



ILL. 193 *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha maarti (War of the Bhāratas, with Balinese glosses). Old Javanese and Balinese, Bali, dated Śaka 1814 = AD 1892. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 018/BPB/vb/91, 3.3 × 52 cm., 326 inscribed leaves.*

Gold wire has been used for reinforcement of the next manuscript of the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* from AD 1807 in which the stitchings at the front and at the back have been executed in the same, careful way. The gold thread was stitched neatly in three rows. Probably because this large *lontar* was stored in its two-compartment *kropak*, the stitchings at the start and at the end did not have to be different to indicate the start and finish of the text because this was evident from the way it was stored in the box. The stitchings were made after the manuscript was inscribed. This may be seen from the illustration on the left where the stitchings were done over page number 1.



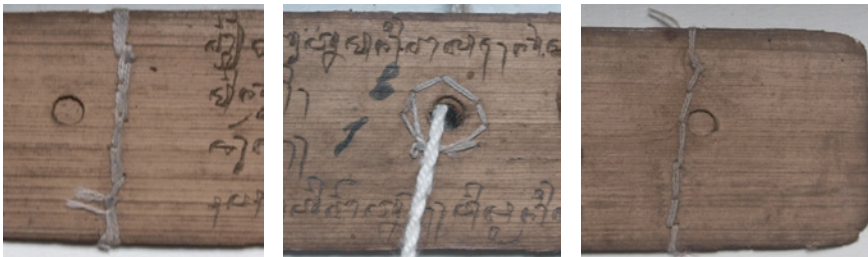


ILL. 194 Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (*Rāma's Quest*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1729 = AD 1807. UBL Cod.Or. 2201, 3.5 × 6.5 cm., 126 leaves in all.<sup>47</sup>

### Stitchings from *Lontar* Manuscripts from the Sasak Community in Karangasem, Bali

Few manuscripts from the Sasak community in Karangasem are to be found in public collections so the example below may therefore be an odd one out, but perhaps it is true that the Balinese from Bali like to use metal for reinforcements whereas the Sasak in Lombok and in Bali do not. Likewise, the Balinese from Lombok also seem to prefer cotton thread over metal wire.

The following is a manuscript with stitchings provided with cotton thread. It comes from the Sasak community in Karangasem, East Bali. Note that the attached leaves do not have perforations at the sides and the stitchings at the sides and in the center are not the same. At the end of the manuscript no leaf enforcement was applied.<sup>48</sup>



ILL. 195 Joharsah (*Tale of Joharsah*). Javanese from the Sasak community in Karangasem, Bali, dated Śaka 1823 = AD 1901. PC, 3 × 38.5 cm., 54 inscribed leaves.

<sup>47</sup> Vreede 1892: 389; Pigeaud 1968: 85.

<sup>48</sup> There is something else noteworthy about this *lontar* manuscript. The perforations are not in the middle of the leaf and the leaf that was attached has no perforations at the sides.



***Reinforced Front and Back Leaves in Lontar Manuscripts from Lombok***

Stitchings in *lontar* manuscripts from Madura and the Sasak community in Lombok use cotton rather than metal. In illustrations 196 and 197, the manuscripts originate from the Balinese community in Lombok and use cotton thread rather than metal. Apparently, on occasion, the circle to be stitched was first indicated with pencil to make execution easier, as in illustration 196. The manuscript dates from AD 1935 and comes from the Balinese community in Mataram in Lombok.



ILL. 196      *Sārasamuccaya (Compendium of High Ideals). Old Javanese, Mataram, Lombok, dated Śaka 1857 = AD 1935. PC 3.5 × 45 cm., 109 inscribed leaves. Reinforcements at the start of the manuscript.*

Illustration 197 shows a *lontar* manuscript of the *Kakawin Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*, which is also from the Balinese community in West Lombok. The leaves have been tied by cotton string and in a straight line. The leaves at the back have not been reinforced. The stitchings in the center of the leaves are not in the same positions, as is usually the case, and the stitching at the left covers part of the leaf number. This means that the stitchings were made after the first leaf had been inscribed.



ILL. 197      *Kakawin Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Old Javanese poetic version of part of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa). Old Javanese, Lombok, dated Śaka 1822 = AD 1900. PC, 3 × 32 cm., 49 inscribed leaves.*



The first leaf of the *lontar* in illustration 198 from the Sasak community in Lombok has been reinforced by a second leaf but they have been sewn together only around the perforations at the sides and not in the center.

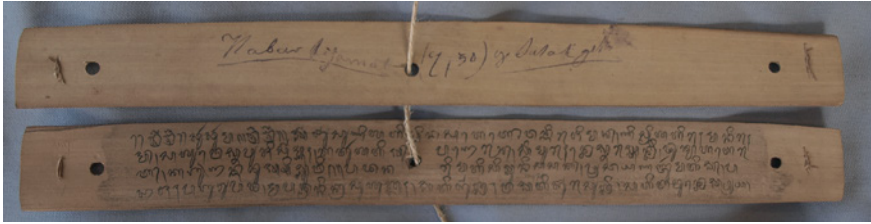


ILL. 198      *Menak Amir Hamza (Romance of Menak Amir Hamza)*. Javanese, Lombok, undated. PC, 2.7 × 18.7 cm., 92 inscribed leaves.

The bindings in the example in illustration 199 are made of grass and have been done twice at the start of this manuscript and once at the end.

Star-like patterns may also be encountered, as in the instance in illustration 200 where the perforations at the sides in the first six leaves were strengthened by metal wire and the first four in the center in a circular way.





ILL. 199 *Kabar Kiamat (Notes on Islamic Eschatology)*. Sasak, Lombok, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3691, 3 × 30.5 cm., 94 leaves.<sup>49</sup>



ILL. 200 *Jatiswara (The Wandering Islamic Student Jatiswara, from Lombok)*. Javanese, Lombok, undated but before 1906. UBL Cod.Or. 5072, 3 × 35 cm., 194 leaves.<sup>50</sup>

49 Juynboll 1912: 198.

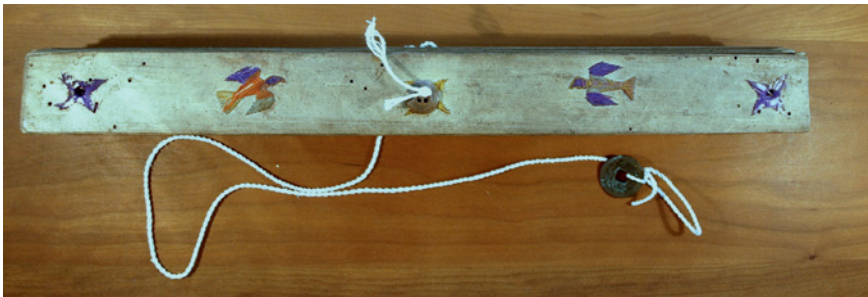
50 Juynboll 1911: 89; Pigeaud 1968: 261.



The stitchings of this Javanese *lontar* manuscript from Lombok in illustrations 201 and 202 are of special interest. In the first place because of the colors and also because of the bird-patterns at the end of the text. The string of this *lontar* has been replaced, but not the Chinese coin.



ILL. 201



ILL. 201 AND 202 Sĕrat Yusup (*Poem of the Prophet Joseph, from Lombok*). Javanese, Lombok, undated. PC, 3.4 × 35.6 cm., 81 inscribed leaves. Illustration 201 shows the start of the manuscript and illustration 202 the end.

Sometimes the stitchings themselves have disappeared, but the perforations in the leaves they left behind may be used to form an idea of what the pattern of the stitchings may have looked like. This is sometimes interesting as in the case



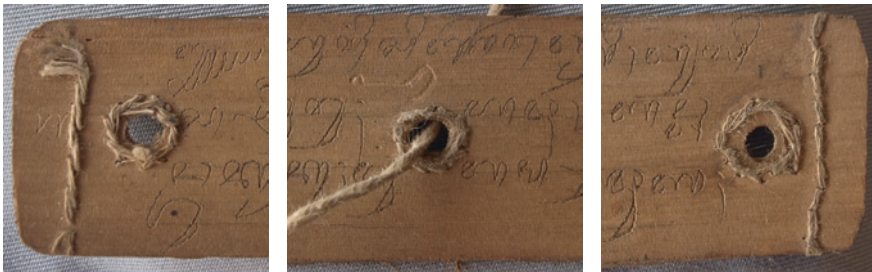
in illustration 203 of a *lontar* from the Sasak community in Lombok where the stitchings have disappeared but the perforations reveal an unexpected pattern. Rather than the usual circular stitchings as in many *lontar* manuscripts from Lombok, they used to be perpendicular and rectangular.



ILL. 203      *Gaguritan Umar Maya (Poem of Umar Maya). Javanese, Lombok, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar, Bali 062/BPB/IVd/g1, 3.2 × 20.2 cm., 99 inscribed leaves.*

### ***Reinforced Front and Back Leaves in Lontar Manuscripts from Madura***

The stitchings in manuscript from Madura use cotton thread. In the examples below, they have been made with great dexterity to ensure that the leaves are firmly tied together. Like in Lombok, the stitchings may be simply around the perforations but may also have another pattern as in the second example in illustration 205.



ILL. 204      *Ĕntol Anom (Didactic Poem of Ĕntol Anom). Madurese, Madura, undated but before AD 1892. UBL Cod.Or. 2299, 3.3 × 26 cm., 58 leaves.<sup>51</sup>*

<sup>51</sup> Vreede 1892: 416.





ILL. 205 Sĕrat Yusup (*Poem of the Prophet Joseph*). Javanese, Madura, undated. Private collection J.J. Witkam, 3 × 23 cm., 147 inscribed leaves.

As has been said above, often no stitches were made to strengthen the first leaves but a few leaves were added before the start of the text. Extra leaves are sometimes added but subsequently two or more leaves may be stitched together for reinforcement. One example is Cod.Or. 22.475 of the *Puspakrama* which starts with two unrelated loose leaves followed by two leaves stitched together. The added loose leaves are not always of the exact same size as the leaves on which the text is written.

### Kropak

As with the protective covers of *takĕpan* manuscripts, no detailed study has been made of the wooden boxes that contain *lontar* manuscripts. A *kropak* is usually made to the exact size of the manuscript to be contained in it. If the box is too big for the manuscript that is inside, it means that this particular manuscript used not to be stored in that box. Boxes may also have been made later to store manuscripts that were collected earlier. This is for example the case with many boxes for the manuscripts of the collection of I Gusti Putu Jlantik of which examples are kept in Leiden University Library. The dates of the production of these boxes may be found on the inside of the lids of the boxes. Original boxes made to store manuscripts owned by the people in the original culture are often made of fine and durable wood and are sometimes extremely heavy. The finest timber such as *sawo* (*Mimusops kauki*), teak (*Tectona grandis*) and *intaran* (*Azadirachta indica*) is chosen for these boxes.<sup>52</sup> The lid of a box is also finely made and fits exactly to the box to ensure that no insects can enter it to damage the manuscript. *Kropak* made for collections in libraries such as the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja or the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali in Denpasar are usually of a different quality and are much more uniform.

<sup>52</sup> Rubinstein 1996: 133–134.



That the *kropak* has been made for a particular *lontar* manuscript may be seen from the fact that the hole at the bottom of a *kropak* compartment to house the knot of the string exactly matches the position of the perforation in the center of the manuscript.

*Kropak* seem to have been almost exclusively made by the Balinese in Bali and by (or for) the Balinese in West Lombok. I have the impression that when a *lẽmpiran lontar* was meant to be stored in a *kropak* there is seldom any reinforcement of the leaves although more research on this is needed to validate the universality of my observations. *Kropak* have been made until recent times. The first example in illustration 206 is a simple, unadorned *kropak* from a *lontar* inscribed in 1969. The lid of the box has not been carved with decorative elements in any way.



ILL. 206      Kakawin Bhāratayuddha (*War of the Bhāratas*). Old Javanese, Lombok, dated Śaka 1891 = AD 1969. Collection Toenggoel Siagian, Jakarta. 9.6 × 6 × 57 cm.  
PHOTOGRAPHED BY DANKER PEEMAN.

The wooden *kropak* in illustration 207 – a simple *kropak* without any adornments – is from an undated manuscript and may have been made at any time as the boxes tend to have a very long life span, especially when high quality wood has been used, as in this example. The lid of the box has not been carved with decorative elements in any way.



ILL. 207      Kakawin Sumanasāntaka (*Death by Sumanasa Flower*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 125/BPB/vb/91, 11.5 × 4.8 × 59.6 cm.



Illustration 208 shows an example of another simple, unadorned *kropak*. The manuscript that is kept in this *kropak* is not the one it was made for as its measurements do not precisely match.



ILL. 208      *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha (War of the Bhāratas). Old Javanese, Bali, undated.*  
*Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 006/BPB/11b/91, 11.4 × 3.8 × 44.5 cm.*

The lid of the *kropak* in illustrations 209 and 210 has been modestly carved.



ILL. 209      *Usada Jati (Notes on Medicine and Magic). Javanese-Balinese, Bali, undated.*  
*Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar, 155/BPB/111d/91, 12 × 6.5 × 63 cm.*



ILL. 210      *Detail of the same box seen from above.*



The big *kropak* in illustration 211 has two compartments needed for the large *lontar* it is meant to contain. The lid has been carved in a simple way.



ILL. 211 Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (*Rāma's Quest*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali n2/BPB/vb/91, 15.5 × 11 × 62.5 cm.

The lid of the next *kropak* in illustration 212 has been beveled in an unassuming manner.



ILL. 212 Kakawin Sutasoma (*Tale of Sutasoma*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 072/BPB/vb/91, 14 × 6.5 × 62.5 cm.

The *kropak* in illustration 213 has two compartments to hold a large *lontar* of the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*. It has a curious varnish on it and has been carved in an unusual way.

The box in illustration 214 has two compartments and is extremely large and dates before 1876, if indeed the box was made at the same time as the *lontar* manuscript of the *Kakawin Bhomāntaka* was inscribed.





ILL. 213      *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (Rāma's Quest). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1880 = AD 1958. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali 113/BPB/vb/91, 50 × 3.8 cm., 264 inscribed leaves. Note that the leaves at the start and at the end of the lontar manuscript have been reinforced by staples.*



ILL. 214      *Kakawin Bhomāntaka (Bhoma's Death). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. UBL Cod.Or. 2209, 40 × 11.2 × 62 cm.<sup>53</sup>*

53      Vreede 1892: 391–392; Pigeaud 1968: 86.



### Cavities on the Insides of *kropak*

It is not always easy to extract a *lontar* from its *kropak*, and for this reason, many *kropak* have been provided with cavities so that it can be taken out more easily. Also here various patterns occur. The cavities can be round or angular and in case of two storage compartments in one *kropak*, they can both be on one side or one at the left and one at the right-hand side.

The round cavities to enable the fingers to extract the manuscript are located at one side of the box in the example in illustration 215. The holes in the center of both compartments were made to house the knot of the string at the start and end of the string.



ILL. 215 Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (*Rāma's Quest*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1729 = AD 1807. UBL Cod.Or. 2201, 15.7 × 9.3 × 72 cm.<sup>54</sup>

The box in illustration 216 has two round cavities, one at each end.



ILL. 216 Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa maarti (*Rāma's Quest, with Balinese glosses*). Old Javanese and Balinese, Bali, dated Śaka 1716 = AD 1794. UBL Cod.Or. 2200, 23.7 × 11 × 61.2 cm.<sup>55</sup>

The *kropak* in illustration 217 has one compartment with an angular cavity. Note that to protect the *lontar* manuscript, an empty leaf has been put at the bottom.

No cavity has been provided in the following *kropak* in illustration 218 which comes from the Balinese community in Lombok. Also no room has been provided at the bottom to house the knot at the end of the *lēmpiran*'s string.

54 Vreede 1892: 389; Pigeaud 1968: 85.

55 Vreede 1892: 389; Pigeaud 1968: 85.





ILL. 217      *Sĕrat Yusup (Poem of the Prophet Joseph, from Lombok). Javanese, Lombok, undated. PC, 13.5 × 6 × 39.5 cm.*



ILL. 218      *Sārasamuccaya (Compendium of High Ideals). Old Javanese, Mataram, Lombok, dated Śaka 1857 = AD 1935. PC, 11.6 × 6.7 × 51 cm.*

The box and its lid usually match precisely and because of this it is not always clear how the cover should be placed over it and we may end up trying to place the cover the wrong way round. To help the user, the inside of the cover may have been provided with a clue as to the correct placement. A half circle has been carved into the wood that matches the cavity provided in the box itself, as in illustration 219. Sometimes these indications have been added later with pencil or ballpoint. Other indications may also be found, such as corresponding little cross marks on the box and on the lid as found in a box of the *Kakawin Bhomāntaka* (collection Leiden University Library, Cod.Or. 2209).



ILL. 219      *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha (War of the Bhāratas). Old Javanese, Lombok, dated Śaka 1891 = AD 1969. Collection Toenggoel Siagian, Jakarta, 9.6 × 6 × 57 cm.*  
PHOTOGRAPHED BY DANKER PEEMAN.



### Decorated *kropak*

Decorated *kropak* also exist but little is known about their makers and where or when they were in fashion. Apparently, beautifully decorated *kropak* come from palace surroundings or from those affluent enough to be able to afford them. Some examples below show how they may appear.

The first *kropak* (illustrations 220 and 221) demonstrates the direct link that exists between the decoration of the *kropak* and the contents of the text of the manuscript. In this case, with the exception of the bottom, the *kropak* has been decorated on all sides with scenes from the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*, in keeping with the text it contains. The scenes on the box illustrate Hanoman's mission to visit Sita on Lengka and the subsequent battle he fights against the demons there. The Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam has another *kropak* with illustrations from the *Rāmāyaṇa* which is illustrated and explained in Reichle 2010.<sup>56</sup>



ILL. 220      *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (Rāma's Quest). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1729 = AD 1807. UBL Cod.Or. 2201.<sup>57</sup> High quality kropak measuring 15.7 × 9.3 × 72 cm.*



ILL. 221      *The same kropak as above.*

<sup>56</sup> Reichle 2020: 206–207.

<sup>57</sup> Vreede 1892: 389; Pigeaud 1968: 85.



The tiger on the *kropak* in illustration 222 is carved into the wood but the work has been left unfinished. The relation between the text it contains, *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* and the tiger talking to the grasshopper in the illustration is unclear, however.



ILL. 222      *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa maarti (Rāma's Quest, with Balinese glosses). Old Javanese and Balinese, Bali, dated Śaka 1716 = AD 1794. UBL Cod.Or. 2200. The kropak measures 23.7 × 11 × 61.2 cm.*<sup>58</sup>

Other *kropak* may show illustrations from fables from the *Tantri Kamandaka* (Old Javanese Tantri Fable Collection), both on the inside and the outside of the box, to emphasize that reading the content of the text should lead to proper conduct. This is so because the Tantri fables tell of the dangers which present themselves to people in their encounters with a variety of different creatures. A *kropak* that houses the *Kakawin Smaradahana prasi* in the collection of the National Gallery of Australia has illustrations on the inside of the cover.<sup>59</sup> Boxes for manuscripts in the form of mythical animals exist as

<sup>58</sup> Vreede 1892: 389; Pigeaud 1968: 85.

<sup>59</sup> Maxwell, Van den Heuvel, Eastburn and Folan 2014:66.



well and are part of the collection of the Museum Bali in Denpasar (winged serpent)<sup>60</sup> and the Art Gallery of South Australia (winged lion).<sup>61</sup>

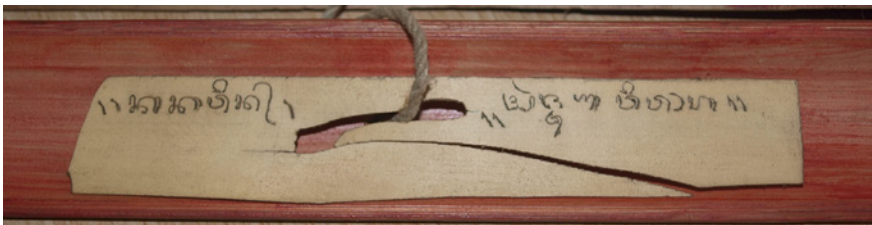
At times decorations that are purely ornamental may be found on *kropak* as in the example in illustration 223.



ILL. 223      *Notes on incantations. Javanese, East Java. UBL Cod.Or. 1882, 6.5 × 4.5 × 33.5 cm.*

### Titles

As has been noted earlier, in Chapter Two, manuscripts rarely carry a title. That is to say, many titles do not appear in the text. However, some *lontar* manuscripts have indications of the title attached to them. See the following examples.

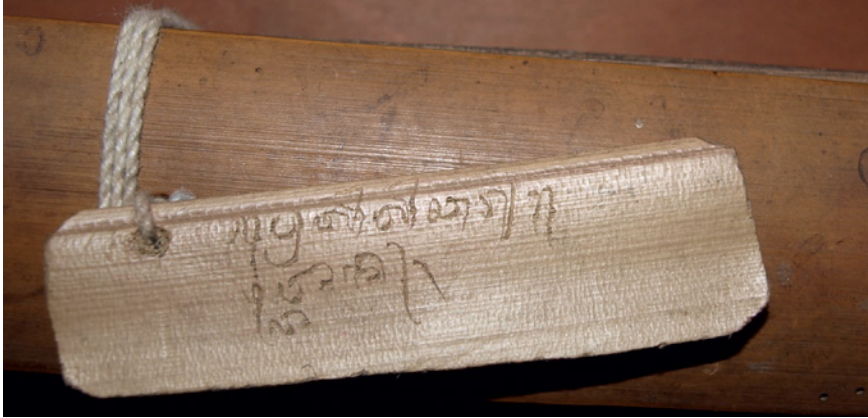


ILL. 224      *Kakawin Arjunawiwāha (Arjuna's Marriage). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 069/BPB/vb/91, 3.5 × 43 cm., 58 inscribed leaves. The title of this lontar manuscript is provided on a separate piece of lontar leaf.*

60      Inv. Nr. 1223. Rubinstein 1996: 135.

61      2013A10(a&b). See <https://www.artgallery.sa.gov.au/agsa/home/Collection/detail.jsp?accNo=20113A10%028a%026b%29>, accessed 20 February 2017.





ILL. 225      *Pratiti Caru Wĕton (Text on Offerings for Chthonic Beings). Balinese, Lombok, undated. PC, 3.5 × 32.8 cm., 56 inscribed leaves. A name tag made of lontar is attached to the string that binds the lontar leaves and the boards.*

That one owner may use the same way of indicating the content of his *lontar* may be seen in illustration 226 where the title has been indicated in the same way as in illustration 225.



ILL. 226      *Wedan Ubulan. Balinese, Lombok, undated. PC, 3.5 × 35.4 cm., 50 inscribed leaves.*

Other ways used to indicate the title of a *lontar* manuscript are found either on the outside of the protective cover or inside it. In other cases separate leaves which provide the title have been added before the text proper. Others still had titles added to the manuscript by scholars or others who used the manuscript.



### *Illuminations and Illustrations in Lontar Manuscripts*

Bali and Lombok, and to a dramatic less extent, Java, have a rich tradition of illustrating and illuminating *lontar* manuscripts. Illustrated *lontar* manuscripts from Bali are called '*prasi*' but in comparison with illustrations, illuminations are much less often encountered. *Prasi* manuscripts are rather rare. Van Stein Callenfels gives us an idea about *prasi* manuscripts in Bali before 1925. In his view they were rare and in 1925, when he wrote, the art had all but disappeared. Apparently the Dewa Agung of Klungkung had a collection of *prasi* lontar manuscripts but "in 1908, they had been used as firewood to cook the food for the soldiers of the expeditionary army".<sup>62</sup> Not everybody was expert in this trade and specialists were in evidence. For the most part illustrations and illuminations were made in black. There are some examples of colored *prasi* manuscripts such as the *Kakawin Smaradahana prasi* as illustrated in John Guy's *Palm-leaf and Paper*, but they are very rare.<sup>63</sup>

Two types of illustrations stand out in the Balinese *lontar* tradition.<sup>64</sup> The first are illustrated versions of mostly *kakawin* stories such as the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Rāma's Quest),<sup>65</sup> *Arjunawiwāha* (Arjuna's Marriage),<sup>66</sup> *Smaradahana* (Burning of Smara, the God of Love),<sup>67</sup> *Bhāratayuddha* (War of the Bhāratas), and *Bhomāntaka* (Bhoma's Death),<sup>68</sup> but there are also non *kakawin* stories such as the prose Old Javanese *Ādiparwa* (First book of the Old Javanese *Mahābhārata*).<sup>69</sup> *Tantri Kamandaka* (Old Javanese Tantri Fable Collection),<sup>70</sup> *Bagus Umbara* (Tale of

62 "(...) in 1908 zijn gebruikt als brandhout voor het koken van het eten der expeditionaire troepenmacht." Van Stein Callenfels 1925: 50.

63 Guy 1982: 59 (illustration in color), 74–76 (description and further illustrations in black and white).

64 For general information about illustrated *lontar* manuscripts (*prasi*) see I Ketut Suwidja 1979.

65 Pigeaud 1970: 11; Guy 1982: 80–81.

66 A fine manuscript is preserved in the collection of the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali. It measures 66 leaves. See <https://archive.org/stream/arjuna-wiwaha-prasi>. Unfortunately the class-mark has not been added to this digital version of the manuscript. This text is also called *Mintaraga*, see Van Stein Callenfels 1925: 50–52.

67 Illustrated in Guy 1982: 59, 74–76. Maxwell, Van den Heuvel, Eastburn and Folan 2014 described and illustrated the *Kakawin Smaradahana prasi* in the collection of the National Gallery of Australia 1994.1234.1.14. See also Rubinstein 1996: 143.

68 Rubinstein 1996: 144.

69 See Guy 1982: 76–80; Rubinstein 1996: 142 and Maxwell et al. 2014: 52–53, both portraying the *lontar* of the *Ādiparwa prasi* in the collection of the National Gallery of Australia 1994.1235.1.8.

70 Hooykaas 1931. See also Gallop and Arps 1991: 105. A very large manuscript of the *Tantri Kamandaka prasi* is preserved in the collection of the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas



Bagus Umbara),<sup>71</sup> *Kidung Dampati Lalangon* (The Diversion of the Spouses),<sup>72</sup> *Dharma Swami, Nawaruci* (Bima's Adventures in Search of the Water of Life),<sup>73</sup> *Bima Swarga* (Poem of Bima's Trip to Hell,<sup>74</sup> *Bramara Sangupati* (Lyric Poem of Bramara Sangupati).<sup>75</sup> There are various kinds. Some *prasi* have the illustrations on one side of the *lontar* leaves whereas the corresponding text is put on the reverse side of the leaves. Others have the illustration and the text on the same side of the leaf and the text is connected with the corresponding picture by means of dotted lines as in the example in illustration 227 of a copy of the *Kidung Dampati Lalangon*. This is an interesting manuscript because these dotted texts which are not in the original make it clear that it is not an exact copy of the original *prasi*.



ILL. 227      *Kidung Dampati Lalangon prasi (The Diversion of the Spouses, illustrated). UBL KITLV D Or. 546, 3.5 × 50.3 cm., 65 leaves, leaf 38.*

Others only indicate the names of the characters with a Balinese letter and no other text is found. Yet other *prasi* have only illustrations and no text at all which in some cases makes determination hard. The most famous example of this is the illustrated version of the Balinese text *Kidung Dampati Lalangon* of which the corresponding text was only discovered decades after the *prasi* version had been taken from the Cakranagara palace in Lombok after it had been conquered in 1894.

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Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali. It measures no less than 385 leaves. See <https://archive.org/stream/prasi-tantri>. Unfortunately the class-mark has not been added to this digital version of the manuscript.

71 Hooykaas 1968.

72 See, for instance, Pleyte 1912 and anonymous 1948.

73 Rubinstein 1996: 139.

74 Rubinstein 1996: 139.

75 Damsté 1928.



Apart from old *prasi lontar* manuscripts new ones are on the tourist market in Indonesia. Added to this, *prasi* manuscripts are also copied, sometimes quite often – the *Kidung Dampati Lalangon*, for example, has been copied at least three times. The original manuscript used to be preserved in the Gedong Kirtya Library in Singaraja in North Bali (class-mark Ivd 907) but was no longer there when I asked to see it in 2011. One copy was made for and presented to Governor General Jonkheer Mr. B.C. de Jonge when he visited Bali in 1935 and is now part of the collection of Leiden University Library KITLV D Or. 546 alongside Cod.Or. 23.522 which is an incomplete copy. Another copy made in 1963 is preserved in the collection of the Pusat Kajian Lontar of Udayana University in Denpasar (Kropak 235 No. Rt. 240).



ILL. 228 Kidung Dampati Lalangon *prasi* (*The Diversion of the Spouses, illustrated*). Leaves 19, 22, 23–26 from the edition of 1948.

Illustration 230 is the facsimile of the original *lontar* manuscript as published in 1948. Illustration 231 shows a detail of a copy of the *Dampati Lalangon prasi* that was probably made by I Ketut Badung and is the one that was





ILL. 229 Kidung Dampati Lalangon prasi (*The Diversion of the Spouses, illustrated*), detail of leaf 24 from the edition of 1948.



ILL. 230 Kidung Dampati Lalangon prasi (*The Diversion of the Spouses, illustrated*). Detail from the printed edition of 1948, plate 1x (leaf 77b).



ILL. 231 Illustration Kidung Dampati Lalangon prasi (*The Diversion of the Spouses, illustrated*). UBL KITLV D Or. 546, 3.5 × 50.3 cm., 65 leaves, leaf 61.



presented to Governor General B.C. de Jonge when he visited Bali in 1935. It is interesting that although it is a copy, quite a number of changes were made. In the first place, the stack of *lontar* leaves at the back of the person has changed into a tree stump. The fingers that hold the *lontar* leaf are arranged differently; the shape of the *kēris* handle at the back of the figure is different and the figure himself now lacks his navel! His hair is arranged differently; there is a difference in the number of insects and their placement, and so on. Apparently, copying a *prasi* meant the liberty to make new versions. This process of copying *prasi* has been carried on until recently as may be seen from the example of the *Kakawin Bhomāntaka* in illustration 232 which was made by I Gusti Bagus Sudiasta from the village of Bungkulan in Singaraja, north Bali in 1984.



ILL. 232 Kakawin Bhomāntaka *prasi* (*Bhoma's Death, illustrated*). pc, 3.5 × 49.8 cm., one leaf, left half of leaf 1b. The names of the characters have been indicated by a Balinese aksara and they are explained on the reverse side of the leaf.

Other *prasi* did not draw their inspiration from Old Javanese *kakawin* or *parwa* texts but portray modern life in Bali. One such is the *prasi* described by Pigeaud in 1975 that illustrates Balinese wedding ceremonies and festivities and is kept in the Landesbibliothek in Karlsruhe (no. 2769-B).<sup>76</sup> Illustration 233

<sup>76</sup> Pigeaud 1975: 300 and Plate 9.



of an anonymous *prasi* portrays a performance of a classical Balinese dance with a modern audience and illustration 234 shows a detail of the *janger* dance.



ILL. 233      *Illustrated prasi lontar. Balinese, Bali, undated but probably second half of the 20th century. UBL KITLV D Or. 445, 3.5 × 36.5 cm., 10 leaves, leaves 7b–8a.*<sup>77</sup>



ILL. 234      *Illustrated prasi lontar. Balinese, Bali, undated but probably second half of the 20th century. UBL KITLV D Or. 445, 3.5 × 36.5 cm., 10 leaves, leaves 10-b.*<sup>78</sup>

That modern life also enters the *prasi* world may be seen below. The dragon portrayed on the left side is still traditional but the small car driving up the mountain on the right is a reference to the modern world as it was in 1963. The illustration on the left portrays the eruption of Mount Agung with fire and smoke and the little car on the left drives up to Mount Batur with the Liligondi hills on its right flank.

<sup>77</sup> Pigeaud 1980: 250.

<sup>78</sup> Pigeaud 1980: 250.





ILL. 235 Kakawyan Létusan Gunung Tolangkir (*Song of the Eruption of Mount Tolangkir*). Balinese, Bali, dated 27 September 1963.  
Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 070/BPB/111b/91, 3.6 × 45.8 cm., 31 leaves.



ILL. 236 Left half of the opening leaf of the same manuscript.



ILL. 237 Right half of the opening leaf of the same manuscript.



Illustration 238 shows an illustration in a *lontar* manuscript from Lombok. It adorns the opening page of the *Babad Selaparang* (Chronicle of the Realm of Selaparang, Lombok). The accompanying text states that it shows the summit of Mount Rinjani in the northeast of Lombok. Illustrations in *lontar* manuscripts from the Sasak community in Lombok are extremely rare and a tradition of illustrating complete stories is absent. Also illuminations in *lontar* from Lombok are very rare and usually only consist of flowery arabesques in opening leaves as in illustration 239.



ILL. 238      *Babad Selaparang* (Chronicle of the Realm of Selaparang, Lombok). Javanese, Lombok, dated AH 1285 = AD 1868. PC, 2.9 × 25.5 cm., no inscribed leaves.





ILL. 239 Babad Sakra (*Chronicle of the Realm of Sakra*). Sasak, Lombok, undated but before 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3596, 3 × 21.3 cm., 65 leaves, opening leaf.<sup>79</sup>

As said above, illustrations or illuminations in lontar manuscripts from Java are rare. One example is illustration 240 of Cod.Or. 2268c of a *Pawukon* (Almanac on Chronology and Divination) manuscript in the collection of Leiden University.



ILL. 240 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*). Javanese, Java, undated but before AD 1845. UBL Cod.Or. 2268c, 3.5 × 45 cm., 45 leaves.<sup>80</sup>

### *'Functional' Illustrations*

Functional illustrations are illustrations that further explain or add to what has been said in the text and are not meant solely for decoration purposes. They include the *rajahan* in Balinese manuscripts that are visual charms needed for the purpose for which the charms may be used. The charms are ineffective when the corresponding *rajahan* are not used at the same time

<sup>79</sup> Juynboll 1912: 200.

<sup>80</sup> Vreede 1892: 400; Pigeaud 1968: 94–95. For illustrations of a similar illustrated but polychromatic manuscript see Kumar and McGlynn 1996: 20–21.



(illustrations 169, 240, 241 and 242). As such they are not illustrations but part of the charms themselves. Many *rajaḥan* exist for sorcery purposes and a large number of them may be found in the studies C. Hooykaas published in 1980 and in I Gede Jaman's publication of 1999.<sup>81</sup>



ILL. 241 *Rajaḥan. Balinese, Bali, undated but before AD 1921. UBL KITLV D Or. 447, 3.5 × 46.5 cm., 19 leaves.*<sup>82</sup>



ILL. 242 *Jaran Guyang (Love Magic with mantras). Balinese, Lombok, undated. PC, 3.3 × 10.3 cm., 10 inscribed leaves, page 10b.*

In Bali, manuscripts with illustrations of traditional daggers (*keris*) may be found although these are much fewer in number than in the Javanese tradition. The example in illustration 241 was copied from a manuscript from Dewa Made Karang in Banjar Pule in Bangli by I Ketut Badung on 30 October 1937.

81 Hooykaas 1980a and 1980b; Jaman 1999.

82 Pigeaud 1980: 251.





ILL. 243 Ukuring Këris (*Assessment of Traditional Balinese Daggers*). Balinese, Bali, dated AD 1937. Collection Gedong Kirtya, Singaraja IIC/1418/20, 3,7 × 50,7 cm., 9 inscribed leaves.

### *Damage and Repairs in Lontar Manuscripts*

Time and again scholars have stated that *lontar* “deteriorates in the tropical climate and is susceptible to damage from insects,”<sup>83</sup> but they fail to mention that this being so, *lontar* is still one of the most durable materials for manuscripts in the moist climate of the tropics, especially compared to paper which is much more perishable in this setting. An exception in this matter is Weck who has a different and more detailed opinion about the life span of *lontar* manuscripts. He notes that they may last as long as 300 years and that their durability predominantly depends on the way they are handled and stored.<sup>84</sup> Behrend is of the same opinion on how long *lontar* may last, and argues that, especially when leaves are regularly treated with citronella oil, they may last for hundreds of years.<sup>85</sup>

83 For instance, Rubinstein 1992: 87.

84 Weck 1976: 7.

85 Behrend 1996: 165.



If the string is not tied properly around the leaves and the protecting covers, *lontar* manuscripts are in danger of falling apart when they are not handled properly. The leaves will simply fan out in all directions and this may cause them to break. This is especially so in Lombok where, as has already been discussed, *lontar* leaves of a lesser quality have often been used. In Lombok and also in Madura the solution to this problem is by using wooden pegs through the perforations at both sides of the leaves and the protecting covers to make the manuscript much sturdier, as can be seen in illustration 238. Only once have I encountered a manuscript with pegs made of iron.<sup>86</sup>

The perforations just off the center of the *lontar* leaves may easily become damaged because the string is often pulled through them in the opening and closing of the manuscript as in illustration 244. This damage is especially caused when the string is made of sturdy plastic. Producers of *lontar* manuscripts were aware of this and they usually allowed some space around the string perforation to remain blank so that no text would be lost through this kind of eventuality. As we have seen above some manuscript producers solved this problem in another and more sophisticated way by providing each perforation in the center (and sometimes those at the sides as well) with a small metal ring to avoid damage.



ILL. 244 Calon Arang (*Exorcist Tale of the Witch Calon Arang*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3581(1), 3.5 × 34.5 cm., 161 leaves (in total).<sup>87</sup>

When they are properly stored, the sides of the leaves of *cakĕpan* manuscripts are hardly ever damaged. *Ĕmbat-ĕmbatan* manuscripts often incur damage at the end of the leaves because no protection is offered, as in the example below.

86 Jatiswara, UBL Cod.Or. 5072, portrayed in figure 200.

87 Juynboll 1907: 254; Pigeaud 1968: 114.





ILL. 245      *Datu Daba (Poem of Datu Daba). Sasak, Lombok, undated but before 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3765, 3 × 39 cm., 51 leaves.*<sup>88</sup>

In Lombok leaves often turn dark over time and this lessens the contrast with the inscribed letters as in illustration 246. This makes reading them rather hard, especially when the letters have not been inscribed deeply because the leaves are usually thin and brittle, making deep inscribing impossible.



ILL. 246      *Jatiswara (The Wandering Islamic Student Jatiswara, from Lombok). Javanese, Lombok, undated but before AD 1906. UBL Cod.Or. 5072, 3 × 35 cm., 194 leaves.*<sup>89</sup>

<sup>88</sup> Juynboll 1912: 197.

<sup>89</sup> Juynboll 1911: 89; Pigeaud 1968: 261.





ILL. 247      Puspakrama (*Romance of the Prince of Puspakrama*). Javanese, Lombok, dated AD 1944. UBL Cod.Or. 22.474, 3 × 32.5 cm., 104 inscribed leaves.

### *Insect Infestation*

Insect infestation is a great problem with *lontar* manuscripts especially when they are not regularly used and checked. Infestation may occur through the sides of the leaves and also through the perforations such as the perforations in the center of the leaves in illustration 247.

Being stored in a *kropak* is no guarantee that a manuscript does not become damaged as is clear in the illustration below. In some way insects have managed to ravage many leaves with a serious loss of text as a result as in illustration 248. This may perhaps indicate that the manuscript used to be stored without a *kropak* although I cannot imagine that a *kropak* was made to its exact size when it was already damaged to this extent.





ILL. 248 Kidung Malat (*Romance of Prince Panji*). Middle Javanese, Lombok, dated Śaka 1785 = AD 1863. PC, 3.4 × 51 cm., 254 inscribed leaves.

Typical insect infestations result in small perforations in the leaves and when not detected in time this may lead to serious damage and substantial loss of text.

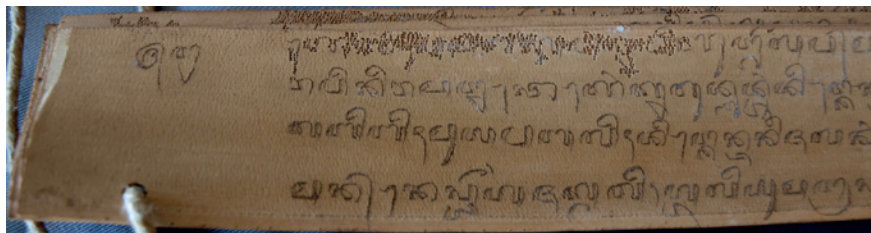
#### *Damage Caused by Dirt, Cracking and Otherwise*

Another, often encountered source of damage to *lontar* manuscripts concerns the loss of letters as a result of being eaten away by moisture or because of other reasons as may be seen from illustration 250.





ILL. 249      *Anembak Burung (Mantras for Shooting Birds). Javanese, Lombok, undated but before 1906. UBL Cod.Or. 5131, 3.5 × 18.3 cm., 13 leaves.*<sup>90</sup>



ILL. 250      *Kidung Tuung Kuning (Song of Tuung Kuning). Balinese ěmbat-ěmbatan, Bali, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3621(4), 4 × 25 cm. (varying), 63 inscribed leaves, leaf 52.*<sup>91</sup>

<sup>90</sup> Juynboll 1912: 203.

<sup>91</sup> Juynboll 1912: 89.



The following is a typical example of dirt on *lontar* leaves that slowly damages the leaves ultimately causing irreparable damage but little loss of text. The sides of the leaves that face each other are affected with the same damage.



ILL. 251      Brahmokta Widhi (*Śiwaic Treatise on The Words of the Deity*). Javanese-Balinese, Bali, undated. Collection Universitas Hindu Indonesia Lt. 19, 3.5 × 45 cm., leaves 11b/12a.

*Lontar* leaves may become damaged for the same reasons as described above for paper manuscripts. However, because of the specific nature of *lontar* manuscripts, damage occurs that we do not find in paper manuscripts.

### Repairs on Cracked Leaves

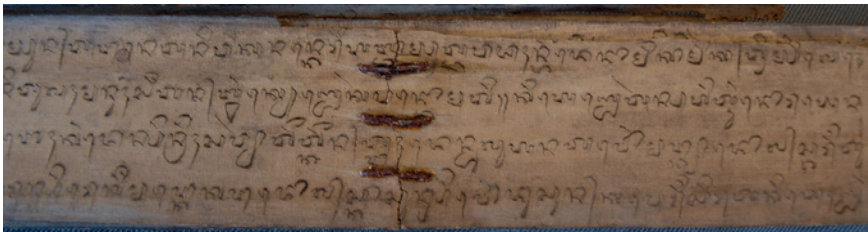
One of the dangers that may befall the leaves is that they crack or fold over and break. Because the only means to keep the leaves together is the string in the middle, the leaves often fan out all over the place when not properly handled, which makes them prone to breaking, which indeed often occurs. Cracks also appear when the leaves are of a poor quality. This has been discussed earlier in this chapter but when this happens, repairs have to be made, as in illustration 252. In this case repairs were made by using pressure-sensitive adhesive tape, causing its own problems like discoloration over time.





ILL. 252 Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (*Rāma's Quest*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1729 = AD 1807. UBL Cod.Or. 2201, 3,5 × 65 cm., 126 inscribed leaves, leaf 15.<sup>92</sup>

Repairs were also made by using staples which can also cause damage because of corrosion as in illustration 253.



ILL. 253 Ender (*Farcical Romance of Ender*). Javanese-Balinese, Bali, undated but before 1894. UBL Cod.Or. 5345, 4 × 53.5 cm., 46 inscribed leaves, leaf 24b.<sup>93</sup>

The least-harmful way to repair cracked leaves is by using cotton thread to sew the damaged parts together as it causes much fewer problems later. Of course, individuals differ in the care and precision they apply when they repair manuscripts. Some repairs are therefore neat and others awkward which may point to the circumstances in which these *lontar* were kept and used. Illustration 254, which is of a *lontar* from Lombok, shows an effective but unattractive way of repairing *lontar* leaves. Illustration 255 shows a repair from Bali that is less obtrusive. The third example in illustration 256 shows efforts to repair the fraying ends of a *ĕmbat-ĕmbatan* manuscript from Lombok.

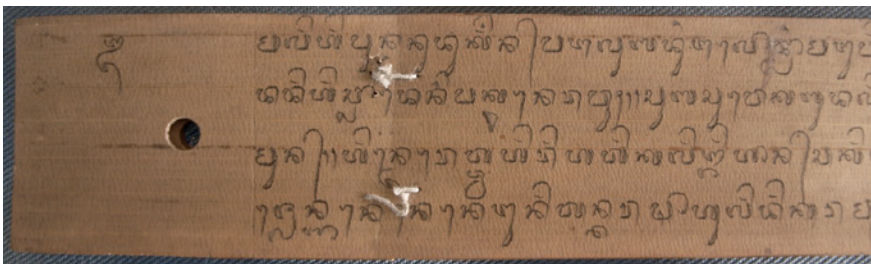
<sup>92</sup> Vreede 1892: 389; Pigeaud 1968: 85.

<sup>93</sup> Juynboll 1912: 79; Pigeaud 1968: 304.





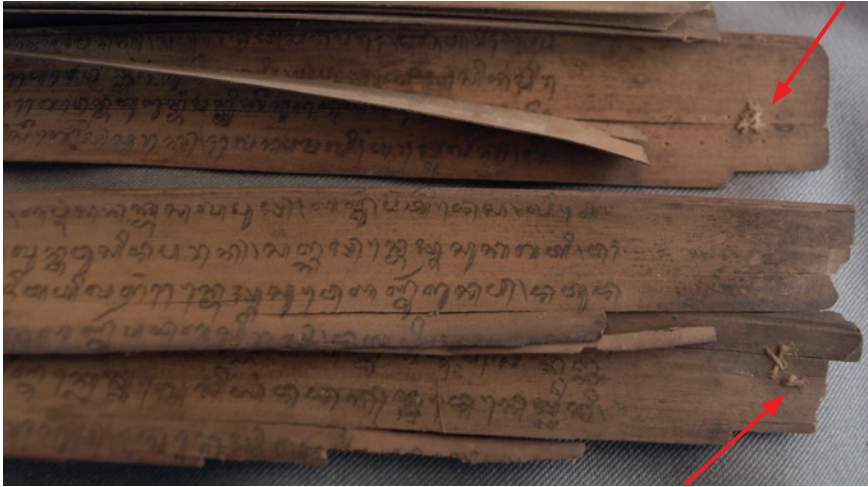
ILL. 254 *Puspakrama (Romance of the Prince of Puspakrama). Javanese, Lombok, undated but from the end of the nineteenth to first part of the twentieth century. PC, 3.3 × 36.1 cm., 100 inscribed leaves, leaf 34.*



ILL. 255 *Gita Yuddha Měngwi (Song of the Battle of Mengwi). Balinese, Bali, dated before AD 1894. UBL Cod.Or. 23.059, 3.3 × 46.7 cm., 17 inscribed leaves, leaf 3.<sup>94</sup>*

94 For a detailed description of this particular manuscript see Hinzler 1994.





ILL. 256     *Datu Daha (Poem of Datu Daha)*. Sasak, Lombok, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3765, 3 × 39 cm., 51 ff.<sup>95</sup>

### *Gěbang (Nipah) Manuscripts*

As far as I know, no thorough study on *nipah* (*Nypa fruticans*) palm-leaf manuscripts had been published until Aditia Gunawan published his article in 2015 in which he also presents a survey of previous studies on *nipah* material and manuscripts. Gunawan established that texts were written on leaves of the *gěbang* palm tree (*Corypha gebanga* or *Corypha utan*) rather than using *nipah* leaves. At the time of writing, only few dozen *gěbang* manuscripts are known, which is a tiny fraction of the tens of thousands of *lontar* manuscripts in public and private collections in the world.<sup>96</sup> Twenty *gěbang* manuscripts are preserved in the National Library of Indonesia and three in a private collection in Kabuyutan Ciburuy, in West Java. One further manuscript is in the Sri Baduga Museum in Bandung, two in Leiden University Library, one in the Staatsbibliothek in Berlin and one in the Bodleian Library in Oxford.

<sup>95</sup> Juynboll 1912: 197.

<sup>96</sup> Gunawan 2015: 254.





ILL. 257 Kuñjarakarna (*Buddhist Edifying Tale of Kuñjarakarna, in prose*). Old Javanese, West Java, undated but before AD 1878. UBL Cod.Or. 2266,  $3 \times 27.5$  cm.(ms),  $3 \times 5 \times 33$  cm. (box), 54 inscribed gēbang leaves written in bold, semi-cursive ancient West Javanese script written with thick black ink.<sup>97</sup>

Compared to *lontar* leaves *gēbang* leaves show much less variation in leaf length. They are dramatically thinner than *lontar* leaves and much more brittle. As a result the text on *gēbang* leaves is written with ink rather than inscribed with a stylus as in the case of *lontar* leaves.<sup>98</sup> Almost all *gēbang* manuscripts come from West and Central Java whereas *lontar* manuscripts are found (sometimes in astonishing numbers) in Java, Madura, Bali and Lombok.

<sup>97</sup> Vreede 1892: 299; Pigeaud 1968: 94.

<sup>98</sup> See Brandes 1889 for a discussion of historical sources for this ink.



## Verse, Verse Meters and Their Indications

One day he returned in triumph from Batuan with a rare text he had discovered in the home of the *klian* in his village. It was a book of recipes and ingredients for the different feast dishes, written in verse. But when I gave it to Madé Gria, the *dalang*, to read, he looked at it for some time, and at last, finding the stanzas unfamiliar, he said:

I cannot read it, for I do not know the tune.

But never mind the tune; just read the words.

But he only repeated: I can't; I do not know the tune.<sup>1</sup>



The quote above nicely sums up the importance of verse in the literary tradition of Bali. The text mentioned in the quote is not a piece of literature but rather a book of recipes cast in verse. The tunes of the verses are so important that, apparently, reading without reference to it is impossible. This chapter is concerned with verse and a number of its features. Because the overwhelming mass of Javanese, Sundanese, Madurese, Balinese and Sasak texts are composed in *tembang macapat* we will start with the intricacies of this Javanese poetic form and its localized manifestations rather than work chronologically and starting with older forms of Javanese poetic traditions.

Because verse is often seen as crucial to the understanding of textual transmissions in manuscripts, it is vital to devote some space to the intricacies of Javanese and other verse forms (verse meters), the way they are used and indicated in manuscripts and to the variety found among them. Especially important is the way that canto and stanza divides are indicated as this offers clues to the origins of manuscripts in terms of place and cultural background and to the time they were written. Temporal and regional variation may also exist in other features of poetic texts such as the indications of the verse meters in contiguous cantos called *sasmitaning tembang* which will be extensively dealt with in this chapter. It is also important to understand these verses and their metrical structures as often manuscripts are damaged and we find ourselves starting our text in the middle of an unidentified verse.

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<sup>1</sup> McPhee 2000: 95 (first published in 1947).





ILL. 258      *Sĕrat Asmarasupi (Romance of Asmarasupi)*. Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 20.2 × 16.3 cm., 237 pages, pages 34 and 35. The transition from one canto to the next and from one stanza to the next are clearly indicated in red and blue while the divides in verse lines are indicated in red. This is a heavily damaged manuscript but it offers us clues because of the features it still shows.

### Verse Structures

The verse forms used in Java, West Java (Sunda), Madura, Bali and Lombok are similar and are based on the same poetic systems. We will look at the Javanese system in detail first. The systems for the other languages may be inferred from this and thus less attention will be paid to them.

Ben Arps summarizes Javanese verse forms (*tĕmbang*) as follows: “*Tembang* is the generic name of a type of stanzaic, melodico-metrical verse forms, which require that verse lines consist of specified numbers of syllables, contain word boundaries in particular positions, and end with specific vowels”.<sup>2</sup> In his doctoral dissertation of 1992, Arps explained the difference between three distinct kinds of verse forms (*tĕmbang*, *sĕkar*): *tĕmbang cilik/sĕkar alit*, *tĕmbang tĕngahan/sĕkar tĕngahan*, and *tĕmbang gĕdhe/sĕkar agĕng*. The exact nature of the differences between the first two is rather unclear and seem to have more to do with usage than with the formal features of each distinct verse meter. Apparently, *tĕmbang cilik* and the more common *tĕmbang tĕngahan*

2 Arps 2000: 114–134.



verse meters may be grouped together as *těmbang macapat*.<sup>3</sup> Purbatjaraka reminded his readers in 1952 that “*sěkar těngahan punika lugunipun sěkar mat-japat sěpuh; tijang samangke sampun meh kěsupen*” (*sěkar těngahan* used to be called old *sěkar macapat*; now people tend to forget this).<sup>4</sup> *Těmbang gědhe* can easily be differentiated from *těmbang macapat* as will be shown below.<sup>5</sup>

*Macapat* verse forms are not only found in the Central Javanese cities of Surakarta and Yogyakarta but in Java they are found everywhere. Some *těmbang macapat* verse forms are more or less standard whereas others are more local and less well studied. For instance, in 1970, according to Pigeaud, the verse meters *lonthang* and the Cirebon meters *ladrang*, *suměkar*, and *měnggalang* still awaited further investigation as to their precise structures.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the meter *suměkar* was still a puzzle in 1998 when Ricklefs was trying to make sense of this meter which appeared in no less than seven cantos in the *Caritanira Askandar Dulkarnen* preserved in the Royal Asiatic Society in London as MS Raffles Java 14, and he discussed it in Appendix I of his book.<sup>7</sup> The other two remain a puzzle to this day. As has been said before by other scholars, browsing through many Javanese *těmbang macapat* texts leads one to the conclusion that, indeed, there is much more to say about these verse meters and that they are not quite as systematized in Javanese culture as one might think.

### Těmbang Macapat

Regardless of their content, texts are mostly cast in poetic *těmbang macapat* verse meters.<sup>8</sup> In Bali *těmbang macapat* is called *pupuh* or *sěkar alit* and texts written in *těmbang macapat* are called *gaguritan* (or *gěguritan*) or *pěparikan*<sup>9</sup> while they are called *guguritan* in Sunda, West Java.<sup>10</sup> The contents may be of a highly speculative Islamic nature, but may also be distinctly Hindu or secular and thus not restricted to any particular literary or other genre. Moreover, “matjapat song is both folk-song and professional song, belonging to the village, to the theatre, and to courtly ceremony.”<sup>11</sup>

3 Arps 1992: 14–15.

4 Purbatjaraka 1952: 75.

5 *Sěkar agěng* is the topic of Arps' 'doctoraalscriptie' (MA thesis) at Leiden University 1986.

6 Pigeaud 1970: 83.

7 Ricklefs 1998: 348.

8 See Pigeaud 1967: 20ff and especially Arps 1992 for general discussions of *těmbang macapat*.

9 Suarka 2007: 130.

10 Van Zanten 1984: 294; Rusyana 1991: 123.

11 Kartomi 1973: 6.



Each *těmbang macapat meter* has its own name, has a standard number of lines per stanza (called *guru gatra*), a standard number of syllables per verse line (*guru wilangan*) and a standard vowel in the last syllable of each line (*guru lagu*).<sup>12</sup> This, however, appears to be a theoretical statement. In general the verse theory from Central Java is used as point of departure but this is to be taken with caution as many parts of the Javanese cultural world that use *těmbang macapat* – including Central Java itself – do not ‘strictly’ abide by Central Javanese poetic conventions, if they abide by it at all. This has, of course, attracted the attention of earlier scholars for instance Behrend.<sup>13</sup> Most variation is encountered in the number of syllables per verse line and less in the last vowel or the number of verse lines in a stanza. Another thing is that we base ourselves usually on written rather than sung text which may in fact be a wrong way of starting to try to understand these verses. The exact deviations of the conventions are rarely studied in depth and one scholar to have done so is Munawar Holil for Sundanese manuscripts in his dissertation of 2016 to which he appended all the deviations from the conventions he encountered.<sup>14</sup>

I found astonishing variation, for instance, in Javanese texts in manuscripts from Lombok of the story of the prince of *Puspakrama* and Behrend found the same during his study of the story of the wandering Islamic student, *Sěrat Jatiswara*.<sup>15</sup> Even within one text and in one canto the number of syllables per verse line varied greatly.

Usually, the manuscripts themselves caution us about the exactness of the verse meters they use. Regardless of their origin, manuscripts tend to start or end by stating that: “if something is missing or there are too few syllables, please add what is needed and if there are too many, shorten it” or phrases to that effect. Apparently, in Bali the exact number of syllables per line is no longer a problem vide the following statement made by Djapa:<sup>16</sup> “too many or too few syllables per line as stipulated may occur and do not constitute mistakes because *gaguritan* are usually sung or articulated. Transgressions in the number of syllables, the number of lines, or the vowel in the last syllable of a line (*pada lingsa*) may occur as they do not change the overall meaning of the stanza.”

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12 For consistency, when talking about *těmbang macapat* in general, I use the names and their spelling as they are used in Java. The names are often different elsewhere in the Javanese cultural world, as will become clear below.

13 Behrend 1987: 191ff.

14 Holil 2016: 393–474.

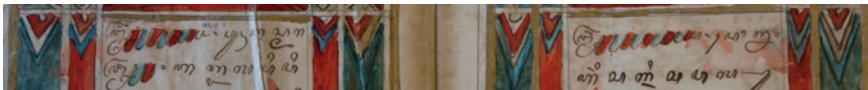
15 Behrend 1987. Interestingly, rather than taking variation as a given, Behrend (1987: 27) denounces manuscript Teeuw 12 of the Lombok version of the *Sěrat Jatiswara* because, in his view, it is full of mistakes in the poetic conventions and the calculation of syllables.

16 Djapa 1999: iii as quoted in Karmini 2013: 16.





ILL. 259 Babad Trunajaya (*Chronicle of Trunajaya*). Javanese, Yogyakarta(?), Central Java, undated but second half of the nineteenth century. UBL Cod.Or. 12.295, 33.5 × 21.5 cm., 453 pages. The name of the macapat meter is divided over the two pages, on the left puh asmara, on the right dona.<sup>17</sup>



ILL. 260 Detail of illustration 259.

The following Javanese *macapat meters* are used.<sup>18</sup> Table 1 presents the *macapat meters* according to the number of verse lines per stanza and the total number of syllables has been presented as well. Note that some of them are quite rare whereas others are ubiquitous.

<sup>17</sup> Pigeaud 1980: 50.

<sup>18</sup> Note that the spelling of these names varies below because they are spelled differently in the various regions.



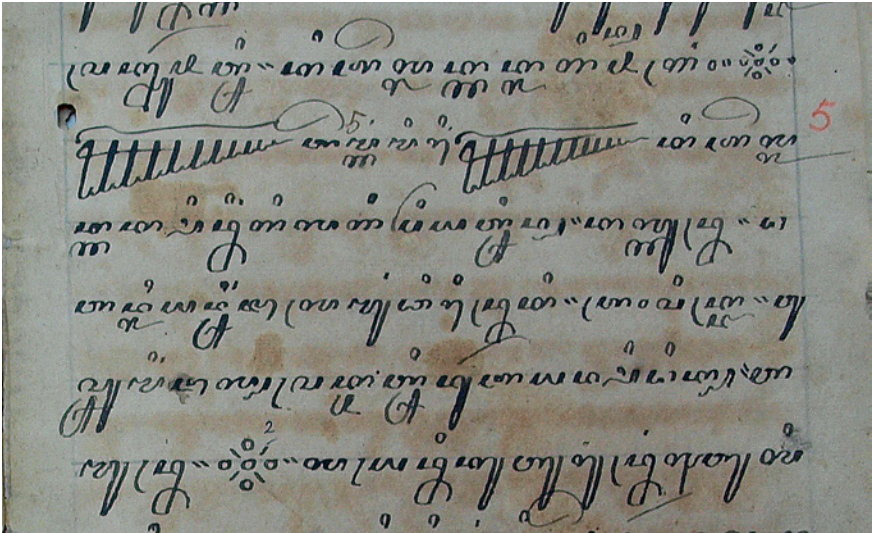
TABLE 1 *Javanese tēmbang macapat meters, names, number of verse lines and metrical structures*

Name	verse lines	Metric structure	Total number of syllables
1. <i>Lindur</i>	11	10 u, 10u, 8i, 8u, 8i, 8a, 6i, 8a, 6i, 6a, 6i	84
2. <i>Dhandhanggula</i>	10	10i, 10a, 8e/o, 7u, 9i, 7a, 6u, 8a, 12i, 7a	84
3. <i>Kēnya kadhiri</i>	9	12u, 8i, 12u, 12u, 12u, 8i, 8i, 6u, 8i	86
4. <i>Sinom</i>	9	8a, 8i, 8a, 8i, 7i, 8u, 7a, 8i, 12a	74
5. <i>Asmarandana</i>	7	8i, 8a, 8e/o, 8a, 7a, 8u, 8a	55
6. <i>Durma</i>	7	12a, 7i, 6a, 7a, 8i, 5a, 7i	52
7. <i>Gurawa</i>	7	9a, 8i, 7a, 8a, 8i, 4/5/6a, 8i	44, 45, 46
8. <i>Jurudēmung</i>	7	8a, 8u, 8u, 8a, 8u, 8a, 8u	56
9. <i>Girisa</i>	8	8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 8a	64
10. <i>Kulanthe</i>	8	6e, 6e, 8a, 8i, 8u, 8e, 8i, 12e	64
11. <i>Panji-prakasa</i> <sup>a</sup>	8	8u, 8i, 8e, 8u, 8a, 8i, 7u, 8i	63
12. <i>Sumēkar</i>	8	4a, 8i, 4a, 8a, 8a, 8i, 4a, 6e	50
13. <i>Pangkur</i>	7	8a, 11i, 8u, 7a, 12u, 8a, 8i	62
14. <i>Salobok</i>	7	8i, 8a, 8o, 8a, 7a, 8u, 8a	55
15. <i>Balabak/Bēlabak</i>	6	12a, 3e, 12a, 3e, 12a, 3e	45
16. <i>Kinanthi</i>	6	8u, 8i, 8a, 8i, 8a, 8i	48
17. <i>Mijil</i>	6	10i, 6o, 10e, 10i, 6i, 6u	48
18. <i>Pamijil</i> <sup>b</sup>	6	10i, 6e, 10e, 10i, 6i, 6u	48
19. <i>Miring</i>	6	12i, 3a, 12i, 3a, 12i, 3a	45
20. <i>Wirangrong</i>	6	8i, 8o, 10u/a/(6a), 6/10i, 7a, 8a	47
21. <i>Name unknown</i> <sup>c</sup>	5	8e, 7a, 8o, 9a, 8e	40
22. <i>Darmaparita</i> <sup>d</sup>	5	8a, 8a, 12e, 7i, 12e	47
23. <i>Gambuh</i>	5	7/8u, 10/12u, 12i, 8u, 8o	45/48
24. <i>Maesa langit</i>	5	9e(?), 7u, 8i(?), 8u, 8o(?)	40
25. <i>Mēgatruh</i>	5	12u, 8i, 8u, 8i, 8o	44
26. <i>Kinanthi jugag</i> <sup>e</sup>	4	8u, 8a, 8a, 8a	32
27. <i>Kulawaknom</i> <sup>f</sup>	4	12u, 8a, 8a, 12a	40
28. <i>Ladrang</i>	4	12i, 4a, 8i, 12a	34
29. <i>Maskumambang</i>	4	12i, 6a, 8i, 8a	34
30. <i>Mas timbuling warih</i> <sup>g</sup>	4	12i, 8a, 8i, 8a	36



Name	verse lines	Metric structure	Total number of syllables
31. <i>Pocung</i>	4/5	12u (4u, 8u), 6a, 8i/o/e/o, 12a	38
32. <i>Salisir</i> <sup>h</sup>	4	8a, 8a, 8a, 8a	32
33. <i>Lonthang</i>	3	12a, 12a, 12a	36

- a Meter that starts the *Sĕrat Subrata*. Purbatjaraka 1952: 80.  
b Purbatjaraka call this an older form of *mijil*. Purbatjaraka 1952: 81.  
c Meter that starts the *Sĕrat Sudamala*. Purbatjaraka 1952: 79.  
d Second meter in the *Sĕrat Subrata*. Purbatjaraka 1952: 81.  
e Only encountered in Kartomi 1973: 41. According to Arps it is *salisir* (oral communication 19 December 2013).  
f Found in Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 5772, *Ĕmpu Sapa* (Tale of Ĕmpu Sapa), p. 16.  
g Found in Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 5772, *Ĕmpu Sapa* (Tale of Ĕmpu Sapa), p. 21. *Maskumabang* in that manuscript on page 33 has the same structure.  
h Arps 1992: 59.



ILL. 261 Babad Pajajaran (*Chronicle of the West Javanese Realm of Pajajaran*). Javanese, Sumedang, West Java, written in the nineteenth century. PNRI KBG 469, 33.5 × 21 cm., 177 pages, page 41.<sup>19</sup> Sometimes we come across macapat meters that seem unique to a particular text. For instance the macapat meter above is indicated as *tĕmbang miring*. It has the structure 12i, 3a, 12i, 3a, 12e, 3a.

19 Berhend 1998: 221.



Texts are usually composed in any number of cantos (*pupuh*) containing any number of stanzas and using any number of *tĕmbang macapat meters*. This is not always the case, however and instances occur when the composer opted to use only one *macapat meter* for an entire text. Apparently, *dhandhanggula* is the verse meter of preference for texts composed in one verse meter as early *suluk* such as the *Suluk Wijil* (Mystic Poem of the Dwarf), *Koja Jajahan* (Didactic Compendium on Statecraft), *Malang Sumirang* (Mystic Poem) and others are written in it.<sup>20</sup> The manuscript of the Lombok recension of the *Jatiswara* that Behrend discussed was written entirely in *dhandhanggula* (1000 stanzas) but still divided into 21 ‘*pupuh*’ which Behrend called “quasi cantos.”<sup>21</sup> Behrend mentioned two other texts that feature the same phenomenon: *Kidung Candhini* from Cirebon which has 537 stanzas in *dhandhanggula* distributed over 17 cantos, and the first four cantos of the total of 280 stanzas in *dhandhanggula* of the *Sĕrat Cĕnthini pegon* (Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 4586).

Most texts are written in cantos that do not have too many stanzas that use the same meter, and this is also the case in Bali. Exceptions exist, of course, such as the *Gaguritan Rusak Banjar* (The Fall of Banjar) (Collection Pusat Kajian Lontar, Udayana University Kropak No. 168) which consists of 103 stanzas entirely written in the *macapat meter sinom*.<sup>22</sup> I have the impression that there has been a tendency to rework existing long monometric texts into multi-metric ones. The idea apparently was that having too many stanzas in the same *macapat meter* is boring for the singer and listener alike (and probably also for the composer) and thus texts were rewritten to enliven the performances of the texts by using larger numbers of verse meters. This is at least the case in Bali. We may understand this from the remarks I Wayan Pamit made when I interviewed him in 2009 in Denpasar. He once composed a long text exclusively in *dangdanggula* (more than 100 stanzas) but his readership thought this was boring and thus his text did not become popular. To make sure his text was used more frequently and also more appreciated, he recomposed it in different *macapat meters* and the result was considered much more lively and pleasant. I have the impression that in Java a similar attempt was made with the *Panji Angronakung* (Romance of Panji Angronakung) which is written in the following verse structure: *mijil* (1000), *durma* (12), *mijil* (87), *kinanthi* (22), *mijil*

20 Behrend 1987: 15.

21 Behrend 1987: 22.

22 I Gusti Ngurah Bagus and I Ketut Pasek Suyasa 1979.



(234). It would almost seem that the text was initially exclusively in *mijil* and subsequently reworked to include other verse meters as well.<sup>23</sup>

### *Local Variation in the Use of Těmbang Macapat Meters*

In various parts of the Javanese cultural world there is a preference for the use of a limited number of *macapat meters* while others are used only sporadically, if at all.<sup>24</sup> For instance, in Lombok, six *macapat meters* are generally used: *asmarandana*, *dangdanggula*, *durma*, *sinom*, *pangkur*, and *maskumambang* while others are seldom encountered.<sup>25</sup> Arps found a similar phenomenon in Banyuwangi in East Java where four *macapat meters* are in general use; *sinom*, *pangkur*, *kasmaran* (*asmarandana*), and *durma*.<sup>26</sup> Even though there are 17 verse meters in use in Sunda, in general the number is limited to only four *kinanti*, *sinom*, *asmarandana*, and *dangdanggula*.<sup>27</sup>

Since we are also here dealing with the products of living people, there is little agreement on anything and little theoretical consensus among the people who work with these *macapat meters*. Ni Nyoman Karmini<sup>28</sup> gives us some insight into this for the situation regarding Balinese *macapat* verse meters. Two Balinese specialists have published their ideas on the *macapat* (*sěkar alit*) verse meters in Bali. According to Budha Gautama,<sup>29</sup> there are 10 *macapat meters* in use in Bali (grouped D-D *dangdang-durma*, G-G *ginada-ginanti*, M-M *mijil-maskumambang*, P-P *pucung-pangkur* and S-S *sinom-semarandana*).<sup>30</sup> Karmini continues with a table that gives the metrical structure of 11 verse meters (*měgatruh* has been added). On page 16 she continues with the ideas of Djapa who mentions 13 verse meters<sup>31</sup> – the ones mentioned above plus *gambuh*, and *amad*. That the story does not end here becomes clear when we consider that sometimes *macapat meters* that are considered to be *těngahan* appear in a *macapat gaguritan*, for instance *wasi*, *děmung*, and *panglipur* in the

23 PNRI Br. 379. Saputra 2011: 16–17.

24 Use has also been made of Marrison 1999a. Other sources are mentioned in the text.

25 For instance, *mijil* in Muhammad Story K. 10.006; *gambuh* and *girisa* in *Ramayana Macapat* from Lombok M35; *miris*, and *ginanti* in *Rěngganis* K. 10.010; *ginada* in *Monyeh*, K. 10.030; *pucung* in *TuturJati* (Poem on Theology), K. 10.061, *Sěh Umbul Berahim* K. 10.083, and *Saqat* K. 10.091, and *pakangraras* and *měgatruh*, in *Asěrak* (Episode of the Romance of Menak Amir Hamza), K. 470, Lalu Djaja n.d.[1957]: 5–6, all in the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja, Bali.

26 Arps 1992: 95.

27 Van Zanten 1989: 66.

28 Ni Nyoman Karmini 2013: 15–17.

29 Budha Gautama 2007: 38, as mentioned in Karmini 2013: 15.

30 This is the first time I have seen this grouping based on the initial consonant of the names of the verse meters.

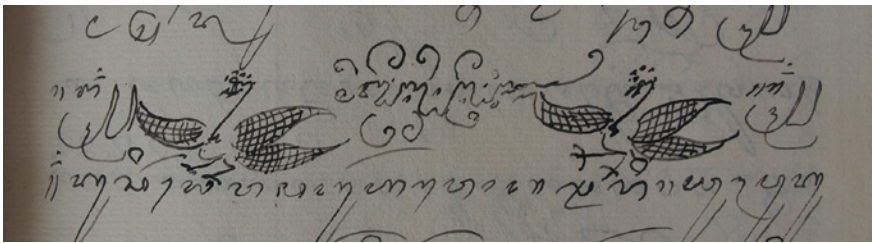
31 Djapa 1999: iii, as mentioned in Karmini 2013: 16.



*Gaguritan Dwijendra Tattwa* (Biography of the legendary Javanese Priest Dang Hyang Dwijendra, the ancestor of the Balinese Brahmana Sub-Groups) by Kancana Singharsa<sup>32</sup> and in the *Sastra Yantra* by Anak Agung Istri Biang Agung.<sup>33</sup>

### *Origins of Javanese Macapat Meters*

Pigeaud pays some attention to the origins of Javanese *macapat* meters and I paraphrase his findings here.<sup>34</sup> The first group relates to a poet or a particular poem. One of the most used meters is *dhandhanggula* which is a synonym of *Dhandhang Gëndhis*, “the name of an ill-fated early thirteen century King of Kadhiri who was a scholar.”<sup>35</sup> The name, however also refers to a crow (*dhandhang*) and for this reason, the start of a canto in *dhandhanggula* may have been indicated by reference to a bird as in illustrations 262, 263 and 264. This was apparently also the case for Javanese manuscripts produced in West Java as the third illustration reveals. As with so many features of Javanese manuscripts, here again there is no fixed rule. The illustration at the beginning of this chapter also shows a bird but the meter that follows is *asmarandana*.



ILL. 262      *Ramayana macapat* (*Rama's Quest in macapat verse, from Yogyakarta*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated probably AJ 1826 = AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 12.289, 30.5 × 18.5 cm., 569 pages, page 353.



ILL. 263      *Sĕrat Ong Tya Gi* (*The Story of Ong Tya Gi*). Javanese, Surakarta, dated AJ 1821 = AD 1891. Collection Museum Pustaka Tionghoa Peranakan, no number, 207 pages.

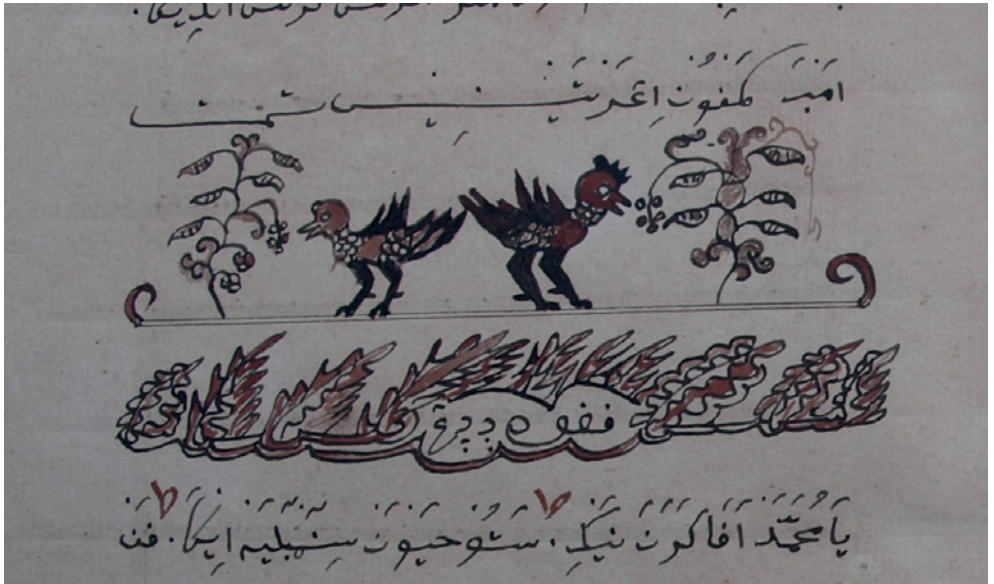
32      Kancana Singharsa p. 55, 58, 64.

33      Oka Granoka et al. 1989.

34      Pigeaud 1967: 21–22.

35      Pigeaud 1967: 21.





ILL. 264 Tapel Adam (*The Formation of Adam*). Javanese, West Java, undated. Collection Museum Pustaka Tionghoa Peranakan, no number. The name of the meter is indicated as *pupuh dhadhang* inside the illumination at the start of the new canto.

The second group of names is reminiscent of the titles of social and religious officials such as *pangkur* which is the designation of a group of religious officials mentioned in some Old Javanese charters. *Maskumambang* may have a link with *pĕrmas* which was an officiant in some shamanistic rites in Balinese popular religion. *Gambuh* means 'expert' or 'experienced' and is connected with particular dances. *Sinom* on its part may refer to the traditional Javanese juvenile service of boys at community meals as the term contains the word 'nom' which means 'young'. Lastly, *asmarandana* and *asmaradana* remind us of *Smaradahana* (The burning of Smara, the God of Love), the name of a well-known *kakawin* of Kadhiri origin. Pigeaud rightly states that little research has been done on this phenomenon and more information may come to light in the future. Meanwhile, on the internet many sites discuss the origins of *macapat* meters. One of them states that *durma* in classic Javanese means 'tiger.' I have not been able to find it in the dictionaries but it may explain *durma*'s fierce poetic character as will be explored more in the next section of this chapter.

Apart from this, the various *tĕmbang macapat* meters are also considered to have been invented by legendary Islamic saints from Java's north coast and the Central Javanese Kingdom of Mataram. The following list shows the various *tĕmbang macapat* meters and their supposed inventors.



<i>Dhandhanggula</i>	Sunan Kalijaga
<i>Maskumambang</i>	Sunan Majagung
<i>Sinom</i>	Sunan Giri Kadhaton
<i>Asmarandana</i>	Sunan Giri Kadhaton
<i>Kinanthi</i>	Sultan Adi Erucakra
<i>Pangkur</i>	Sunan Muryapada
<i>Durma</i>	Sunan Bonang
<i>Mijil</i>	Sunan Geseng
<i>Pocung</i>	Sunan Gunungjati
<i>Gambuh</i>	Natapraja
<i>Mġgatrui</i>	Sunan Giri

### *Emotional Feelings Attached to Macapat Meters*

#### Java

In theory, the various *macapat* meters used in Javanese poetry carry a certain emotional character (*watak*). Arps gives an extensive overview of these characters for *macapat* use in Yogyakarta and Surakarta and, basing himself on the most important sources of information at his disposal, he provides a list of these characters.<sup>36</sup> In what follows I have gathered the information provided by Ras and Darnawi, which largely but not always concurs with what Arps provides. In Java they are as follows:<sup>37</sup>

*Dhandhanggula*: *luwġsan* (supple, elegant), used for the opening stanzas but also in other places when something pleasant needs to be conveyed; refined, cultured; generally for giving to doctrine, mutual love and is also used to close a work.

*Maskumambang*: *prihatin* (concerned, anxious) and *nalangsa* (sad); sorrow; suitable for heightened sorrowful feelings.

*Simon*: *ngrġġpake* (pleasant) and *prasaja* (simple, uncomplicated, used for unemotional narrative); friendliness, steeped in congeniality; suited to sending messages, giving advice or for intimate conversations.

*Asmarandana*: *sġngsġm* (to take great pleasure in) and *prihatin* (concerned, anxious); alluring, sad, lovesick and suitable for love stories.

*Kinanthi*: *gandrung* (passionately devoted to) and *piwulang* (instruction, teaching); happiness, affection, love. It is suitable for expounding on doctrine, philosophy; stories with a flavor of passion and infatuation.

*Pangkur*: *gandrung* (passionately devoted to) and *sġrġng* (stern, displeased); suitable for heightened feelings; for stories which bear intense meaning; for earnestly given advice or intense passion.

36 Arps 1992: 89, 107, 421–424. The sources he mentions are: Arintaka 1981, Sastrowiryo 1980, Padmosoekotjo 1980, and Hardjowirogo 1952.

37 I base myself here on Ras 1985: 31ff. After the first semi-colon following each meter I quote the characters as found in Darnawi 1982: 25–26.



*Durma*: *něpsu* (angry) and *sěřěng* (stern, displeased); harsh, severe or angry. It is suited to depictions of anger or for stories telling of war or challenges.

*Mijil*: *gandrung* (passionately devoted to) and *prihatin* (concerned, anxious); gives rise to feeling; suitable for explaining advice but can also be used for descriptions of love.

*Pocung*: *sakěpěnage* (relaxed) and *parikěna* (joking), may be used at any time; loose without any heightened feelings. Suitable for any story devoid of intensity. There are also *pocung* text about doctrines but the *pocung* here is used to reduce the weight of the subject matter.

*Juruděmung*: *prěnesan* (flirtatious), for texts with a slightly sensuous or erotic content; luxurious. Usually for stories containing flattering embellishments.

*Wirangrong*: *mrabu* (royal), and *mrabawa* (awe-inspiring) to be used in texts of an exalted content; one of caution. It is suited for texts that arouse feelings of confusion caused by being tempted by something lofty and illustrious.

*Balabak*: *sakěpenake* (relaxed) and *parikěna* (joking); frivolousness. Suited to depicting stories in an ad hoc manner.

*Gambuh*: *nanjihake* (elucidating), and *nggěnahake* (admonish, putting one in one's place); kinship, intra-family feelings. Suitable for genuine advice.

*Měgatruih/dudukwuluh*: *prihatin* (concerned, anxious), and *gětun pungun-pungun* (burdened by feelings of regret); lovesickness combined with feelings of desperation. Usually used to arouse feelings of disappointment.

*Girisa*: *wanti-wanti* (admonishing); full of hope. Suited to propitious words of advice to be carried out by the reader or listener.

### Sunda

In Sunda (West Java), 17 *macapat* meters are used.<sup>38</sup>

The meters have the following narrative and emotional feelings:

*Asmarandana*: love, affection; *Balakbak*: jokes and fun; *Dangdanggula*: greatness, happiness; *Durma*: anger, fighting and disputes; *Gambuh*: confusion; *Gurisa*: jokes, filling the stillness; *Juruděmung*: spite; *Kinanti*: waiting, apprehension, worry, expectation; *Ladrang*: humor; *Lambang*: humor; *Magatru*: jokes, apprehension, changes in the story; *maskumambang*: worry, loneliness, disaster; *Pangkur*: roaming, wandering, yearning, passion, readiness for war; *Pucung*: advice, suggestion; *Sinom*: happiness, ease, beauty; *Wirangrong*: embarrassment, regret, harm.<sup>39</sup>

38 For more detailed information on Sundanese *těmbang* see, for instance, Satjadibrata 1953, Salmun 1958 and Van Zanten 1993.

39 See Wardah 2010: 16.



TABLE 2 *Sundanese tẽmbang macapat meters, names, number of verse lines and metrical structures*

Name	verse lines	Metric structure	Total number of syllables
1. <i>Dangdanggula</i>	10	1oi, 10a, 8e, 7u, 9i, 7a, 6u, 8a, 12i, 7a	82
2. <i>Sinom</i>	9	8a, 8i, 8a, 8i, 7i, 8u, 7a/8a, 8i, 12a	74/75
3. <i>Asmarandana</i>	7	8i, 8a, 8e/o, 8a, 7a, 8u, 8a	55
4. <i>Durma</i>	7	12a, 7i, 6a, 7a, 8i, 5a, 7i	52
5. <i>Jurudẽmung</i>	7	8a, 8u, 8i, 6i, 8a, 8u	46
6. <i>Gurisa</i>	8	8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 8a	64
7. <i>Pangkur</i>	7	8a, 11i, 8u, 7a, 12u, 8a, 8a	62
8. <i>Kinanthi</i>	6	8u, 8i, 8a, 8i, 8a, 8i	48
9. <i>Mijil</i>	6	1oi, 6o, 1oe, 1oi, 6i, 6u	48
10. <i>Wirangrong</i>	6	8i, 8o, 8u, 8i, 8a, 8a	48
11. <i>Gambuh</i>	5	7u, 1oi/u, 12i, 8u, 8o	45
12. <i>Magatru</i>	5	12u, 8i, 8u, 8i, 8o	44
13. <i>Ladrang</i>	4	1oi, 8a, 8i, 12a	38
14. <i>Pucung</i>	4	12u, 6a, 8é/o, 12a	38
15. <i>Maskumambang</i>	4	12i, 6a, 8i, 8a	34
16. <i>Lambang</i>	4	8a, 8a, 8a, 8a	32
17. <i>Balakbak</i>	3	15e, 15e, 19e	49

### Bali

Karmini<sup>40</sup> sums up the characters of 12 *macapat* meters and she explains the kinds of texts for which they may be used.

1. *Mijil* means ‘to come out, to be born’ and may be used for scenes that evoke emotion, to offer advice but also to describe people ‘drunk with love’; 2. *Pucung* can be used for mythology and thus may be used for scenes that contain philosophy and religion. It may be used to tell of things in a playful and none too serious kind of way; 3. *Maskumambang* contains the word ‘*kambang*’ which means ‘to daydream’ and it can be used for scenes that are sad and evoke

40 Karmini 2013: 18–20).



emotion; 4. *Ginada* can be used for scenes in which people are hit by disaster and profound disappointment; 5. *Ginanti* mirrors love and compassion and can be used for scenes that tell of happiness and love but also for texts on philosophy; 6. *Sěmarandana* contains the connotation 'fire of love' and is used for scenes that tell of enchantment and sadness caused by love; 7. *Sinom* is an abbreviation of '*sinuam*' which means a 'sprout of a shoot', a new leaf that is a pleasure to behold. It is used for texts and scenes that are friendly and easy-going and to convey advice, friendship and camaraderie; 8. *Durma* has a severe character and is used for anger, war and scenes where people oppose each other; 9. *Pangkur* has a character where feelings come to a climax. It is thus used for serious scenes and texts and to convey serious advice but also to describe serious love at its height; 10. *Dangdanggula* has a pleasant character and can be used for teachings, love scenes and also to end a story; 11. *Měgatruih* denotes prolonged sadness and feelings of destitution and is fitting to be used for scenes on these matters; 12. *Adri* means 'mountain' and gives rest and freshness and is fitting for scenes on religious teachings and advice that offer tranquility, rest, self-surrender and inner enlightenment.

Reading texts in *těmbang macapat* usually makes us wonder whether authors really abide by these supposed characters attached to meters or whether they indeed work in all texts. It may be that these feelings only appear clearly when the meters are sung, rather than read for contents. As said above, reworking a text by using different meters also seriously erodes the idea of the emotional connotations of verse forms. For the *Puspakrama* from Lombok I made a table of the verse form distribution of 25 manuscripts which revealed that much of the story was simply put in other verse forms and thus the emotional or other character of the verse forms cannot have been followed, at least, not strictly.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps in Lombok these characters are either not used or not used consistently.

### **Těmbang Macapat Names**

On the whole, each verse form is said to have one name although diachronic and regional variety exists.<sup>42</sup> However, browsing through manuscripts reveals that in the Javanese cultural world for each *macapat* meter a number of alternative names are used. In Lombok especially, a wealth of alternative names is encountered; whilst in Java, alternative names seem indeed much rarer by comparison. For instance. For *asmarandana* the following alternative names

41 Van der Meij 2002: 178–179.

42 Arps 1992: 93.



may be found in Lombok manuscripts: *sěmaran*, *kasmaran dana*, *kasmaran kingkit*, *kasmaraning ati*, *asmara dahana*, *sěmarandana*, *dana smara*, *smara gěnding*, *smaran*, *směran*, *kasmaran*, *asmarana*, *asmaran*, *sěmarang girang*, *smara girang*, *asmarang*, *sěma*, *sěmarang girang dapada mamisěn*, *simarang girang mamawos*, *sěmarang girang měraos*, *sěmarang kayu*, *sěmarang kayuna*, *papu' sěmaran*, *suku-suku*, *kubur bali* (also *kobur bali*), *kubur cara bali*, *kubur cara bali sěmaya mati*, and *ditu disěma*. Although these names vary, many can easily be identified. In the names above, *asmarandana* can easily be recognized through expressions that contain the word *smara*. For other names like *kubur bali* (Balinese grave) the verse meter cannot be recognized from the name.

It would seem that in Lombok, some writers were fonder of using alternative names than others. If a writer decided to use alternative names in his manuscript, he usually used them more frequently and he did not necessarily use the same alternative names throughout the text. He may also have used both 'usual' and alternative names in the same manuscript for the same verse forms. Lists of alternative names for verse forms from Java, Madura, Lombok and Bali may be found in Appendix Two.



ILL. 265

Gaguritan Siti Badariah (*Poem of Siti Badariah*) written by Cokorda Rai. Malay text in *těmbang macapat* written in Balinese characters, undated. Collection Puri Payangan, Bali, 47 pages, page 47.<sup>43</sup>

43 For studies on this curious manuscript that was created by Cokorda Rai and preserved in Payangan in Bali see Muliati 1988, Budastra 1988 (text edition), and Argawa 1988.



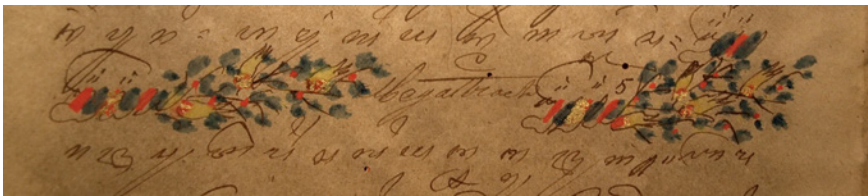
***Punctuation in Těmbang macapat and the Ways Těmbang Macapat Meters are Indicated***



Canto 2 Dangdanggula



Canto 3 Sinom



Canto 5 Měgatrūh



Canto 6 Pangkur

- ILL. 266      Babad Cina (*Chronicle of China*). Javanese, Ambarawa, Central Java, dated AD 1898. PC, 33 × 20.5 cm., 760 inscribed pages. Starts of cantos provided with colored and gilded illustrations. Note also the numbers provided in some of these canto divisions to denote the number of the canto within the manuscript. Note also that the names of the macapat meters are written in Latin script.





Canto 7 Durma



Canto 15 Kinanthi



Canto 17 Pangkur

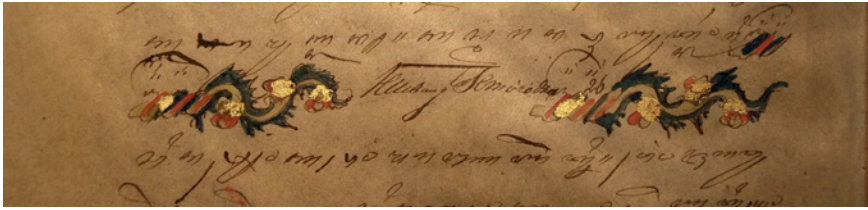


Canto 19 Dadangula



Canto 24 Kinanthi





Canto 26 Semoro



Canto 33 Pangkur



Canto 36 Dadanggula



Canto 73 Pangkur



Canto 74 Dhadhanggula



### *Punctuation and Metrical Markers*

Verse lines are usually divided by a simple comma-like sign. It does not always look the same but usually consists of a single stroke down to the right. These marks differ from scribe to scribe and from one manuscript tradition to another. Unlike stanza and canto divides, these signs tend to be the same throughout a single manuscript unless the manuscript was written by different hands.

ILL. 267



*Verse line divide in Pawukon (Almanac on Chronology and Divination). Javanese, Central Java, undated but around the middle of the nineteenth century. UBL Cod.Or. 12.332, 34 × 21 cm., 192 pages.*<sup>44</sup>

The ends of stanzas are indicated by *pěpadan* or metrical markers. Throughout the Javanese inspired world these markers consist of a combination of the same, or similar, elements although they are executed in a bewildering variety.<sup>45</sup> Illustrations 268 and 269 show how they are executed in two different manuscripts from Central Java.

ILL. 268



*Stanza divide in Śerat Kandha Wayang Purwa (Poetic Stories from the Shadow play Puppet Theatre in Verse). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 34 × 21.5 cm., 697 pages.*

ILL. 269



*Stanza divided in Lakad (Poem of the King of Lakad. An Episode of Muhammad's Life). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1799 = AD 1870. PC, 32 × 19.4 cm., 280 inscribed pages.*

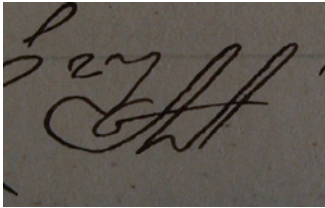
Because these marks are executed differently by each individual they are usually the first sign that different hands worked on the same manuscript. In the manuscript of the *Babad Kartasura* (Chronicle of the Realm of Kartasura) (collection Leiden University Library KITLV D Or. 259) the changes in the hands can be easily detected because the execution of the *pada* marks between

<sup>44</sup> Pigeaud 1980: 52.

<sup>45</sup> See also Behrend 1996: 188–191.

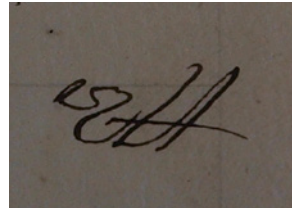


stanzas differed slightly but consistently. There is an *aksara* /nga/ adorned with the elaborate sign before, under and after it. The two examples reveal that the way these marks are executed differs but the constituting elements remain the same.



ILL. 270

Babad Kartasura (*Chronicle of the Realm of Kartasura*). Javanese, Central Java, undated. UBL KITLV D Or. 259, 33.5 × 21 cm., 431 double pages. Pada mark of the first scribe.



ILL. 271

Babad Kartasura (*Chronicle of the Realm of Kartasura*). Javanese, Central Java, undated. UBL KITLV D Or. 259, 33.5 × 21 cm., 431 double pages. Pada mark of the second scribe.<sup>46</sup>

A thorough investigation of the use of stanza dividing pada marks may offer information about how scribes used to work. At present such an investigation has not yet been undertaken and thus our understanding of this feature is extremely limited. Yet it may be important as much more may be at work in the way scribes executed and distributed their different *pada* marks in the manuscripts they made.

Stanza divides in *lontar* manuscripts are usually not quite as intricate and consist of double comma-like marks as in illustration 272. Other marks consist of two double comma-like marks or these commas are flanked with single comma marks.



ILL. 272

Stanza divide in Nabi Aparas (*Song of the Prophet's Shaving*). Javanese, Lombok, undated. PC, 2.7 × 9.4 cm., 33 inscribed leaves.

46 Pigeaud 1968: 835.



### Madyapada Marks Between Cantos

Three types of *pada* marks occur in manuscripts. They are *purwapada*, *madyapada* and *wasanapada*. The first starts the poem, the second divides cantos and the last ends the poem. They are usually not illuminated.<sup>47</sup> The most variation is found in the *madyapada*. Usually, inside the *madyapada*, a single *aksara* or a cluster of Javanese *aksara* has been added (see illustrations 273 and 274) but it would be incorrect to think that a definitive system exists in the choice of these clusters. It would also be incorrect to think that one manuscript only uses one kind of cluster. Browsing through many manuscripts revealed that one manuscript may contain different clusters inside the *madyapada* and they sometimes indicate that different scribes worked on the same manuscript.

Only a limited amount of study has thus far been made into the local and temporal variations found in these *pada* marks.<sup>48</sup> The little there is has focused on highly specific and unusual ones whereas the more general differences have not yet been given the attention they probably deserve. Often within the same manuscript, cantos start with different *madyapada* as may already have become evident from the examples of the *pada* marks in the manuscript of the *Babad Cina* in illustration 266. According to Sri Ratna Saktimulya, *madyapada* have four functions. One is to indicate canto changes; the second is to help the reader decide what verse form the next canto uses; three is to enhance the beauty of the manuscript; and four is to express the hope that the poem will be of use.<sup>49</sup> I have the idea the *madyapada* within one manuscript differ for the practical reason that the owners or readers of the manuscript can more easily find the canto they are looking for.

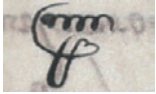
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47 Saktimulya 2016: 191.

48 Exception are Behrend who, in 1987, presented a variety of the *pada* marks he encountered in the manuscripts he used and Kouznetsova who discussed and presents the *pada* marks in the oldest manuscript of the *Babad Mataram* (British Library Mss Jav. 36) in 2002. See also Behrend in Kumar and McGlynn 1996: 191 for some fine examples of *madyapada* from various sources. Some illustrations of *pada* marks have been included in the catalogue of the collection of the Faculty of Literature of the University of Indonesia (now in University of Indonesia Library) published by Behrend and Pudjiastuti in 1997. The latest to have contributed to *pada* mark research is Saktimulya 2016: 181–193.

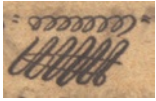
49 Saktimulya 2016: 193.





ILL. 273

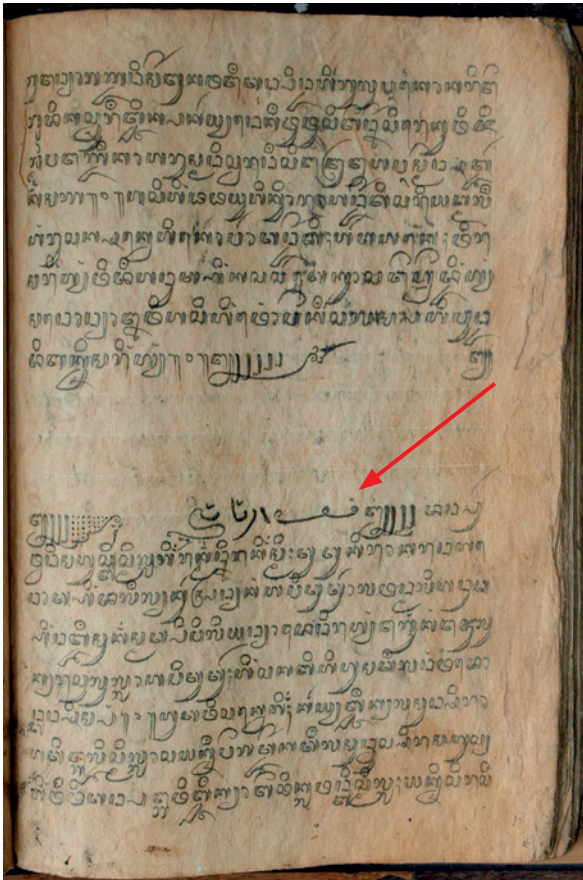
/Ndra/ cluster in *Sĕrat Kandha Wayang Purwa* (*Poetic Stories from the Shadow play Puppet Theatre in Verse*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 34 × 21.5 cm., 697 pages.



ILL. 274

/Nca/ cluster in *Sĕrat Anbiya* (*Song of the Prophets*). Javanese, Bantul, Yogyakarta, dated AH 1314 = AD 1896. PC, 32.2 × 19.7 cm., 486 double pages.

Below, I will start with a large number of *pada* marks used to indicate the beginnings of cantos and stanzas and subsequently discuss in detail how the meters are otherwise indicated by name or by other means like signal expressions (*sasmita tĕmbang*). The illustrations have been chosen for the differences we



ILL. 275

*Hikayat Nabi Yusup* (*Poem of the Prophet Joseph, from Madura*). Madurese, Madura, dated AH 1259? = AD 1843? Collection Bayt al-Qur'an and Museum Istiqlal, Jakarta BQMI 4.22. In this illustration the change in canto (to artati, an alternative name for dhandhanggula) has been indicated after a large gap and the name of the verse form in Arabic script.

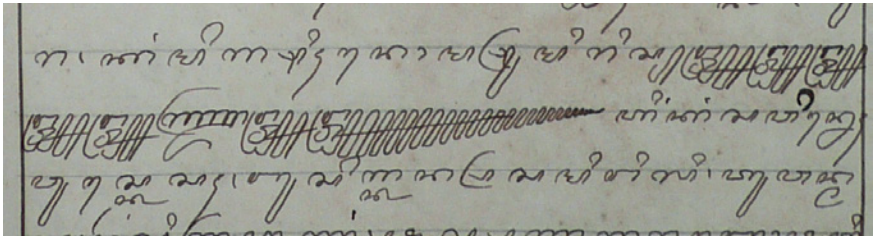


see in these visual signs, and the use of signal expressions. Other *pada* marks than the ones presented below from manuscripts from Java, West Java, Madura and Lombok have been included in Appendix Three. In general, it would seem that if the name of the following verse meter is provided, no *aksara* cluster is added when single *pada* marks are used but when multiple marks are used, *aksara* clusters seem to appear as well.

#### *Pada* Marks in Javanese Manuscripts from Java

We start with some examples of Javanese texts from Central Java. The first two examples were found in one manuscript that was written by two different individuals.

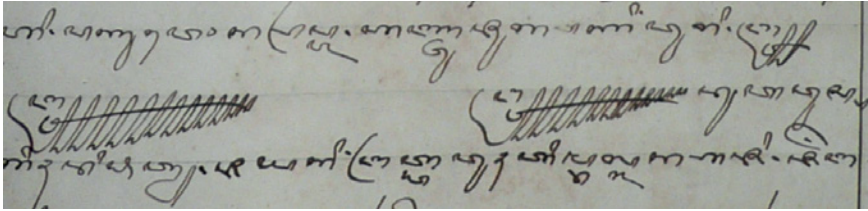
1. Elaborate *madyapada* between two cantos, first scribe. Note that the *pada* marks before and the stepped *pada* mark after the /ndra/ cluster are not the same. The new meter is *sinom* as indicated in the last sentence of the preceding canto by the *sasmita salining tĕmbang*, ‘nom’.



ILL. 276 Babad Surakarta (*Chronicle of the Realm of Surakarta*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AD 1939. PC, 34 × 22 cm., 835 pages, page 21.

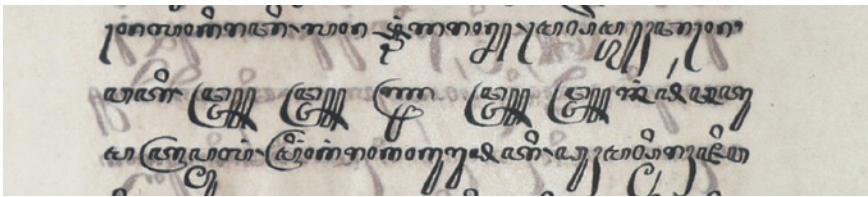
2. *Madyapada* between two cantos, second scribe. Note the absence of an *aksara* cluster or verse name indication between the stepped *pada* marks. Note also that the execution of the *pada* marks is not quite the same as the one in the previous illustration. This is one indication that the manuscript was written by two different scribes. The new meter is *pangkur* as indicated by the *sasmita salining tĕmbang*, ‘wuri’, in the last word in the last sentence of the preceding canto. The bottom loops of the stepped *pada* marks are dented, which is different from the *pada* marks in illustration 276 where they are rounded.





ILL. 277 Babad Surakarta (*Chronicle of the Realm of Surakarta*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 34 × 22 cm., 835 pages, page 792.

3. More or less standard *madyapada* marks between two cantos. The /n/ of the /ndra/ cluster is written with an *aksara murda* 'capital' /n/.



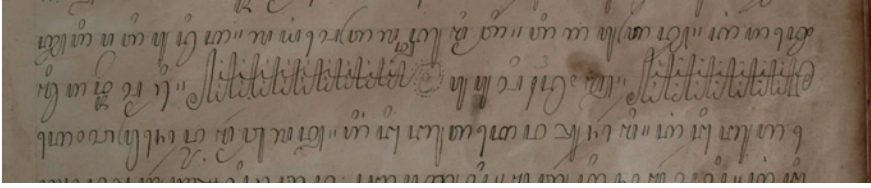
ILL. 278 Sêrat Kandha Wayang Purwa (*Stories from the Shadow play Puppet Theatre in Verse*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 34 × 21.5 cm., 697 pages, page 579.

#### *Pada* Marks in Javanese and Sundanese Manuscripts from West Java

The *madyapada* marks in Javanese and Sundanese manuscripts do not in general seem to consist of stepped *pada* with a /nga/ *aksara* but look much more free. This is especially so when the manuscript is written in *pegon* script. Below follow some examples and more can be found in Appendix Three.

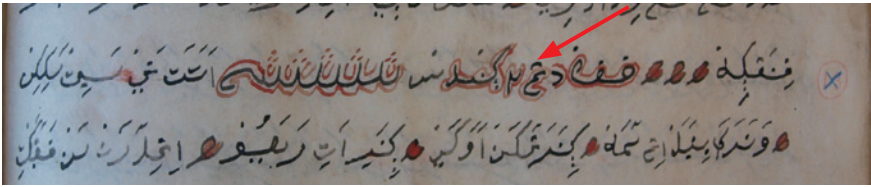
1. Elaborate stepped *madyapada* with the name of the verse meter, *pupu sinom* (*sinom*), written in between. The name of the meter is also indicated in the last sentence of the preceding canto by the *sasmita salining tēmbang* words '*kang anom*'. The little numeral 3 in pencil above the name of the meter has been added later. As the name is provided between single stepped *pada* mark, no *aksara* cluster has been added.





ILL. 279 Damar Wulan (*Romance of Damar Wulan, from Cirebon*). Javanese manuscript in West Pasisir (Cirebon) script, dated before AD 1861. UBL KITLV D Or. 18, 30 × 17.5 cm., 101 double pages,<sup>50</sup> page 3.

2. The canto change in the manuscript written in *pegon* script is to *dangdang gëndis*. *Dangdang* is indicated by 'dang2' and thus uses the numeral 2 to indicate that the word has to be doubled. This I seldom encountered in canto indications. The *pada* marks are simple and surrounded by red lines and dots.



ILL. 280 *Suluk* (*Edifying lessons*). Sundanese, West Java, dated AH 1273 = AD 1856. UBL NBG 268, 22.5 × 18 cm., 77 pages, page 50.<sup>51</sup>

#### *Pada* Marks in Javanese Manuscripts from Palembang, South Sumatra

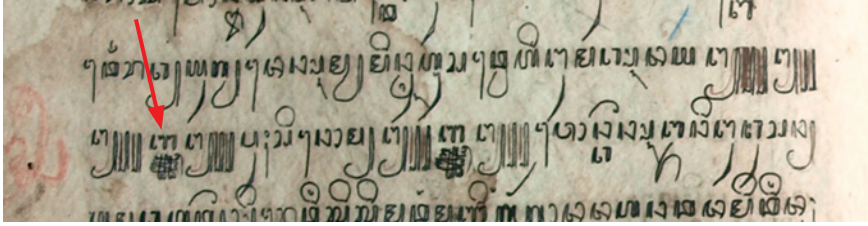
The *pada* marks from Palembang seem to include the /nga/ *aksara* as may be witnessed from the examples below.

1. The *madyapada* mark in this manuscript is elaborate and a double stepped triple *pada* mark is used as filler at the end of the line above the *pada* marks. The cluster between the stepped *pada* looks to be /bca/. This is different from another change in canto in the same manuscript as seen in illustration 281. Although the name has been provided, /bca/ clusters have been added between the *pada* marks.

<sup>50</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 826.

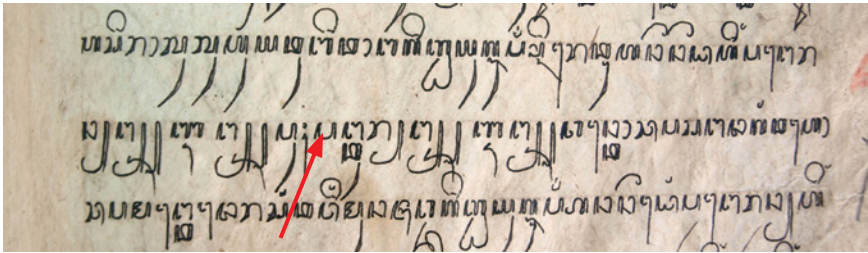
<sup>51</sup> Juynboll 1912: 31.





ILL. 281 Sĕrat Yusup (*Poem of the Prophet Joseph, from Palembang*). Javanese, Palembang in Sumatra, undated. PNRI KBG 1010, 27.5 × 19.5 cm., 238 pages,<sup>52</sup> page 169.

2. Below is the same manuscript as the preceding illustration but the change in canto is made so inconspicuously that one would easily missing it. Within the *madyapada* no cluster has been written but rather the *aksara swara* /i/. It is in the second line on the left where it is indicated that the new meter is *pangkur*. Although the name has been provided, the *aksara swara* /i/ has been added between the *pada* marks.



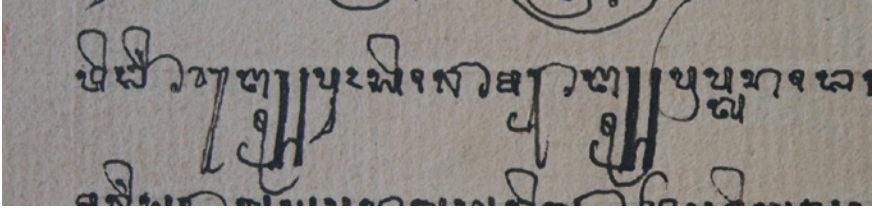
ILL. 282 Sĕrat Yusup (*Poem of the Prophet Joseph, from Palembang*). Javanese, Palembang in Sumatra, undated. PNRI KBG 1010, 27.5 × 19.5 cm., 238 pages,<sup>53</sup> page 19.

3. The downward slopes of the *madyapada* are filled in and upright. The name of the new meter is *puh sinom* as indicated between the *pada* marks. As the name has been provided, no *aksara* cluster has been added between the single *pada*.

<sup>52</sup> Behrend 1998: 265.

<sup>53</sup> Behrend 1998: 265.



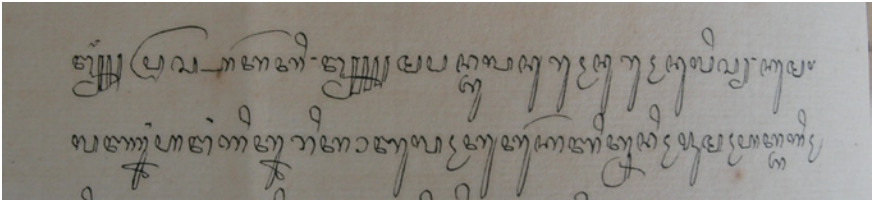


ILL. 283 Panji Palembang (*Romance of Panji from Palembang*). Javanese, Palembang, in Sumatra dated AD 1801. PNRI KBG 185, 25 × 18 cm., 355 pages,<sup>54</sup> page 281.

#### *Pada* Marks in Javanese and Madurese Manuscripts from Madura

The *aksara* /nga/ is also in evidence in manuscripts from Madura as in the examples below.

1. The first example below consists of simple triple stepped *wasanapada* with the indication of the name of the meter, *pras artati*, written in between. As the name has been provided, no *aksara* cluster has been added.



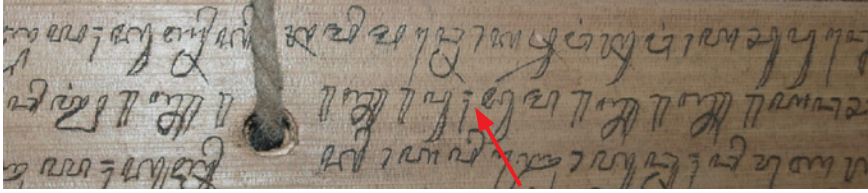
ILL. 284 Cĕrita Randa Kaseyan (*Song of the Widow Kaseyan*). Madurese, Madura, dated AJ 1786 = AD 1857. UBL Cod.Or. 2039, 33.1 × 20.5 cm., page 1.<sup>55</sup>

2. Indication of a change in meter to *Durma*. The *madyapada* is simple and the name is clearly indicated between the *pada* marks.

54 Behrend 1998: 202.

55 Vreede 1892: 411.



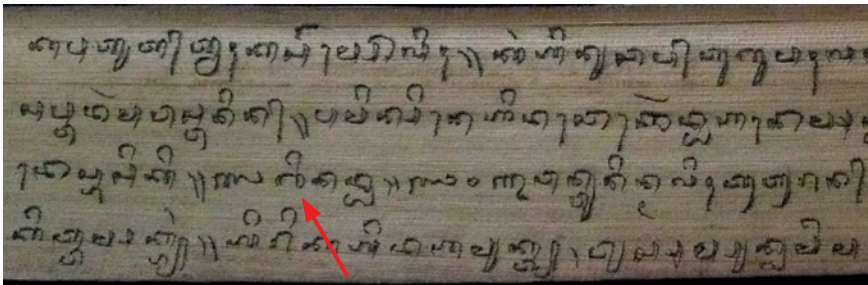


ILL. 285 Sĕrat Yusup (*Poem of the Prophet Joseph*). Javanese, Madura, dated AD 1860. PC, 42.5 × 3.3 cm., 90 leaves, leaf 16b.

#### Pada Marks in *Lontar* Manuscripts from Bali and Lombok

Compared with the wide variety in *pada* marks found in paper manuscripts from Java and Madura, the variation in *pada* marks in *lontar* manuscripts is surprisingly small. Almost no embellishments of the *pada* marks are found and regional and temporal variety is restricted to the simple *pada* marks as witnessed by the examples below.

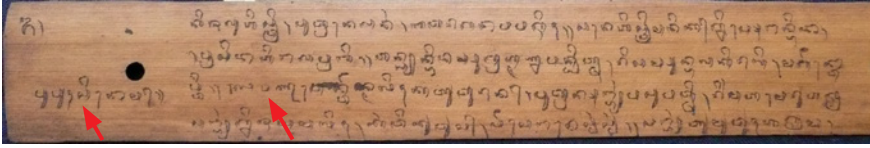
1. Change to *ginada* clearly marked by a very simple *madyapada* in line three on leaf 26b. The name is stated in the *madyapada*.



ILL. 286 Kakawyan Lĕtusan Gunung Tolangkir (*Song of the Eruption of Mount Tolangkir*). Balinese, Bali, dated 27 September 1963. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 070/BPB/111b/91, 3.6 × 45.8 cm., 31 leaves, leaf 25b.  
PHOTOGRAPH BY I NYOMAN ARGAWA.

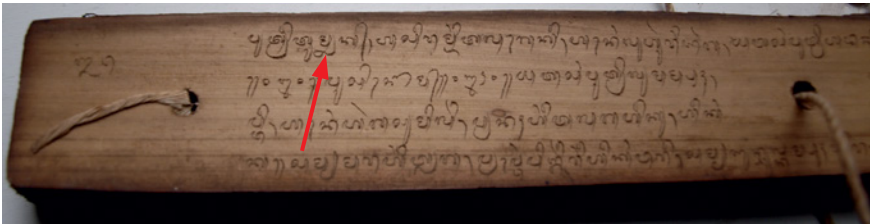
2. In the same manuscript, many indications of the new canto meters were provided in the margins such as in the instance below to the new canto in *sinom*. The canto change has been indicated by a simple *madyapada* but not by the name.





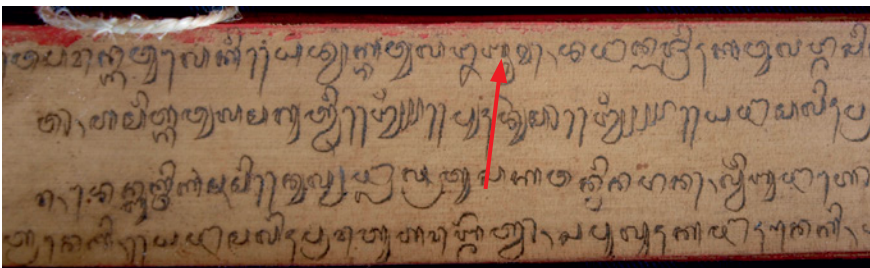
ILL. 287 Kakawyan Lētusan Gunung Tolangkir (*Song of the Eruption of Mount Tolangkir*). Balinese, Bali, dated 27 September 1963. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 070/BPB/111b/91, 3.6 × 45.8 cm., 31 leaves, leaf 25b.

3. In this manuscript from the Balinese community in Lombok, the name of the meter of the new canto (*sinom*) has been indicated at the start of line two between simple *madyapada* between double comma marks. Note the piece of string attached to the perforation at the left which indicates that a new canto starts at this point.



ILL. 288 Puspakrama (*Romance of the Prince of Puspakrama*). Javanese, Lombok, dated AD 1932. PC, 3.7 × 33 cm., 84 inscribed leaves, leaf 30b.

4. Change to *durma*. The *madyapada* marks are stepped and put between double commas. The manuscript seems to originate from the Balinese community in Lombok.



ILL. 289 Wilobang (*Menak Amir Hamza Romance of Wilobang*). Javanese, Lombok, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3663, 3.5 × 39.5 cm., 102 leaves.<sup>56</sup>

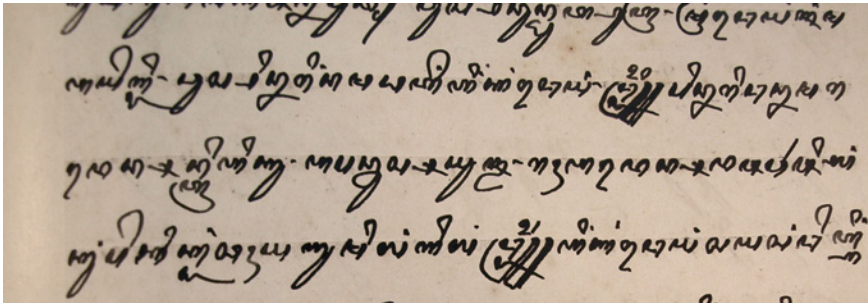
<sup>56</sup> Juynboll 1911: 26; Pigeaud 1968: 125.



### Page Lay-Out of Texts in *Tĕmbang Macapat*

Manuscripts written in verse have no *mise en page* that enables readers to quickly see where they are in the text or what *macapat* meter is used. The text fills the entire space of the page or between the boundaries set by the scribe and no headings for chapters or paragraphs or white lines are provided. Also, with rare exceptions, no notes in the margins tell of the kind of meter that is being used. Many manuscripts from library collections do have indications of meters and numbers of cantos and stanzas but often they have later been added by librarians or scholars working on the texts in the manuscripts to make catalogs or editions. It is easy to conclude this when the kind of ink or pencil that was used differs from the ones that were used for the bulk of the text itself.

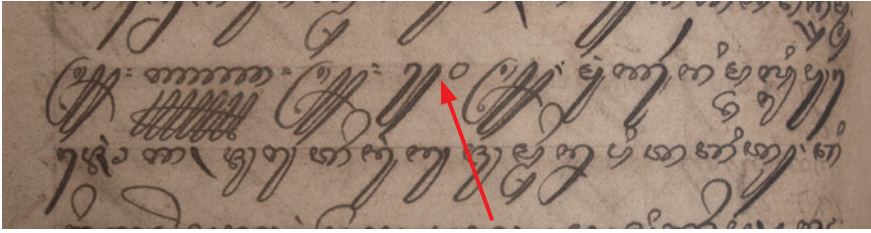
It is mostly the case that manuscripts also have no indication of the number of cantos within a text or of the number of stanzas within a canto. Exceptions, of course, may be found. In illustration 290, the stanza divisions have been clearly indicated by *pada* marks and also the number of the stanza within the canto has been provided in this case with international numerals. The stanzas of the first eight of the total of 67 cantos have not been numbered. As the ink is the same as that for the rest of the text, the numbering was probably done by the original scribe or in his studio.



ILL. 290 Seh Maulana Ibrahim (*Tale of Seh Maulana Ibrahim*). Javanese, Karaton Surakarta, Central Java, dated AJ 1844 = AD 1913. PC, 34 × 22 cm., 257 pages, page 240.

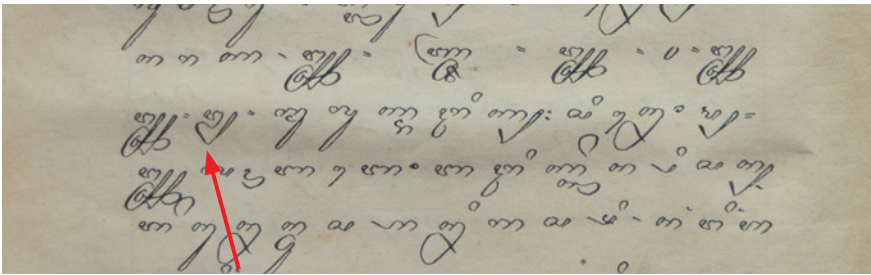
In illustration 291, the Javanese numeral 30 clearly indicates the number of the canto within the text and was made during the writing process. In the manuscript there are no indications of the number of stanzas within a canto.





ILL. 291      *Sérat Anbiya (Song of the Prophets)*. Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AH 1314 = AD 1896. PC, 32.2 × 19.7 cm., 972 pages, page 137.

The number of the text (in this case no. 3) in this compilation manuscript is written after the elaborate *madyapada* after which comes the name of the meter of the following canto (*sinom*). Note that the *pada* mark has a /ñcra/ rather than a /ndra/ cluster.



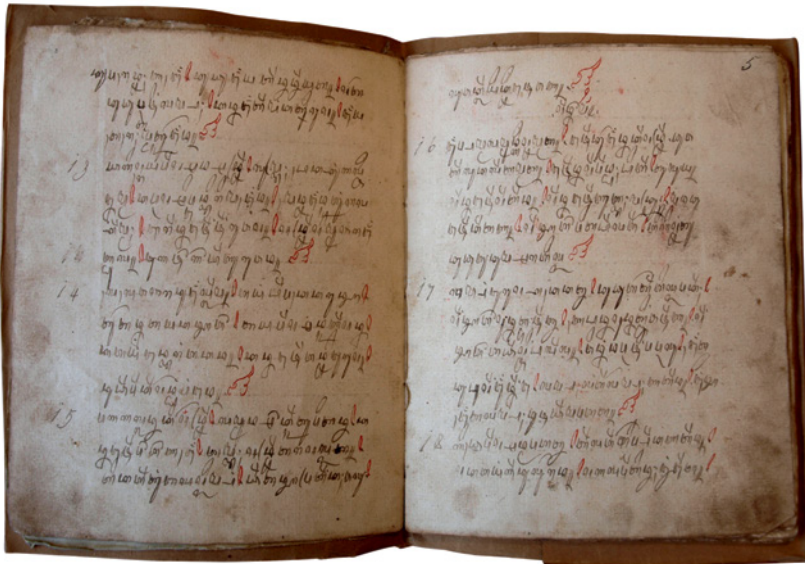
ILL. 292      *Suluk Bathik (Didactic Poem with Batik as Central Theme) (in Sérat Kidungan)*. Javanese Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 20.8 × 16.3 cm., 416 inscribed pages, page 48.  
PHOTOGRAPHED BY DANKER PEEMAN.

As we have seen above, it is often the case that later scholars and cataloguers number the verses within cantos and cantos within a text. Occasionally also the individual lines within a stanza have been numbered as witnessed by the example below. The text starts in the meter *srënggara suka* = *dhangdhanggula*.









ILL. 295 *Duties of a Santri. Sundanese, West Java, undated but before AD 1912. UBL NBG 288, 20.5 × 16.5 cm., 42 pages, pages 4 and 5.<sup>59</sup>*

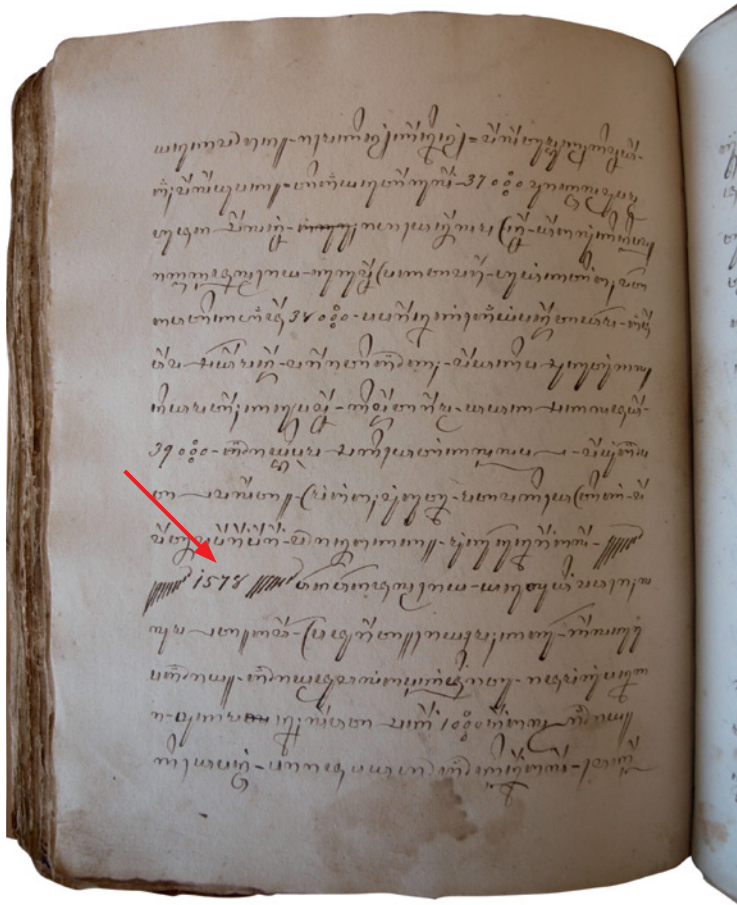
In the manuscript from West Java below, the scribe has numbered each stanza consecutively within each canto and noted the total number up to each change in canto between the stepped *pada* as may be seen on the fifth line from the bottom (1578).

Between the stepped *pada* at the end of the text is written 132 *pupuh* (132 cantos) which is rare. Note the dots between the loops of the *pada* at the top of the page and the elaborate /nca/ clusters that have been used.

Different scribes probably use different systems to indicate canto changes, or the same scribes used different systems for different texts but no longer needed them when they became more versed in verse composition. If one is used to reading *tĕmbang* manuscripts, one clearly sees at a glance that one is at least dealing with a *macapat* meter from a certain group as the number of lines may be quickly guessed because of the distance between one stanza division and the next. To be clear, *dhandhanggula* has ten lines whereas *maskumambang* only has four. This means that the distance between the stanza divides is two and a half times longer in *dhandhanggula* than in *maskumambang*. For *macapat* meters that have the same or a similar numbers of lines it would be harder to guess the meter.

59 Juynboll 1907: 9.



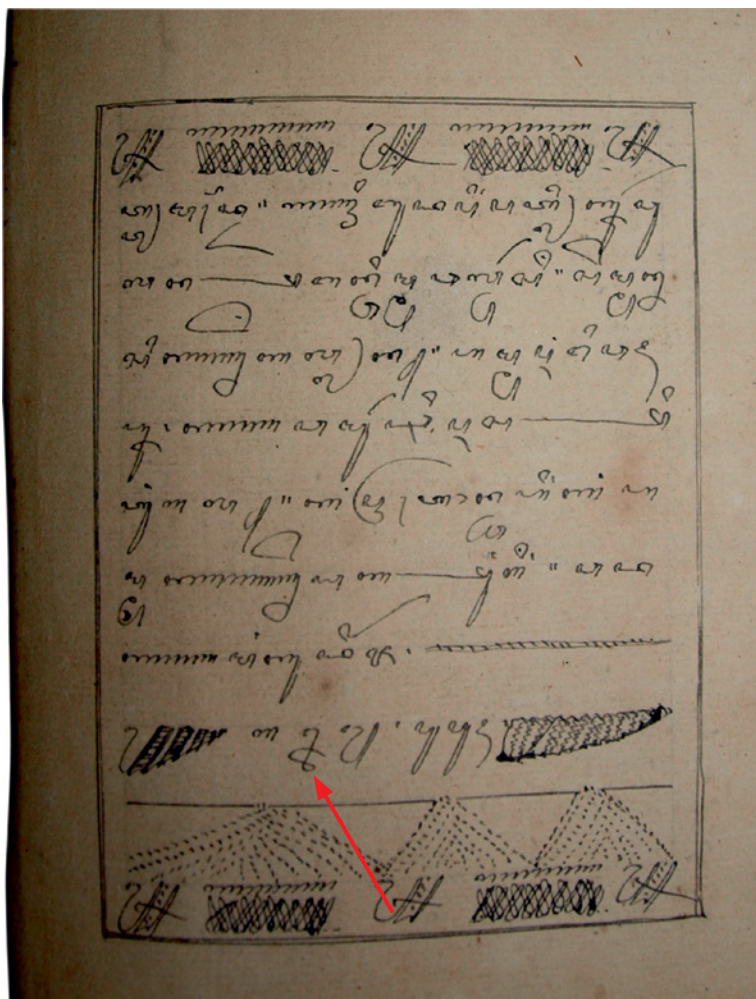


ILL. 296 Ganten Wangi (*Tale of Ganten Wangi, King of Mandrayana*). Sundanese, West Java, dated AD 1866. UBL NBG 280, 21 × 17 cm., 320 pages, page 300.<sup>60</sup>

The following illustrations offer some idea of what full pages of manuscripts of Javanese poems look like. Other examples may be found in illustrations elsewhere in this book. The examples show that in manuscripts the canto and stanza divisions are clearly marked and often in color whereas in other manuscripts they do not jump to the eye so readily.

60 Juynboll 1912: 6.



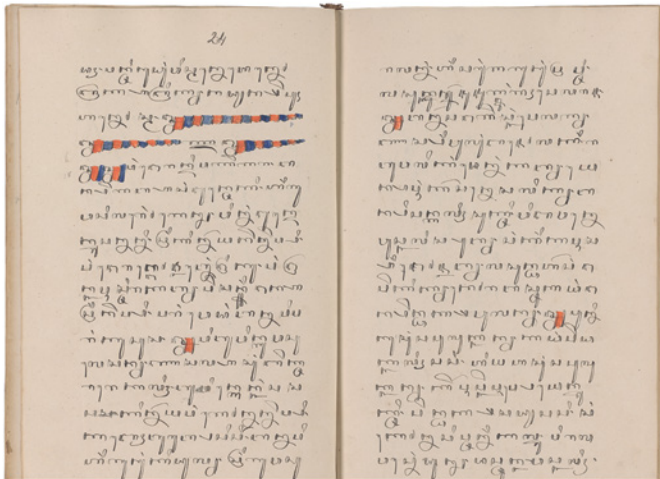


ILL. 297 Babad Měntaram (*Chronicle of the Realm of Mataram*). Javanese, Central Java, dated nawa (9) murti (8) rěsi (7) tunggal (1) = AJ 1789 = AD 1860 and written by Wadana Mangkudirja. PDS H.B. Jassin 899 221 091 Pra S, 30.5 × 18 cm., 344 double pages, page 344 right.



*Javanese*

ILL. 298 Jaka Sulewah (*Romance of Jaka Sulewah*). Javanese, Central Java, dated AJ 1773 = AD 1844. UBL Cod.Or. 1830, 32 × 22 cm., 183 double pages, pages 153.<sup>61</sup> Canto change to durma.



ILL. 299 Babad Dipanagara (*Chronicle of Prince Dipanagara*). Javanese, Semarang, Central Java, dated AJ 1795 = AD 1866. UBL KITLV D Or. 13, 33 × 21.5 cm., 200 double pages, page 24-v and 25-r.<sup>62</sup> Canto change to sinom.

PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.

61 Vreede 1892: 186–188; Pigeaud 1968: 38.

62 Pigeaud 1968: 825.





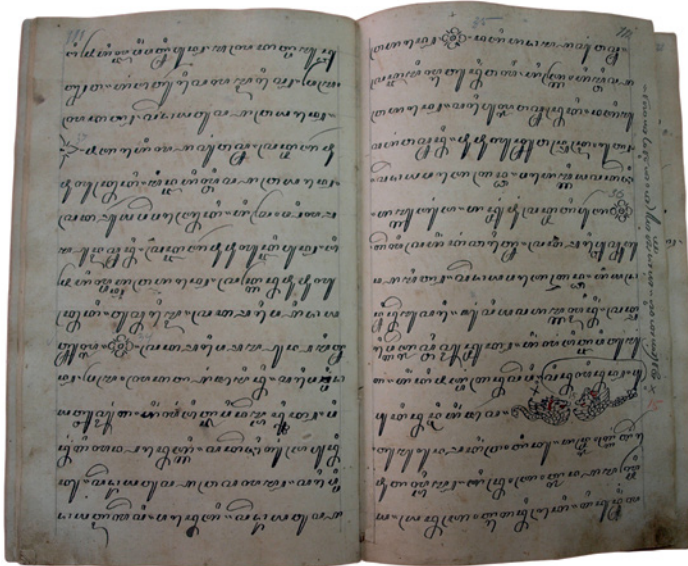
ILL. 300 Lakad (*Poem of the King of Lakad. An Episode of Muhammad's Life*). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1866. UBL Cod.Or. 5771, 22 × 19 cm., 60 pages, pages 12 and 13.<sup>63</sup> Canto change to yudakēnaka (pangkur).



ILL. 301 Babad (*Chronicle of Java*). Javanese, Central Java, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 30.5 × 18.5 cm. folio 420-v and 421-r. (Manuscript too damaged to establish the total number of pages). Canto change to kasmaran (asmarandana).

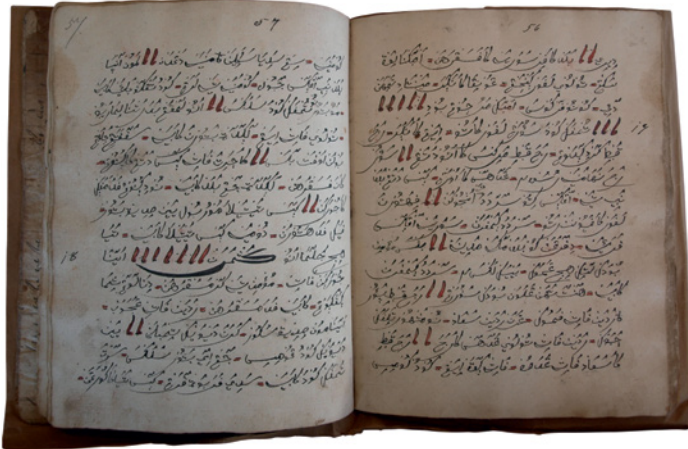
63 Pigeaud 1968: 340.





ILL. 302 Babad Pajajaran (*Chronicle of the West Javanese Realm of Pajajaran*). Javanese, Sumedang, West Java, written in the nineteenth century. PNRI KGB 469, 33.5 × 21 cm., 177 pages, page 11–112.<sup>64</sup> Canto change to kinanthi.

### Sundanese

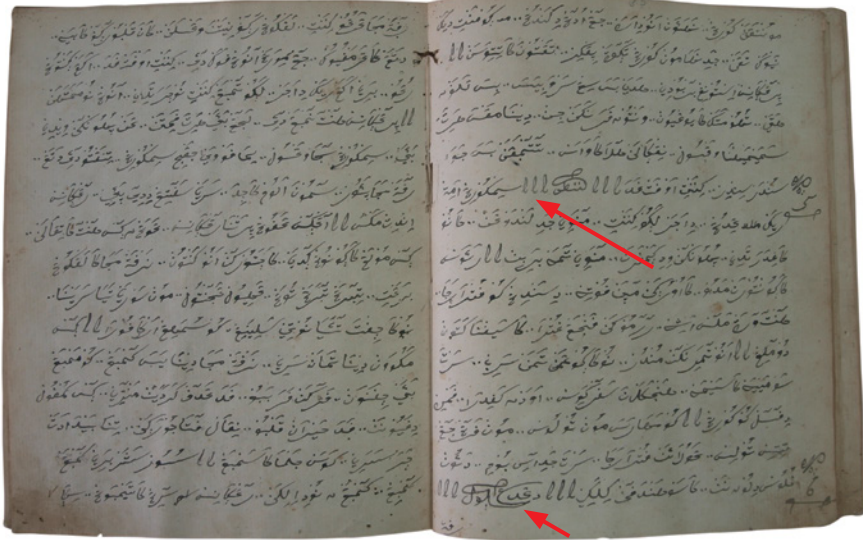


ILL. 303 Samā'un (*Poem of Samā'un*). Sundanese, West Java, undated but before AD 1912. UBL NGB 294, 20.7 × 16.5 cm., 80 pages, pages 56 and 57.<sup>65</sup> Canto change to kasmaran (asmarandana).

64 Behrend 1998: 221.

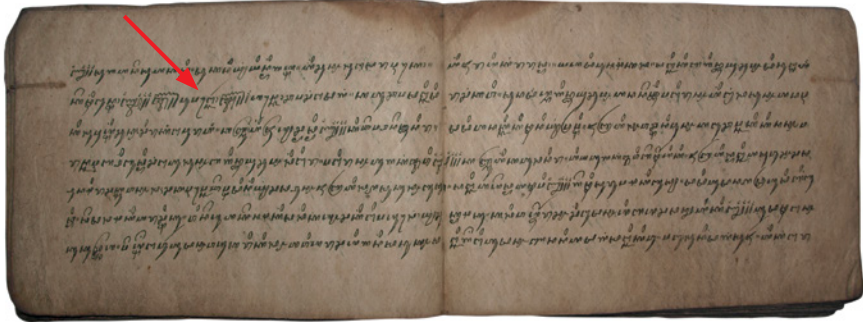
65 Juynboll 1912: 9.





ILL. 304 Renggani (Romance of Renggani, Princess of Jamintoran, part of the Menak Amir Hamza Cycle). Sundanese, West Java, undated. PNRI SD 38, 31 × 17 cm., 64 pages, pages 35 and 36.<sup>66</sup> Manuscript in pegon script. Start of two new cantos on page 35. The first to kinanti and the second to dangdanggula. The numbers of the cantos in the margin (nos. 5 and 6) are written in international numerals in pencil and were added later, probably by a scholar.

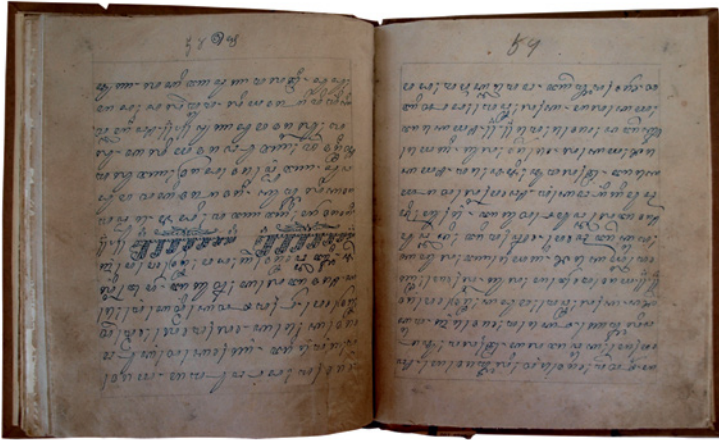
### Madurese



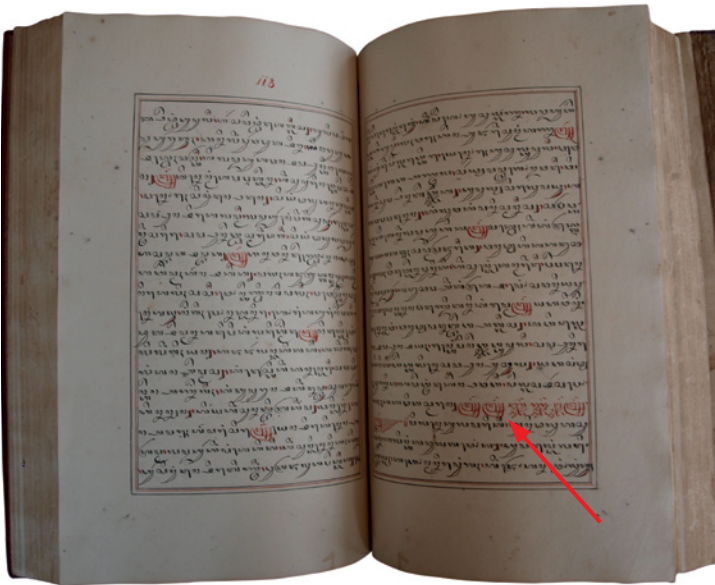
ILL. 305 Sĕrat Yusup (Poem of the Prophet Joseph). Javanese, East Java or Madura, undated. PC, 14 × 19.5 cm., 200 pages, pages 58–59. Oblong tree bark (dluwang) manuscript of the Sĕrat Yusup. The change of the canto on page 58 is to pangkor (pangkur) as indicated between the stepped pada.

66 Behrend 1998: 308.





ILL. 306 Barakay (*Story of Barakay*). Madurese, Madura, undated but before AD 1897. UBL Cod.Or. 4828, 20 × 17 cm., 210 pages, pages 58 and 59.<sup>67</sup> Canto change to artati (dangdanggula).

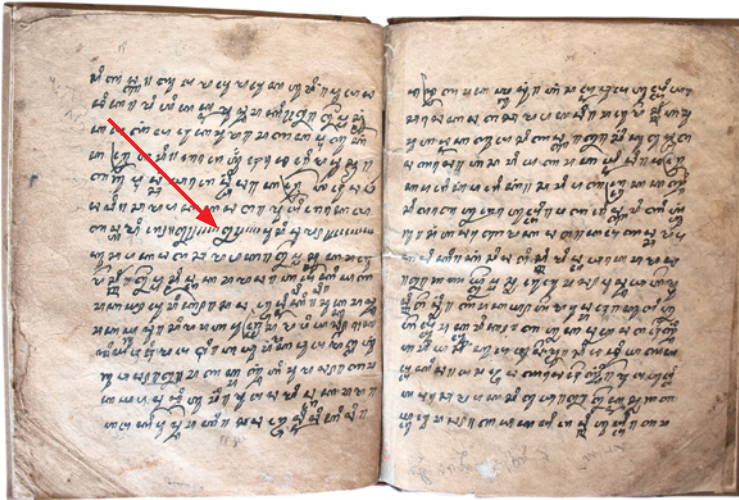


ILL. 307 Sĕrat Menak Lare (*Episode from the Menak Amir Hamza Cycle*). Javanese, East Java or Madura, undated but before 1897. UBL Cod.Or. 4930, 33 × 21 cm., 213 double pages, pages 113 left and right.<sup>68</sup> Canto change to kasmaran (asmarandana).

67 Juynboll 1907: 1.

68 Juynboll 1911: 21–22; Pigeaud 1968: 248.





ILL. 308 Barakay (Story of Barakay). Madura, Madurese, undated but before AD 1907. UBL Cod.Or. 4896, 21 × 16 cm., pages 55 and 56.<sup>69</sup> Canto change to sinum (sinom).



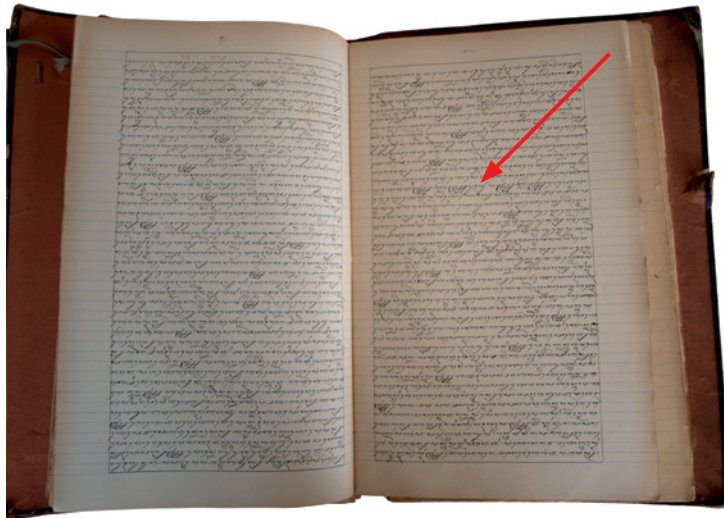
ILL. 309 Sērāt Menak Amir Hamza (*The Romance of Menak Amir Hamza, from Madura*). Javanese, Madura, dated AJ 1805 = AD 1876. Collection Pesantren Peradaban Dunia Jagat Arsy in Tangerang Selatan in Banten, 33.5 × 21.5 cm., 232 folio, pages 22 verso and 23 recto. Canto change to durma on the left page and to maskumambang on the right page.

69 Juynboll 1907: 1.





ILL. 310 Ĕntol Anom (*Didactic Poem of Ĕntol Anom*). Madurese, Madura, undated but before AD 1907. UBL Cod.Or. 4941, 20.7 × 14 cm., 106 pages, pages 23 and 24. In this manuscript from Madura in pegon script, the change in canto is indicated on the left page in line three by two large red signs before and after the indication *puh kasmaran*. The stanza divisions are indicated in similar red signs.<sup>70</sup>



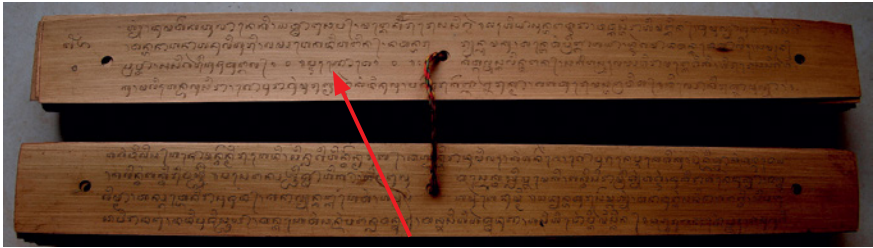
ILL. 311 Ĕntol Anom (*Didactic Poem of Ĕntol Anom*). Madurese, Madura, undated but before AD 1907. UBL Cod.Or. 4956 (7), 35 × 21.3 cm., 23 folio, pages 5 and 6. Dense layout of a Madurese manuscript from the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>71</sup> Canto change to *durma* on page 6.

70 Juynboll 1907: 6.

71 Juynboll 1907: 6.



### Balinese



- ILL. 312 Kidung Rare Sasigar (*Poem of the Half-Child*). Balinese, Bali, dated Śaka 1858 = AD 1936. PC, 3.5 × 32.4 cm., 43 leaves, leaves 16b and 17a. A new canto starts on the third line of the leaf at the top. The name is puh nyote which is another indication for pangkur.

### Javanese from Lombok



- ILL. 313 Nabi Aparas (*Song of the Prophet's Shaving*). Javanese, Lombok, undated. PC, 2.7 × 9.4 cm., 33 inscribed leaves, page 26a.



- ILL. 314 Nabi Aparas (*Song of the Prophet's Shaving*). Javanese, Lombok, undated. PC, 2.8 × 11 cm., 69 inscribed leaves, opening page.



### *Sasmitaning Těbang*

#### *Java*

Some manuscripts give no indication whatsoever of the *macapat* meter that is used.<sup>72</sup> Other manuscripts provide the name or include a *sasmitaning těbang* (*sasmitaning sěkar*) that usually consists of an expression, a word or part of a word pointing to the meter to follow. Arps discusses the phenomenon in his book<sup>73</sup> and he mentions the alternative term, (*ukara*) *sasmita araning těbang* '(sentence) signaling the name of the *těbang*'. There are two kinds: *sasmita salining těbang*, an indication of the meter of the following canto offered in the last sentence of the previous canto and *sasmita wiwitaning těbang* which occurs in the first sentence of the new canto. The latter is especially handy if a text starts in *těbang* without any other indication of the *macapat* meter that is used. *Asmarandana* contains the word '*asmara*' (love) and may, for instance, be indicated by its name or by words pointing to that name like *asmara*, *kasmaran* and other words for feelings like *kingkin*, *brangta*, *brangti* and so forth. *Sasmita wiwitaning těbang* may also help to identify a *macapat* meter that is mentioned under another name while no indication of its structure has been given such as the *macapat* name *patra-měnggala* in the *Pratélan Kawontenaning Boekoe-Boekoe*.<sup>74</sup> The only information provided is the first line and the contents of the canto. The first line mentions '*ayuda*' which may be seen as a *sasmita wiwitaning těbang* pointing to *pangkur*.

In view of the remarks Behrend and Pudjiastuti made in their discussion of the *Sěrat Cabolek* (Islamic Mystic Poem) in the collection of University of Indonesia Library (NR 250) that many *těbang macapat* texts from the Pakualaman in Yogyakarta offer *sasmita wiwiting těbang* rather than *sasmita salining těbang*,<sup>75</sup> and thus implying that it may be different elsewhere, a rather extensive discussion of this phenomenon is in place.

There is some reason for caution here as we may make a mistake in our interpretation of a word we think is a *sasmita* because it may not be that, and

72 Many text editions or transliterations made in Indonesian government programs of the Ministry of Education or of the National Library of Indonesia provide no indication whether or not the name of the verse meters are indicated in the manuscripts. The names are provided, but usually by the transcriber or the editor of the text. This is a pity because much information about the writing tradition of these texts is not to be found in these books and we have to resort to the manuscripts.

73 Arps 1992: 89–90.

74 Poerwasoewignja and Wirawangsa 1920: 60.

75 Behrend and Pudjiastuti 1997: 340.



instead be just a word that was needed for the story. For instance, we find in the *Babad Matawis* (Chronicle of the Realm of Mataram) from Central Java that canto seven ends in the word *asmara*, which would lead us to think of *asmarandana* as the meter for the next canto.<sup>76</sup> However, the meter that follows is *mijil*. Likewise, *nomnoman* at the end of canto 32 of the *Babad Dipanagara* (Collection National Library of Indonesia BR 149-d, page 31) does not point to the expected meter *sinom* since *durma* follows. That things may become even more complicated is attested by the border between cantos vi and vii of the *Sĕrat Cabolek*.<sup>77</sup> The last line of canto vi reads *Gumĕr malih lir gambuh para dipatya* (The *dipati*'s again laughed heartily as if [they were reciting] a *gambuh*).<sup>78</sup> One would be inclined to see the last word *dipatya* (being a synonym of *sri nata*) as the *sasmita* pointing to *sinom* but the actual *sasmita* here is *gambuh* and points to the meter of the same name.

Authors of texts may play tricks with the *sasmitas* they use and I feel that there is much more here than meets the eye at first glance. What to think of the wonderful *sasmita* between the first and second canto of the *Candrarini* (collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 8577[1]) of which the last sentence reads: *tannyo warta mring Sang Rĕtna Madhubrangta*. The name of the lady Sang Rĕtna Madhubrangta contains two words that may be considered a *sasmita* *saling tĕmbang*: *madhu* (honey) which may point to *dhandhanggula* and *brangta* (desire for love) which would point to *asmarandana*. Even though *brangta* is the last part of the word, the meter that follows is *dhandhanggula*. This text also has a rare *sasmita* which is indeed indicated in so many words as being a *sasmita*. The last line of the second canto ends in *asmara mring sasmita* and indeed, *asmarandana* follows. This is not the only text in which a name of a character is used as a *sasmita*. In a manuscript of the *Damar Wulan* dated AJ 1848 = AD 1917<sup>79</sup> (private collection) the name of the Princess Dyah Anjasmara is used as a *sasmita* between cantos 72 and 73 (page 332) to point to the following meter *asmarandana*. A similar thing happens in the Sundanese text *Sajarah Lampahing para Wali Kabeh* (History of the Wanderings of all the Holy Saints). The *sasmita* between canto 24 and 25 is likewise a name but in this case the name of a

76 Saktimulya 2010: 93.

77 Taken from UBL Cod.Or. 2325 (Vreede 1892: 320–322, Pigeaud 1968: 99).

78 Soebardi 1975: 110.

79 The colophon at the start of the manuscript mentions the *candra sangkala* (see below) *asta* (8) *catur* (4) *saliranya* (8) *sri narendra* (1) which is AJ 1848 = AD 1917 while at the end is written that the manuscript was ready in 1913. It is therefore not quite clear when the manuscript was written.



location. Sunan Purba is said to have his residence in Gula Jati, which points to the meter of the following canto *dangdanggula*.<sup>80</sup>

That we should be careful with *sasmita salining tẽmbang* that end in *brongta* is further attested to its use in the same manuscript of the *Damar Wulan* (private collection) where once the *sasmita, madu brongta* is used (perhaps reminiscent of the name of the lady mentioned above) between canto 38 and 39 (page 160) for *dhandhanggula* but where, between cantos 54 and 55 (page 225), the *sasmita, nganthi brongta* is used to point to *kinanthi* while later on, between cantos 56 and 57 (page 233) *brongta kingkin* indeed points to *asmarandana*. This text is extra careful with the way it treats the *sasmita*. The *sasmita, kinanthi ngasmara*, which might point to *asmarandana* is clarified by stating between the *pada* marks that the following meter is *kinanthi*. The scribe of the *Jaka Sulewah* (collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 1830) is extra careful in the change from canto 12 to canto 13. The last line of canto 12 reads *wuwusnya angasih-asih*. *Asih* (love, affection) might point to *asmarandana* but to make sure the reader makes no mistake, the scribe added the right meter, *dhandhanggula* in the *pada* mark that starts the new canto.

It is best to keep in mind that editors and transcribers may make mistakes too and that knowledge of the *sasmita* may help us to discover this. For instance, volume two of the transcription of the *Babad Dipanagara*<sup>81</sup> states in the *sasmita salining tẽmbang* and in the title that the *macapat* meter of canto 19 is *sri nata* but explains this between parentheses as *dhandhanggula*. This is incorrect as *sri nata* would point to *sinom*, which is indeed the meter used in canto 19. Similarly, the *Sẽrat Salokadarma* (Chevrotin Tales) (collection National Library of Indonesia KBG 332) does not start with *sinom* as stated in the transcription<sup>82</sup> but in *dhandhanggula*. The *sasmita wiwiting tẽmbang* in the first line: *sẽkar sarkara*, which points to *dhandhanggula*, should make us suspicious.

The indication of the verse meter is apparently important enough in the practice of the composition and singing of *tẽmbang* that its indication seems to may take precedence over the text itself. This is found in many texts, for instance, in de *Babad Dipanagara* where the change from canto 25 to 26 reads *mẽgatruh ingkang gumanti*, 'mẽgatruh takes over' (BD/III: 68), that of canto 26 to 27 is *mẽgatruh gumanti pucung* 'mẽgatruh is replaced by *pucung*' (BD/III: 83) and that of 36 to 37 *asmaradana gumanti*, 'asmaradana takes over' (BD/III: 77).

80 The manuscript is part of the collection of the Balai Pengelolaan Museum Negeri Sri Baduga Bandung, inventory number 07.141, Yunardi 2009: 11. The *sasmita* is in the same book on page 259.

81 Komari et al. 2010: 107. All references to the *Babad Dipanegara* refer to Komari et al. 2010 (4 vols.), abbreviated as BD.

82 Kriswanto 2011: 17.



In these instances, the text is actually disturbed by the insertion of these lines that have no bearing on the story. These kinds of lines also occur at the start of a canto as, for instance, the change from canto 2 to canto 3 in the *Babad Sunan Prabu* (Chronicle of Sunan Prabu).<sup>83</sup> The first sentence of canto 3 is *Wangsul malih sĕkar dhandhangġendis*, “we again return to the meter *dhandhang ġendis*.” Lists of the words used as *sasmita salining tĕmbang* and *sasmita wiwitaning tĕmbang* has been added as Appendix Four and Five.

### Sunda

We also encounter *sasmita tĕmbang* in Sundanese poetic texts. For instance in the *Asmara Sri Angga* composed by Raden Adipati Sutadiningrat which is noteworthy as almost each canto starts with a statement of the *macapat* meter used:<sup>84</sup> 1. *Dangdanggula anu jadi kawit* (It starts with *dangdanggula*), 2. *Kasmaran pabaur sĕdih* (Love mixed with sorrow), 3. *Sinom ngagġentos tĕmbang* (The meter is changed into *sinom*), 4. *Kinanti ngagġentos lagu* (The song is changed into *kinanti*), 5. *Tĕmbang Mijil ngagġentos kinanti* (*Mijil* replaces *kinanti*), 6. *Pangkur ayeuna kasĕrat* (Now we write in *pangkur*), 7. *Pangkur ġġentos ayeuna tĕmbang magatru* (Now *pangkur* is replaced by *magatru*), 8. *Maskumambang tipakidulan bot sumping* (Have I ever! *maskumambang* comes from the south), 9. (*pucung*) *Kembang picung mas kumambang geus kapungkur* (the flower of the *picung* tree, *maskumambang* has passed), 10. *Durma dongkap pucung ayeunna ditilar* (*Durma* has come and *pucung* is left behind), 11. *Pupuh Lambang nu kasĕrat* (Now we write in *pupuh lambang*), 12. *Dangdanggula katĕmbang deni* (We continue now in *dangdanggula*), 13. *Kasmaran anu nin-gali* (Now love is seen), 14. (*sinom*) *Datangna bilai eta* (Their disaster has come), 15. (*kinanti*) *Lain wungkul urang lĕmbur* (Not only the people from the villages), 16. *Pangkur deni nu kasĕrat* (We now write in *pangkur* again).

Of the sixteen cantos, 14 start with clearly stating the meter of the canto. Two do not (14 and 15). Three terms used for the meters are: *tĕmbang*, *lagu* and *pupuh*. Three cantos (5, 7, and 9) start with mentioning the meter of the canto to follow as well as the one it replaces.

### Bali

In Bali *sasmita* are encountered as well although much less often than elsewhere. Many *gaguritan* do not have any *sasmita* and others only occasionally

83 Rahmat 2010: 18.

84 See *Hikajat nganggo dangding basa soenda bantĕn parahijang, tjarios kaġjaän di kaboepa-ten lebak sarĕng serang, didġĕnġkeun Asmara Sri Angga*. TBG XXXVII, 1894: 563–589.



such as the *Kidung Bhuwanawinasa* (Song of the Destruction of the [Balinese] World [as it was Known]) by Ida Pedanda Ngurah from the Griya Gede Blayu in Marga, Tabanan.<sup>85</sup> A canto change to *pangkur* is indicated by *wiwingingan*, to *durma* by *durmiteng*, and to *sinom* by *sinomayaning puh asalin*.<sup>86</sup> The *Sorāndaka* (Sora's Fall) has three cantos and the changes from one canto to the other are clearly indicated by a *sasmita*. From canto one to two to *sinom* is indicated as *kasinom anggantyani* (*sinom* takes over), and from canto two to three to *durma* is indicated as *siddhyaning durmiteng lampah* (*durma* will continue).<sup>87</sup> All canto changes in the *Kidung Panjiwijayakrama* (*Rangga Lawe*) (Poem on an Episode in Majapahit's History) were indicated by a *sasmita*.

That we have to be careful here in our interpretation as to whether or not a word in the last sentence of a canto should be interpreted as a *sasmita* may be seen in the following. In the *Gaguritan Aji Palayon* (Treatise on the journey of the soul to heaven both before and after the appropriate ceremonies have been conducted), the last sentence of canto 2 has the word *pungkuran*.<sup>88</sup> *Pungkuran* is used as a *sasmita* in Balinese *gaguritan* and points to the following meter *pangkur*. However, in this case it is not a *sasmita* as *maskumambang* follows. The same happened at the change of canto 14 to 15 where *ungkur* also does not point to *pangkur* because the next canto is – yet again – in *maskumambang*.<sup>89</sup>

Cokorde Denpasar, I Gusti Ngurah Made Agung (Cokorda Mantuk ring Rana) is a good example of an author who used or sometimes chose not to use *sasmita* in his texts to indicate canto changes. Ida Bagus Gede Agastia published six of the Cokorda's songs (*gaguritan*) in 2006.<sup>90</sup> With the exception of the *Gaguritan Purwa Sanghara* (Poem of Purwa Sanghara), none of them use *sasmita*. In the *Purwa Sanghara*, he often used the name or a word pointing to the name of the *macapat* meter: *sisinom* for *sinom*, *durmanggale* for *durma*, *pamijil* for *mijil*, *mungkur* for *pangkur*, and so on. Mostly he used indications in the last stanza of the canto and only eight times (out of 32 canto changes) in the first line of the new canto. He also used sentences stating the meter to follow: *pantēs tēm̄bang pangkur*, *pantēs matēm̄bang ginanti*, *pantēs pucung cara Jawi*, *ginanti kocap ring kidung*, and so forth. The most interesting *sasmitas* are two very elaborate ones, both marking changes from *sinom* to *dangdang* found

85 See Creese, Dharma Putra and Schulte Nordholt (eds.) 2006: 125–164.

86 Some other examples may be found in Karmini 2013: 14–15.

87 Sudiana T. 2008: 26, 68.

88 Tangkas 2003: 4, 17.

89 Karmini 2013: 14.

90 Agastia 2006: 41–296.



on page 123 and 156 in the book. The last four lines of the second canto reads as follows: / *yen andeyang rasa nyunyur* / *kadi rasaning gula* / *manis manisan ring manis* / *mangasorang manis dangdanggula jawa* (If you want to find a simile, it is like a sweet taste / like the taste of sugar / sweet as sweet can be / below *dangdanggula Jawa* will follow.)<sup>91</sup> The boundary between canto 11 and 12 is as elaborate: / *tata warna rangkung ayu* / *kasor manising gula* / *ring manise pramesuari* / *manis nyunyur kasor manis dangdanggula* (She was ever so beautiful / defeating the sweetness of sugar / thus was the sweetness of the queen / so sweet that it overpowered the sweetness of *dangdanggula*).<sup>92</sup>

### Lombok

*Sasmitaning tĕmbang* also occur in manuscripts from Lombok. We should bear in mind that, as in Javanese manuscripts, also in Lombok manuscripts not all words should be interpreted as a *sasmitaning tĕmbang*. For instance, although the words (*sri*) *nata* and *naranata* (both meaning ‘king’) may be indicative of a following canto in *sinom* – also known under the name *sri nata* – this is not necessarily always the case. For instance, in the *Puspakrama* (Romance of the Prince of Puspakrama) (private collection) and the *Puspakrama* published in Lombok in 2007 the word *nata* is not followed by *sinom*, but by *asmarandana*.<sup>93</sup>

In the *Puspakrama* publication of 2007 we find *tulup-tinulupan* as the last words of canto 14 which means ‘to attack one another with blowpipes’ and this aggressive conduct may point to *durma* (in theory usually used for story parts relating war) which indeed follows. Also here we should be careful with our interpretations because in the *Kabarsundari* (Kabarsundari Episode of the Romance of Menak Amir Hamza), the words *rĕbut-rinĕbutan* ‘fighting with each other over something’ (canto 14, page 59) and *ayuda* ‘waging war’ (canto 19, page 69) do not point to *durma* since *dangdanggula* follow. The word *kasmaran* as the last word in canto 7 of the *Kabarsundari*<sup>94</sup> does not point to the meter of the following canto, which is not in *asmaradana*, but in *maskumambang*. Also in Lombok the *sasmita* may take precedence over the story. In the *Puspakrama* (Cod.Or. 22.474) the last line of canto 10 is: *pupuh dangdang kawingking* (now follows canto *dangdang*), while canto 11 ends in *sri nata ĕnggatenana* (the king will take over), pointing to the following canto in *sinom*. The last instance may (or should) be translated as *sinom* will take over

91 Agastia 2006: 123.

92 Agastia 2006: 156.

93 It may be that in this instance the story material that was presented in the original used by the writer was reworked from *sinom* into *asmarandana* and the *sasmita* was not replaced.

94 2002: 36.



as the previous line already mentioned that the story will continue to tell about the king.<sup>95</sup>

In Lombok, the phenomenon of *sasmita* is not limited to Javanese texts. In texts in the Sasak language we see the same. One manuscript of the *Megantaka* (Tale of Megantaka) from the collection of the Museum Negeri Nusa Tenggara Barat (Number 07.205),<sup>96</sup> for instance, shows the following words used as *sasmita*: *asmaradana*, *kasmaran*, *durma*, *kadurma*, *dangdang*, *kasinoman*, *kasənom*. The text of the *Ta Melak Mangan* (The Boy who Loved to Eat) already mentioned above<sup>97</sup> has only one (complete) *sasmita*: *lai' pondok tēmbang durma*. A manuscript of the Sasak version of the *Cilinaya* (Romantic Panji Poem) from the collection of the Museum Negeri Nusa Tenggara Barat (Number 07.932),<sup>98</sup> however, does not have any *sasmita* whatsoever. A list of the words used as *sasmita salining tēmbang* from Lombok has been added in Appendix Four.



ILL. 315 Sĕrat Kidung Langĕnswara (*Manual on Prosody*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1811 = AD 1881. PC, 19,7 × 16,5 cm., 84 pages, pages 2 and 3.<sup>99</sup>

95 Van der Meij 2002: 117, 129.

96 Purwata 2007.

97 Argawa 2007: 40–87.

98 Benyamin and Kota Ariyasa 2007.

99 The colophon states that “This book was made by the late Kangjeng Pangeran Arya Nandapuragsa in Yogyakarta. The *candra sangkala* is *jalma* (1) *nata* (1) *saliraning* (8) *narendra* (1) = AJ 1811 = AD 1881.” “*ĭngkang gubah sĕrat punika, swargi kangjĕng pangeran arya*



### *Kidung*

*Kidung* is a vague classification in poems from Java and Bali. What I would call ‘classical *kidung*’ are poems written in Middle Javanese in indigenous verse meters. The meters are called *těmbang/sěkar těngahan* or *sěkar madya*. This designation is interesting in itself as it only points to their position somewhere between *kakawin* and *macapat* meters. Other *kidung* in the area were written in modern Javanese in *těmbang macapat* meters or in Balinese in meters not found in classical *kidung*. Scholars place *kidung* somewhere between *těmbang macapat* and *kakawin* (see below) as they show elements of both and in the same *kidung*, *těmbang macapat* meters sit happily next to meters dubbed *těmbang těngahan*.<sup>100</sup> In Java the situation is even more vague as *těngahan* meters were also used for adaptations into more modern forms of Javanese of Old Javanese *kakawin* texts,<sup>101</sup> and because texts in modern Javanese were written in *těmbang macapat* but are called *kidung*. Usually, the only punctuation found in *kidung* is at the end of a stanza which is indicated by a comma (*carik*) and the end of a canto which is indicated by a double comma (*carik kalih*). This peculiarity is at once the main reason why *kidung* have up to now been ill understood because of the absence of “perceivable regular division of the stanzas into component phrases or lines.”<sup>102</sup>

At present, classical *kidung* as found in manuscripts have not been systematically studied. In his edition of the *Kidung Wangbang Wideya* (Javanese Romance of Prince Panji)<sup>103</sup> Robson stated this fact in the early 1970s. Also Zoetmulder in *Kalangwan* failed to offer solutions for *kidung* problems. Drewes struggled to understand *kidung* in his edition of the *Sěrat Angling Darma*<sup>104</sup> of 1975 and in 2013, Soekatno implied that the state of *affairs* in *kidung* studies was still a sorry one.<sup>105</sup> Wallis was clear about this in 1980 when he wrote “In fact, there is general confusion on the part of foreign linguists and literary specialists (and even many Balinese) on the precise nature of *kidung* form, function, performance practices, and distribution.”<sup>106</sup> Apparently, apart from

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*nandapuragsa, ing nagari ngayogyakarta adiningrat. siněngkalan jalma nata saliraning narendra.”*

100 See Zoetmulder 1974: 121ff and for Bali, Suarka 2007, chapter three.

101 Discussed in Arps 1986.

102 Wallis 1980: 192.

103 Robson 1971: 20.

104 Drewes 1975: 36–37.

105 Soekatno 2013: 293ff.

106 Wallis 1980: 177–178.



Wallis's work, not much progress has been made although, on the positive side, in 2007, Suarka also addressed the *kidung* situation in Bali.<sup>107</sup>

So what is the problem with the *kidung* in Middle Javanese? Following Robson, each canto is composed in a meter that consists of double stanzas in such a way that the first two sets of double stanzas have a different number of syllables per line and end in a specific vowel other than the rest that consists of double stanzas of an alternating form of different numbers of syllables and with their own end vowel. The scheme of a meter is thus AA, BB, CC, DD, CC, DD, CC, DD and so on. This is not the end of the story apparently. The *Kidung Tantri Rāgawināśa* (*Maṇdhukaprakaraṇa*) (Poem of the Tantri Fables of the Frogs) consists of alternative cantos with many double stanzas in *dēmung sawit* seven times alternated with two double stanzas in *kawitan*.<sup>108</sup> It is the only example I have of this particular verse structure. Its structure is

1. 40 <i>dēmung sawit</i>	2. 2 <i>kawitan</i> ,
3. 24 <i>dēmung sawit</i>	4. 2 <i>kawitan</i>
5. 26 <i>dēmung sawit</i>	6. 2 <i>kawitan</i>
7. 36 <i>dēmung sawit</i>	8. 2 <i>kawitan</i>
9. 52 <i>dēmung sawit</i>	10. 2 <i>kawitan</i>
11. 62 <i>dēmung sawit</i>	12. 2 <i>kawitan</i>
13. 79 <i>dēmung sawit</i>	14. 2 <i>kawitan</i>

Schematically, some Middle Javanese *kidung* meters look like this:

<i>pamandana</i>	43i, 43i, 73u, 73u; 60a, 60a; 66a, 66a; 60a, 60a, 66a, 66a, and so on.
<i>rara kēdiri</i>	62o, 62o, 84i, 84i, 80a, 80a, 33i, 33i, 80a, 80a, 33i, 33i, and so on.
<i>dēmung</i>	46o, 46o, 72u, 72u, 63u, 63u, 77u, 77u, 63u, 63u, 77u, 77u, and so on.
<i>dēmung sawit</i>	45o, 45o, 62u, 62u, 64u, 64u, 77u, 77u, 64u, 64u, 77u, 77u, and so on.

In Bali, *kidung* names are divided as follows: the first two pairs of stanzas, for instance of *dēmung* form the introduction and are divided into *dēmung kawitan bawak* (short *dēmung* for the introduction) and *dēmung kawitan dawa* (long *dēmung* for the introduction) while the main text is divided into *dēmung pangawak bawak* (short *dēmung* for the main text) and *dēmung pangawak dawa* (long *dēmung* for the main text).

Apparently there is variation in the structures of *kidung* meters. For instance, the structure of *pamandana* in Drewes's *Angling Darma* edition is: 43i,

<sup>107</sup> Suarka 2007: 126ff.

<sup>108</sup> Sudiana T. 2008b.



43i; 74u, 74u; 60a, 60a; 66a, 66a; 60a, 60a, and so on<sup>109</sup> and the second set of stanzas thus has 74 syllables per stanza rather than 73 as Robson mentioned for *pamandana* in the *Kidung Wangbang Wideya*.<sup>110</sup> Moreover, Drewes stated that “in many a stanza the number of the syllables does not agree with what is considered the standard number. Though in many cases the differences could have been smoothed away by inserting or striking a *pěpět* in the likely places [...]”<sup>111</sup> Indeed, in many poetic texts the numbers of syllables could be adjusted to the ‘norm’ if the *pěpět* (schwa) were added or deleted in places where they do or do not occur. This is caused by the way the *pěpět* is either written or not written in Balinese and Javanese script.

Middle Javanese *kidung* from Bali also use *těmbang macapat* meters. For instance, the *Sorāndaka*<sup>112</sup> and the *Kidung Panjiwijayakrama* (*Rangga Lawe*). I have the impression that few different *macapat* meters were used for these *kidung*, however. The *Sorāndaka* has only three cantos in two *macapat* meters: *durma*, *sinom* and *durma*,<sup>113</sup> and the *Kidung Sundāyana* (Sunda’s Quest) has eight cantos: *durma*, *sinom*, *durma*, *sinom*, *durma*, *sinom*, *durma*, *sinom*.<sup>114</sup> The *Kidung Panjiwijayakrama* has 13 cantos in three different *macapat* meters: *durma*, *pangkur*, *sinom*, *durma*, *sinom*, *pangkur*, *durma*, *sinom*, *durma*, *sinom*, *durma*, *sinom*, *pangkur*.<sup>115</sup> In short, only four *macapat* meters were used in these texts. The distribution of *macapat* meters in *kidung* has never been studied in depth and perhaps other *macapat* meters have been used in other texts as yet unpublished.

In Bali, a number of texts in Balinese are also called *kidung* and they have the poetic structures similar to those of *těmbang těngahan* such as *měgatruh*, *pangalang panjang* and *děmung*.

*Panggalang* seems to be a difficult meter. Prijono is of the opinion that it consists of a number of lines of eight syllables but it is unclear how many. Some manuscripts end the stanza after 16 syllables while others do this after 32.<sup>116</sup> Also other meters show variation in the numbers of syllables. In the *Kidung Dampati Lalangon*, the verse structure in five sources is as follows:

109 Drewes 1975: 36.

110 Robson 1971: 21.

111 Drewes 1975: 50n.

112 Van den Berg 1939.

113 Van den Berg 1939; Sudiana T. 2008a.

114 Berg 1928.

115 Published by the Dinas Pendidikan Dasar Propinsi Daerah Tingkat 1, Bali 1996 (second imprint).

116 Prijono 1938: 64.



TABLE 3 *Verse structure in five sources of the Balinese Kidung Dampati Lalangon*

Poetic meter	<i>mĕgatrūh</i>	<i>pangalang panjang</i>	<i>dĕmung<sup>a</sup></i>
Source			
1. Private collection	45 and 46	64 and 60	78 and 82
2. Edition Bhadra/Hooykaas 1942	46 and 45	63 and 65	78 and 80
3. Gedong Kirtya IVD/274/4	46 and 45	63 and 65	79 and 80
4. Transcription made by I Made Partika of a manuscript in the collection of I Ketut Jadi, Karangbangbang, Mataram, Lombok	45 and 46	65 and 62	78 and 77
5. Transcription made by Ida Ayu Made Arini in 1990.	46 and 43	64 and 65	75 and 81

a Only the number of syllable of the first two of the 104 stanzas in *dĕmung* have been counted.

In these sources, no couplet of the same meter has the same number of syllables and none of the sources has the same structure as any of the others. The only similarity between the sources is *mĕgatrūh* in nos. 2 and 3. The conclusion may be that either there is no precise syllable counting because no system exists or because of singing practices where this does not seem to matter. This is consistent with Wallis who wrote “Compared with wirama and sekar alit verse meters, sekar madya verse meters apparently place very few constraints on the structuring of poetic stanzas.”<sup>117</sup>

*Tĕmbang tĕngahan* are also used in Balinese *gaguritan*. Karmini mentions the following meters with the following poetic structures as used in *gaguritan*:<sup>118</sup>

<sup>117</sup> Wallis 1980: 175.

<sup>118</sup> Karmini 2013: 17.



TABLE 4 *Kidung meters in Balinese gaguritan*

Name of the kidung meter	structure	Total number of syllables
<i>gagak amanis</i>	1oi, 4a, 6a, 8e, 7u, 9i, 7a, 6u, 8a, 4a, 8i, 7a	Total 84
<i>dēmung</i>	8i, 4a, 8u, 6u, 8i, 8a, 8u, 6a, 8i, 8a, 8u	Total 80
<i>adri</i>	1ou, 6e/a, 8i, 8u, 8u, 8e, 8u, 8a, 8a	Total 72
<i>sinom tikus kapanting</i>	8u, 8i, 8a, 8u, 8a, 8i, 8u, 8i	Total 64
<i>cĕcangkriman</i>	4u, 8u, 6a, 9i, 4u, 8a	Total 39
<i>misalangit</i>	8u, 8i, 8a, 8i, 8a, 8i	Total 48

The story does not end here, however. In Appendix Six we see that I Gusti Putu Jlantik lists no less than 48 meters and a manuscript on file about *kidung* written by I Wayan Pamit from Denpasar reveals that there are even more meters but this needs to be studied more in depth before this information can be used.

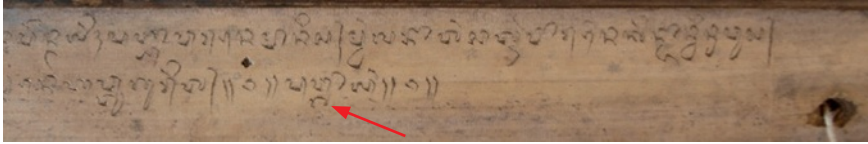
Also these poetic meters may have alternative names. For instance, the meter *adri* in the *Sri Tañjung* (Poem of Sri Tañjung) is also known as *wukir*; *puh istri* (*sri*) *tañjung*, *angkatan*, *ĕluh*, *kĕpanggĕl* and *putri kĕtañjung* while the vocals at each verse line are also open to variation. Prijono reports that the verse structure of *adri* in the manuscripts of the *Sri Tañjung* varies and is 1ou, 6e (a, o), 8i (u), 7u, 8u, 8e (o, a), 8u (a), 8a, 8a,<sup>119</sup> and thus is one syllable short from the *adri* mentioned above.

The names of the verse meters used in texts may be indicated in the manuscripts but similar to the situation with *tĕmbang macapat*, this is often not the case. The way names are indicated may be illustrative of a particular area, time or individual and should therefore be noted. Apparently, in manuscripts of *classical kidung* indications of the meters were not always stated at the start of cantos but rather at the end as in illustration 316. Another example is the *Bima Suci* (Bima's Adventures in Search of the Water of Life) where the poetic meters of the cantos are also mentioned at the end of each canto.<sup>120</sup>

119 Prijono 1938: 5+.

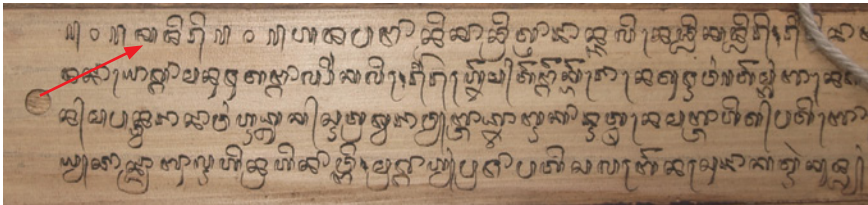
120 Collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 1804, Pigeaud 1968: 30, Prijohoetomo 1934.





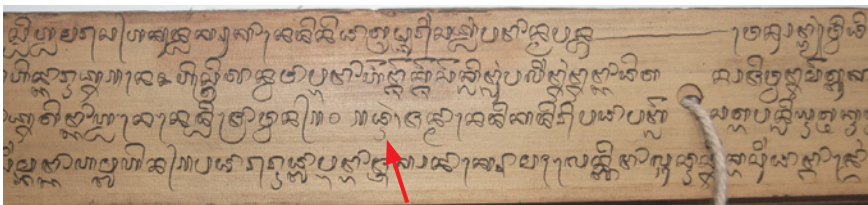
ILL. 316 Ender (*Farcical Romance of Ender*). Bali, Javanese-Balinese, undated but before AD 1906. UBL Cod.Or. 5345, 3.5 × 46 cm., 46 leaves, leaf 25b.<sup>121</sup>

The name of the verse meter may have been indicated at the start of the poem as in illustration 317. The name 'kadiri' is spelled out.



ILL. 317 Kidung Rusak Kadiri (*Fall of the Kingdom of Kadiri in Lombok*). Balinese, Lombok, undated. PC, 3.3 × 37.5 cm., 39 inscribed leaves, opening leaf.

All the other meters in the same manuscript were indicated solely by their first syllable as can be seen in illustration 318, where the syllable 'dhur' is used to indicate *durma*.

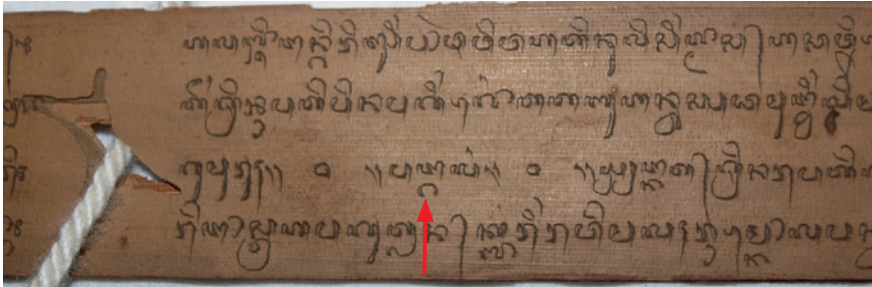


ILL. 318 Kidung Rusak Kadiri (*Fall of the Kingdom of Kadiri in Lombok*). Balinese, Lombok, undated. PC, 3.3 × 37.5 cm., 39 inscribed leaves, leaf 16a.

<sup>121</sup> Juynboll 1912: 79; Pigeaud 1968: 304.



The indication of the verse meter can be provided at the start of the canto as in illustrations 317, 318 and 319. Also in *kidung* manuscripts, the indication of the meter is not provided or not provided consistently. In the case of the manuscript in illustration 319, this is the only indication of the verse meter in the entire manuscript. In this case its full name ‘*panggalang*’ has been given.



ILL. 319 Kidung Malat (*Romance of Prince Panji*). Middle Javanese, Lombok, dated Śaka 1785 = AD 1863. PC, 3.4 × 51 cm., 254 inscribed leaves, leaf 95b.

### *Kakawin*

*Kakawin* are poems in Old Javanese written in Sanskrit or Sanskrit-inspired verse meters (called *wirama*). Their contents are usually narrative, although this is not always the case. Most of them are based on stories derived from the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. A wealth of information on *kakawin* meters may be found in Zoetmulder's classic work *Kalangwan*.<sup>122</sup> In essence, and with few exceptions, the metric rules of *kakawin* are the same as those for Sanskrit prosody as used in *kāvya*.<sup>123</sup> It may be best to quote Zoetmulder to explain what these prosodic requirements are:

A stanza consists of four lines, each comprising the same number of syllables and built on the same metric pattern. In this pattern the quantity

122 *Kalangwan* was translated into Indonesian by Dick Hartoko and published in 1983, then reprinted in 1985. It has been and still is a very important book not only for foreign and Indonesian students of *kakawin*, but also for people actively engaged in singing and composing *kakawin* in present-day Bali.

123 Zoetmulder 1974: 102.



of each syllable – that is, whether it should be long or short – is indicated by the requirements of its position within the line; and a syllable is considered long either if it has a long vowel (ā, ī, ū, ö, e, o, ai) or else if it has a short vowel followed by more than one *aksara*. The final syllable of a line can either be long or short (anceps). A great many different patterns or meters of this kind were used in Old Javanese poetry, each bearing its proper name.<sup>124</sup>

Zoetmulder continues that there is no rhyme of any kind in *kakawin* meters.<sup>125</sup>

In *kakawin* we see that the number of stanzas in a canto can vary from one to any number and that some *wirama* are often used while others are extremely rare. A list of all the *kakawin* meters known to Zoetmulder is added as Appendix III on pages 451–472 in *Kalangwan*. They are listed starting with the ones with the smallest number of syllables per line and ending in those with the most. For each *wirama* the poetic structures are given and he lists all the *kakawin* that use the meters complete with the number of the cantos and number of stanzas within the cantos. This meticulous work is of immense use for any scholar in *kakawin* studies. Appendix Seven at the end of this book contains Zoetmulder's list into which new information on names and new meters from various sources has been incorporated.

It would however be incorrect to say that the discussion ends here. There are more lists of *kakawin* meters and they do not all follow the information Zoetmulder offers. One such is the *Kakawin Canda Kāraṇa* (Kakawin on Indian Meters) compiled by I Wayan Pamit in 1998. It is a *kakawin* that presents a story but is, simultaneously, a work that uses a large number of *kakawin* meters in order to exemplify them. The *Kakawin Canda Kāraṇa* uses no less than 180 *wirama* the names of which are all mentioned at the start of each canto with their number of syllables per line (*canda*), the distribution of long (*guru*, indicated by –) and short (*laghu*, indicated by ∪) syllables. The structure of the often used meter Śārdūlawikrīḍita looks like this: – – – | ∪ ∪ – | ∪ – ∪ | ∪ ∪ – | – – ∪ | – – ∪ | – ∅.

<sup>124</sup> Zoetmulder 1974: 102.

<sup>125</sup> Zoetmulder 1973: 103.





ILL. 320 Kakawin Wṛttasañcaya (*Didactic Poem on Indian Prosody*). Balinese, Bali, undated but before AD 1906. UBL Cod.Or. 5427, 3.2 × 40 cm., 16 inscribed leaves.<sup>126</sup> Ĕmbat-ĕmbatan manuscript of fine, high-quality lontar leaves of a complete Balinese translation in wirama meters of this kakawin.

I Wayan Pamit's work is not the first that presents as many *wirama* meters as possible in the form of a story. That honor goes to Mpu Tanakung who wrote the *Kakawin Wṛttasañcaya* in the second half of the fifteenth century.<sup>127</sup> His work, also called *Cakrawakadūtacarita* is a short poem containing a romantic story in 112 stanzas. Mpu Tanakung tells his story by using the shortest meter first and using increasingly more elaborate meters as he goes along. I Wayan Pamit follows the same pattern. Another text on prosodic lessons is the *Kakawin Wṛttāyana* (Treatise on Kakawin Prosody) written by an unknown author. The *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* is another that uses a great number of different meters and is thus also considered a treatise on *kakawin* prosody. These texts all come from Java but the same practice was apparently in use in Bali in former days as well, as seen from the *Kakawin Narakawijaya* (Naraka's Victory) which, according to Zoetmulder<sup>128</sup> was written in Bali.<sup>129</sup> According to Zoetmulder, it has an unusually large variety of meters and the intention of its composer was apparently "to show off his skill in this field [...] rather than to write a well constructed story. This would explain its unusual form."<sup>130</sup> I have

<sup>126</sup> Juynboll 1912: 75.

<sup>127</sup> See Kern 1875 for an edition and Dutch translation of this work.

<sup>128</sup> Zoetmulder 1974: 406.

<sup>129</sup> See also Creese 1999: 83.

<sup>130</sup> Zoetmulder 1974: 405, taken over in Teeuw and Robson 2005: 62.



the impression that many *kakawin* use many different meters because of their multiple roles in society which are: lessons in religion, ethics and life, the story, performance aspects, and to illustrate proper Old Javanese language usage in verse all at the same time. Seen from the perspective of these roles, the story line is perhaps not the most important feature of a text, if indeed it is important at all, which may explain why, for instance, the *Kakawin Narakawijaya*'s storyline is – at least in Zoetmulder's view – not well constructed. This view would concur with that of Gerow who stated of Indian *kāvya*:

Much that appears at first blameworthy in classical poetry is explicable in terms of the de-emphasis of the story. The story is never central; it is at best a pretext for stringing together admirable verses –really just a narrative theme. The story may at any time be interrupted by long descriptive irrelevancies on the sunrise, the mountains, the moonset, which appear extraneous by standards emphasizing the unity of the plot. Moreover, the overdevelopment and the stylistic complexity of the stanza itself testify to a smaller unit of composition. It is the stanzas and not the work which have a life of their own in historical traditions of Indian literature. Little value is attached to the whole work, to which stanzas are freely added or from which they are excerpted by the tradition.<sup>131</sup>

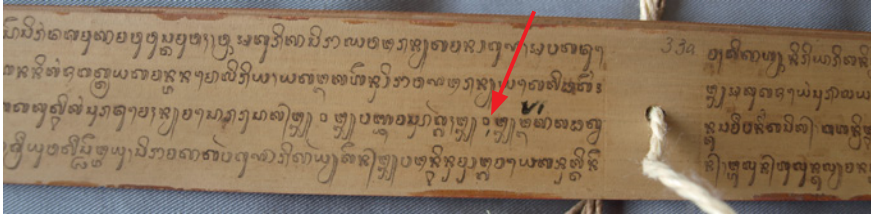
Wesley Michel also made partial use of this quote in his article in 2011 and he implies that this is also applicable to *kakawin*.<sup>132</sup> I think that we should avoid saying 'never' as used in the quote because in the *kakawin* world we are looking at a long timeline during which numerous *kakawin* were composed, the last I know of being dated as late as 2004. Much may have changed, but that the story is often not the *only* element of a *kakawin* composition seems clear. That authors and users look at somewhat larger entities in *kakawin* may be seen from the parts of *kakawin* that are sung and explained during *mabasan* activities as said in Chapter Two. Gerow's emphasis on "admirable verses" as things of beauty may overlook the idea that ethical and religious values in texts are also extremely important and more important than the story.

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131 Gerow, 1971: 71–72.

132 Michel 2011: 12.





- ILL. 321      Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa (*Rāma's Quest*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1729 = AD 1807. UBL Cod.Or. 2201, 3.5 × 65 cm., 126 leaves in all.<sup>133</sup> Sarga five of this kakawin manuscript has been provided with an indication of the number of the stanza within the sarga, but indicated in Roman numerals as VI. We see here the start of sarga six and the first stanza is indicated with a tiny numeral 1 under the pada at the right. These numerals continue up to 11.

The Old Javanese language does not have a distinction between long and short vowels and this is precisely what makes *kakawin* composition difficult, that is, for researchers. This would seem especially so in present-day Bali where the Old Javanese language is, of course, not spoken and where the distinction between long and short vowels does not exist at all. I Wayan Pamit stated during my interviews with him that *kakawin* composition was not hard at all as long as one had the right text to use. He reworked the prose text *Śiwagama* (Text on Spirituality and Ritual composed by Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen) into a *kakawin* and for him it posed no problem. Armed with the list of *kakawin* meters in Dick Hartoko's translation of Zoetmulder's *Kalangwan* and having made his own lists with the use of other sources as well, he claimed a *kakawin* could be composed in a short time. Now, either he is right and it is not as hard as foreign and domestic scholars think, or, because he used to be a teacher, Pamit put up a nice show that matched his character and previous occupation well. I don't think I interviewed him. He rather put me in my place as his student and taught me what he wanted me to know. That *kakawin* composition is alive in Bali may be seen by the fact that present-day composers compose new *wirama* meters. One example is I Made Degung who created the new meter *Purantara* for his *Kakawin Nilacandra* which he created in 1993.<sup>134</sup>

No in-depth study has been conducted into the different uses of the meters in *kakawin* composed in the Javanese and Balinese periods. I have made a table

<sup>133</sup> Vreede 1892: 389; Pigeaud 1968: 85.

<sup>134</sup> Alit Geria 2011: 61; 2012: 169–175. For the complete text of this *kakawin* see Made Degung 2006. It is a different *Kakawin Nilacandra* than the one composed by I Wayan Pamit which was published in 2002.



of the verse meters used in many *kakawin* and it appears that in Bali many different meters have been in use, and are still in use in modern times. *Kalangwan* was on the table in I Wayan Pamit's house when I visited him in 2005, which suggests that he may well have drawn on the information Zoetmulder provides in his book. It is therefore surprising that in his *Kakawin Canda Kāraṇa*, Pamit used quite a few names for meters that feature in *Kalangwan* but for which Zoetmulder had no names next to meters Zoetmulder does not mention at all.

### **Kakawin Names**

There is confusion with the names of *kakawin* meter. This confusion was for Supomo reason enough to speak derogatively of one of the manuscripts (collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 1855) he used for his edition of the *Kakawin Arjunawijaya*. That manuscript provides the names of the meters at the start of each new canto (which in itself is unusual) but erroneously, at least in the editor's view. Apparently it has two cantos in the same meter that are given different names.<sup>135</sup> Indeed, manuscripts often do not mention the name of the meter at the start of a canto at all. However, we have to prove that something really is a mistake because perhaps something else is at stake. Alternative names may point to specific traditions from certain places at certain times and thus may provide clues to the date a manuscript was written or otherwise place a manuscript within its tradition.

Not only is it the case that not all the manuscripts mention the names of the meters, editors also do not always do this. Partini Sarjono Pradotokusumo's 1986 edition of the *Kakawin Gajah Mada* (Tale of Gajah Mada) failed to mention the names of the 67 meters of the text. Luckily the subsequent edition of this *kakawin* by I Ketut Riana of 2010 addressed this shortcoming. Dwi Woro Retno Mastuti and Hastho Bramantyo also failed to mention the meters of the *Kakawin Sutasoma* they translated and published in 2009. They based themselves on the transliteration published in 1975 by Soewito Santoso who also did not provide the names of the meters.

That meters may sometimes be a puzzle to editors may be seen from I Nyoman Weda Kusuma's edition of the *Kakawin Usana Bali Māyantaka Carita* of 2012. He has only been able to identify a small number of the 44 cantos in the *kakawin*. It may be noteworthy that the meter of canto 3 he identified as being *Wibhrama* does not accord with the metrical structure as offered in Zoetmulder as also included in Appendix Seven to this book.

The modern computer produced *kakawin* editions in Balinese script that appeared on the market after 1990 invariably mention the meters the texts used.

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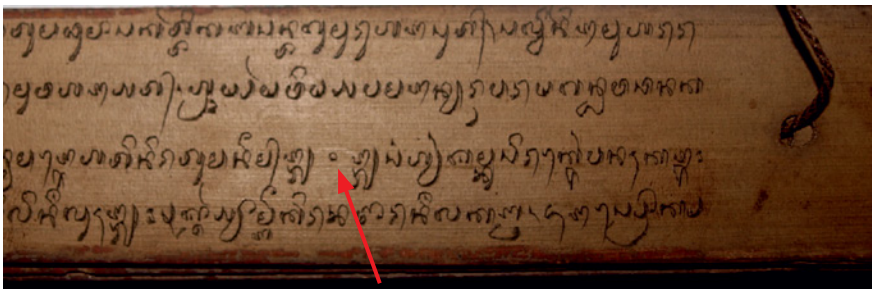
135 Supomo 1977: 87.



One wonders if modern *kakawin* composed in Bali were influenced by *kidung* practices as regards the indication of the *wirama* meters in their texts. More research is needed in this case but the following may be illustrative as to this issue. In the *Kakawin Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* the following occurs. The first canto is in *śārdūlawikrīḍita* which name occurs in the last line of the canto. Canto nine is in *bhrahmarawilaśita* which name occurs in the last line of the canto. Canto 14 is composed in *prthwi* and in the last line the word *saprthwītala* is used and finally, canto 16 is written in *sragdhara* which occurs in its last word *kanyakāsragdharārum*. A kind of *sasmita salining tēmbang* occurs as well but only once. The second canto is in a kind of *wikṛti* and ends in the word *jagat* which may also indicate the name of the third canto, which is composed in *jagaddhita*.<sup>136</sup>

### *Canto Changes in Kakawin Manuscripts*

Changes in *kakawin* cantos are usually indicated in a modest way and no clue as to the following meter is offered. However, the way they have been indicated shows individual variation which may be used to identify the provenance of the manuscript. The indication of the canto change in the following example is rather simple and inconspicuous so that it may easily be missed when browsing the manuscript. The name of the meter has not been indicated.



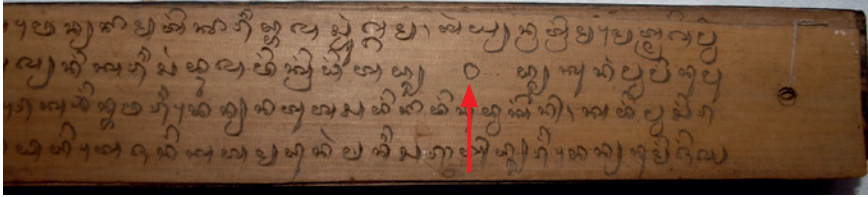
ILL. 322 Kakawin Smaradahana (*Burning of Smara, the God of Love*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1773 = AD 1851. PC, 3.2 × 50 cm., 46 inscribed leaves, leaf na.

The canto change in illustration 323 from a manuscript from the Balinese community in Lombok is much more conspicuous. The name of the meter is not indicated. The *pada* mark is simple but rather space consuming and

136 See Gonda 1932: 183–225.

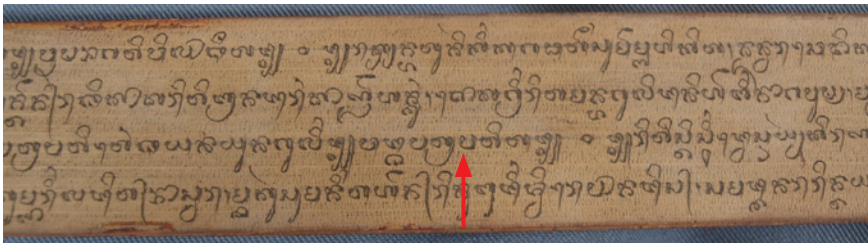


thus easily to detect when browsing the manuscript. The name of the meter *sardūlawikridhita* precedes the *pada*.



ILL. 323 Kakawin Brahmanḍapurāṇa (*Old Javanese poetic version of part of the Brahmanḍapurāṇa*). *Old Javanese, Lombok, dated Śaka 1822 = AD 1900. PC, 3 × 32 cm., 49 inscribed leaves.*

Some manuscripts provide the names of the cantos throughout the manuscript as in the instance of the *Kakawin Wṛttasañcaya* in illustration 324. They may have been included because the text is about *kakawin* practice, which would seem logical. In the first line, the name of the new poetic meter is indicated as *wṛṣabhagatiwilāśita* and in the third line the new poetic meter is *wangśapatrapatita*.

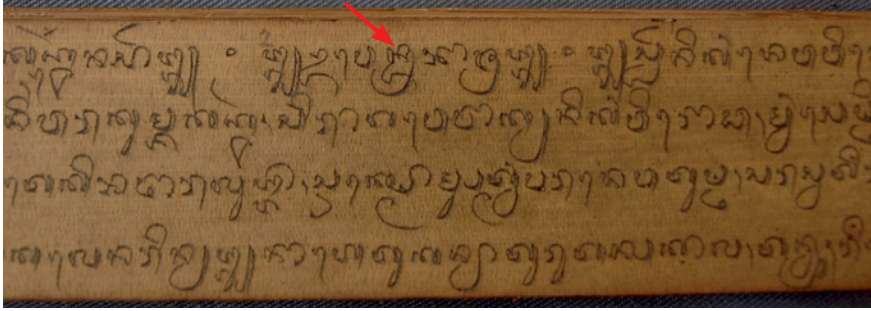


ILL. 324 Kakawin Wṛttasañcaya (*Didactic Poem on Indian Prosody*). *Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1718 = AD 1796. UBL Cod.Or. 3712, 3.5 × 54 cm., 10 leaves, leaf 6b.*<sup>137</sup>

In illustration 325, the name of the meter, *upendrabhājra*, has been given in the *pada* mark.

137 Juynboll 1907: 132; Pigeaud 1968: 130. Pigeaud omitted to date the manuscript.





ILL. 325 Kakawin Arjunawijaya (*Arjuna's Victory*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated but before AD 1876. UBL Cod.Or. 2210, 3.5 × 47 cm., 74 leaves, leaf 4b.<sup>138</sup>

### *Jarwa Versions*

To end this part on Old Javanese poetic texts, I would briefly like to draw attention to some manuscripts containing *kawi miring* or *jarwa* versions of Old Javanese texts. They contain the texts in a version of Old Javanese that is often described in pejorative terms, for instance as 'sloping' as it was less 'real' than the Old Javanese of the original *kakawin*.<sup>139</sup> Some manuscripts contain the original *kakawin* texts with word for word glosses and paraphrases. These texts were mostly written on paper in or in the vicinity of the Central Javanese courts but also in the palaces of Madura.<sup>140</sup> In the illustration of a manuscript from Madura from before AD 1864 below we find the Old Javanese text of the *Niti Sastra* in the column on the left and the *jarwa* version in red on the right.

Illustration 327 shows a manuscript of the *Kakawin Panitisastra* (Didactic Moralistic Poem) with word for word glosses and paraphrases.

The names of the meters may be or may not have been indicated. The example in illustration 328 is a manuscript of the *Arjuna Sasrabahu jarwa* (Tale of Arjuna Sasrabahu) of AJ 1734 = AD 1807 written in 'quasi' Old Javanese verse meters.<sup>141</sup> On the page on the right, the verse meter of the new canto is indicated in the last word of the previous canto, in this case *kusumawicitra*. Between the elaborate stepped *pada* marks, a number is written as is the case between the *pada* marks starting all other cantos. Why numerals were added is unclear as there seems to be no connection with the number of the canto or the

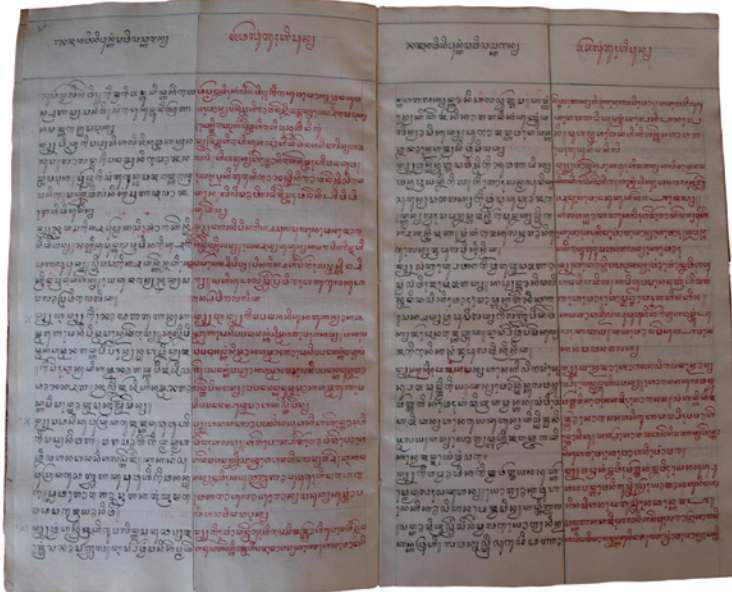
<sup>138</sup> Vreede 1892: 388; Pigeaud 1968: 86.

<sup>139</sup> Pigeaud 1967: 237.

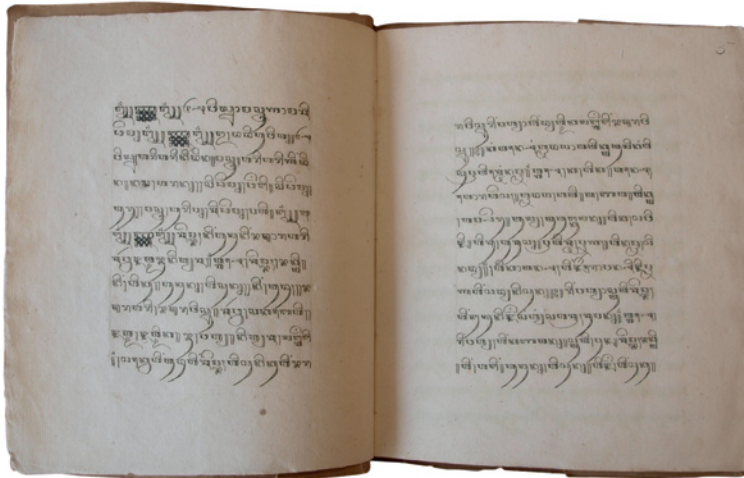
<sup>140</sup> For more on *jarwa* versions see Pigeaud 1967: 235ff.

<sup>141</sup> Pigeaud 1967: 27.





ILL. 326 Niti Sastra (*Didactic Moralistic Poem*). Old Javanese and Javanese, Madura, Sumenep ?, undated but before AD 1864. UBL Cod.Or. 1863, 33 x 21 cm., 52 pages, pages 20 and 21.<sup>142</sup>



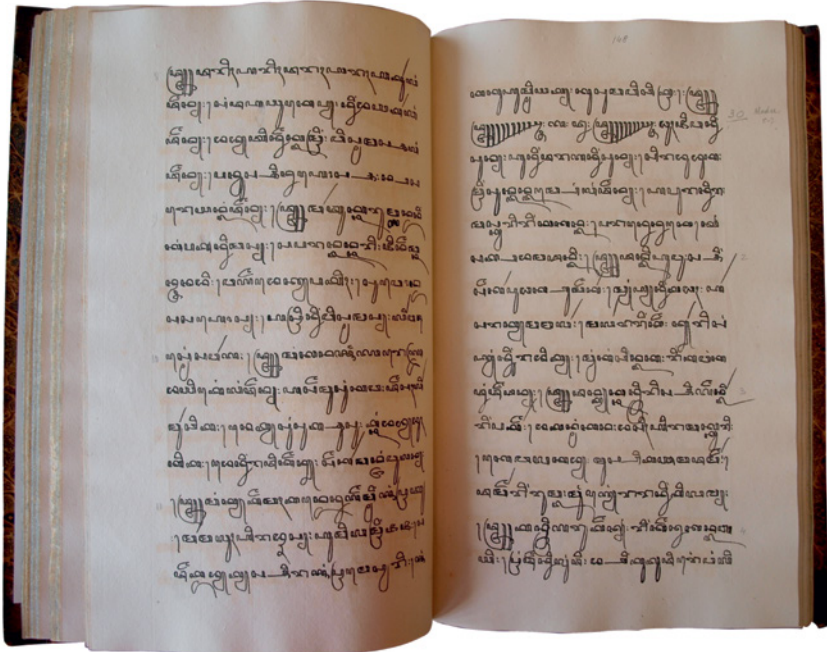
ILL. 327 Kakawin Panitisastra (*Didactic Moralistic Poem*). Old Javanese and Javanese, Surakarta, undated but before AD 1907. UBL NBG 130, 22.5 x 18.5 cm., 93 pages, pages 4-v and 5-r.<sup>143</sup>

142 Vreede 1892: 264; Pigeaud 1968: 45.

143 Juynboll 1907: 135; Pigeaud 1968: 743.



number of stanzas within the canto. The number of the canto in the margin (no. 30) and of the stanzas (8, 9, 10, and 11 and 2, 3, 4) are written in international numerals in pencil and added later, probably by a scholar.



ILL. 328 Arjuna Sasrabahu jarwa (*Tale of Arjuna Sasrabahu*). Javanese, Surakarta, dated AJ 1734 = AD 1807. UBL Cod.Or. 1793, 33 × 21 cm., 334 pages, pages 147 and 148.<sup>144</sup>

The canto divide on the left page in the following example of the *Rama jarwa* (Rama's Quest) has the /ndra/ cluster between the stepped *pada* while the canto divide on the right page has the /ñca/ cluster. It seems that the *aksara* clusters are distributed randomly in the canto divides throughout the manuscript. The names of the meters have been indicated in the last words of the preceding cantos, in this case *bratanarayana* on the left page and *liprawiralita* on the right. As with the previous example, the numbers of the cantos and of the stanzas within the cantos in the margin (nos. 73, stanza numbers 2, 3 and 4, and 74) are written in international numerals in pencil and added later, probably by a scholar.

<sup>144</sup> Vreede 1892: 4; Pigeaud 1968: 27.





ILL. 329 Rama jarwa (*Rama's Quest*). Javanese, Surakarta, undated but written around AD 1807. UBL Cod.Or. 1791, 33 × 21 cm., 763 pages, pages 363 and 364.<sup>145</sup>



ILL. 330 Darma Sunya Keling (*Didactic Speculative Poem*). Javanese, North Coast of Java written in spikey Pasisir script, dated AJ 1640 = AD 1715. UBL NBG 95, 31.5 × 20.5 cm., 74 pages, end pages.<sup>146</sup>

<sup>145</sup> Vreede 1892: 7; Pigeaud 1968: 26.

<sup>146</sup> Juynboll 1907: 165; Pigeaud 1968: 738–739.



The final example concerns a manuscript of the *Darma Sunya Keling* dating from AJ 1640 = AD 1715 from Java's north coast and written in 'Indian meters'.<sup>147</sup> It is unfortunately damaged but the opening and end pages were adorned with colored illuminations. The *pada* marks were decorated as well.

### Javanese *Syi'ir*



ILL. 331 Ripangi (Didactic edifying tracts and poems in Malay meter). *Javanese, Central Java ?*, dated AH 1340 = AD 1921. UBL Cod.Or. 11.004, 21 x 17.5 cm., 503 pages, pages 500 and 501.<sup>148</sup>

To round of this chapter one kind of poem still needs to be highlighted. Also in Javanese, poems were written in the same rhyme scheme a a a a as in Malay *syair* and the way manuscripts present them resembles those of Malay *syair*. These manuscripts usually come from an Islamic *pesantren* background and, at the moment, manuscripts of these *syi'ir* are quite rare in public collections and their presence in *pesantren* or private collections is largely unknown. We therefore have little information whether this was a popular genre and how widespread these poems were. We do know that Leiden University Library has

147 Pigeaud 1967: 739.

148 Pigeaud 1968: 702–703.



four manuscripts (Cod.Or. 11.001 – Cod.Or. 11.004<sup>149</sup>) and the National Library of Indonesia has one, – authored by Kyai Haji Ahmad ar-Rifai in the second half of the 19th century. Twenty-two manuscripts of the works of Ahmad Ripangi – as Ahmad Rifai is called in Javanese – have been mentioned in 1933 but their whereabouts are unclear. They are probably part of the collection of the National Library of Indonesia.<sup>150</sup> Many of them were also written in poetic form. Some more manuscripts are known to exist in private collections in Indonesia. I think more will come to light because of digitization programs executed by the central and local branches of the Ministry of Religious Affairs in Indonesia. The fact that private collections hold manuscripts of these rare texts means that we should take these collections much more seriously than has been the case for a long time. So far published studies on these poems include the work of Muhammad Abdullah of 2009 and M. Adib Misbachul Islam of 2016. The *syi'irs* Muhammad Abdullah studied do not conform to the same strict rhyme scheme as those studied by M. Adib Misbachul Islam. Since these *syi'ir* do not have different meters no canto changes exist.

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149 Pigeaud 1968: 702–703.

150 Jaarboek 1933: 239–243. The meaning of the numbers mentioned in these pages is unclear and thus it is difficult to discover where they may be at present.



## Mistakes and Corrections in Manuscripts

It is a lamentable defect in almost all Malay scriptures that they usually have been written by unknowledgeable and inaccurate scribes who either forgot a word or wrote it badly, or left out whole lines and sentences.<sup>1</sup>

All three manuscripts reproduce the original of the poem with astounding imprecision and abound in mistakes (especially in words and expressions of Arabic origin) which sometimes make the text practically senseless.<sup>2</sup>



Both quotes above – written with an interval of 160 years – give a rather complete impression of the general attitude of editors towards the efforts of Malay scribes to perpetuate their literary tradition. There is a difference though. In 1846, Lenting laments the fact that scribes are not particularly exact whereas a century and a half later, Braginsky seems to downright deride the fact. Lenting states from his experience that this happens invariably and unknowingly, and manages to capture together in one sentence all the usual mistakes: that the scribe “either forgot a word or wrote it badly, or left out whole lines and sentences.” Braginsky apparently came to his conclusions out of an exasperation. It exudes from his opinion that because of these mistakes, the texts become all but unreadable. Although the quotes refer to Malay manuscripts, the general appreciation of manuscripts from the Javanese inspired world has for a long time been not much different.

People who write and inscribe (and I may add, study) manuscripts inevitably make mistakes and an important part of the philological approach is concerned with whether, when and how mistakes have been taken over from

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1 “*Het is een treurig gebrek van bijna alle de Maleische geschriften, dat zij door onkundige en onverschillige afschrijvers gewoonlijk slordig en onnaauwkeurig worden afgeschreven, die of een woord vergeten of slecht geschreven hebben, of geheele regels en volzinnen hebben uitgelaten.*”  
Lenting 1846: iii.

2 Braginsky 2007: 112.



one manuscript to the next. The difference between a mistake and a variation is important and needs much more exploration in Indonesian philology. It is very hard to decide if something is indeed a mistake and we may be inclined to call something a mistake when what we read in a manuscript differs from what we find in the manuscript we use as the basis of our text edition and in most other manuscripts, or when it violates the grammar of the language of the text. However, because something is different does not necessarily make it a mistake. Quite rightly, C.O. Blagden stated in 1925 that “Malay Scribes, take great liberties with texts: improving them according to their own taste, and introducing considerable verbal, and even more than verbal differences.”<sup>3</sup> A deviation in content, grammar or in vocabulary is quickly dismissed as a mistake even when the vocabulary and/or the grammar of the text is still insufficiently understood. For Old and Middle Javanese texts, Peter Worsley quite correctly summed up an editor’s paradoxical position:

Because of the short time in which the philological and linguistic enquiry in the field of literary Javanese has been conducted by only a handful of scholars, the critical editor working with Old Javanese and Middle Javanese texts lacks sufficient insight into both the language of the texts and the traditions of textual transmission to which he owes his knowledge of them.<sup>4</sup>

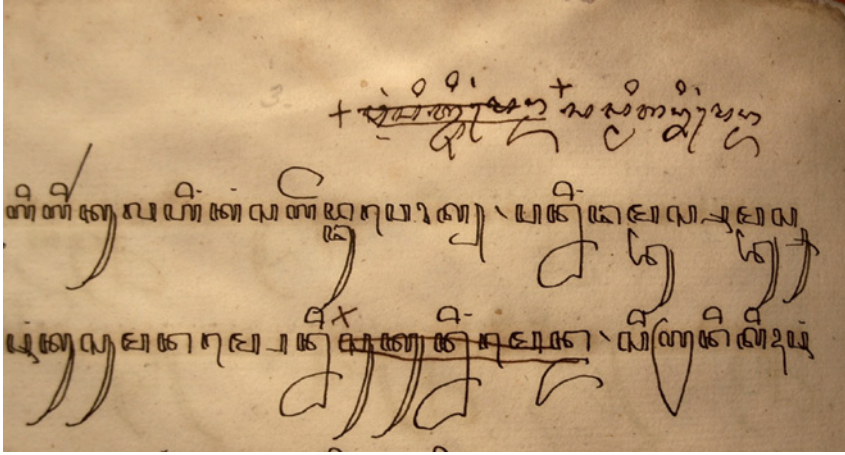
Although he wrote these words more than 40 years ago, I feel that the present situation has not changed dramatically. Mistakes are still condemned as in the quotes that start this chapter. This is, however, something we might want to avoid because it leads us away from gaining a more thorough insight into what is really happening in manuscripts. In particular, the idea that something has to be a mistake because we do not understand it is an extremely tricky position to take. We should never assume off-hand that the writer or the scribe is wrong. My teacher Uhlenbeck urged me a long time ago that it is safer to assume that we are wrong and have insufficient knowledge and should therefore refrain from emotional exclamations at the address of the manuscripts or their producers.

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3 Blagden 1925: 11.

4 Worsley 1972: 88.





ILL. 332 Sêrat Llampahan Ringgit Paruwa Babalunganipun Kimawon (*Outlines of Wayang Purwa Plays*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1763 = AD 1835. PC, 33 × 22 cm., 155 pages, page 3. The mistake *sukuning menda* was first corrected at the top of the page in *wangsiting menda* which was apparently also wrong and corrected again in *sasmitaning menda*.

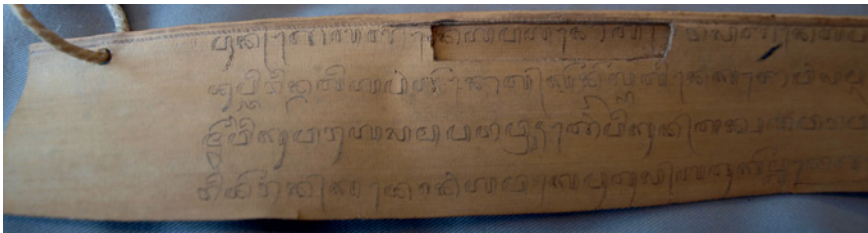
Examples of negative evaluations of manuscripts like the ones at the head of this chapter abound and concern not only Malay texts. Consider the following from a Dutch edition of the Balinese *Kidung Bagus Diarsa* (Song of Bagus Diarsa) by J.H. Hooykaas-van Leeuwen Boomkamp. Evaluating the manuscript material she asserts:

He [H. Neubronner van der Tuuk] states that it is 'in places incomprehensible.' Indeed, there are many sloppy mistakes in it. The copyist had such little understanding of the text that he, for instance in stanza 203, where an offering is being made, instead of *nggorèng pacang tadah sukla* (was frying what was to be used as an offering) read: *nggorèng kacang* (was frying beans)! This is just to explain what I mean and it is just one example out of many.<sup>5</sup>

5 "Hij verklaard, dat het 'hier en daar onverstaanbaar' is. Inderdaad zitten er vele slordige fouten in. De afschrijver had zó weinig begrip van de tekst, dat hij bv. In v. 203, waar een offerspijs wordt klaargemaakt, i.p.v. *nggorèng patjang tadah sukla* leest: *nggorèng katjang*! Dit is, ter typering, één voorbeeld uit vele." She refers to H.N. van Leeuwen-Boomkamp 1949: 22.



The example is interesting because the editor claims that the scribe did not know what he was copying as in her view, he mistook *pacang* for *kacang*. Although it does not become clear from the edition, I think, however that the scribe wrote *nggoreng kacang tadahsukla* otherwise he would have been four syllables short of the required eight in this verse line which would be a much graver mistake.<sup>6</sup> However, Shadeg's *Balinese-English Dictionary* translates *tadahsukla* as "an offering including beans and roasted betel nuts."<sup>7</sup> Rather than not knowing what he was writing, the copyist knew exactly what was going on in the text and quite likely his audience did as well. He thus was right to write *kacang* (beans) rather than *pacang* which Shadeg translated as "purpose, intend, propose (used with *vb* as indication of *fut*)."<sup>8</sup> The use of *kacang* is moreover consistent with Balinese grammar as the verb *nggoreng* would require an object, which *kacang* indeed is while *pacang* clearly is not. So, perhaps the word *kacang* is 'correct' and *pacang* the 'mistake'.



ILL. 333 Kidung Tuung Kuning (*Song of Tuung Kuning*). Balinese, Bali, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3621(4), 4 × 25 cm. (varying), 63 leaves, leaf 63a.<sup>9</sup> Apparently something went wrong in the writing process and the scribe cunningly cut away the part where the problem was and he inscribed the right text in the inner side of the fold of the leaf.

### Writers' Own Indications of Mistakes

Of course, the safest way to decide that something is a mistake is when it has been indicated as such by writers themselves. In other cases I prefer to use the

6 On the intricacies of Javanese and Balinese verse see above, Chapter 6.

7 Shadeg 2007: 463.

8 Shadeg 2007: 367.

9 Juynboll 1912: 89.



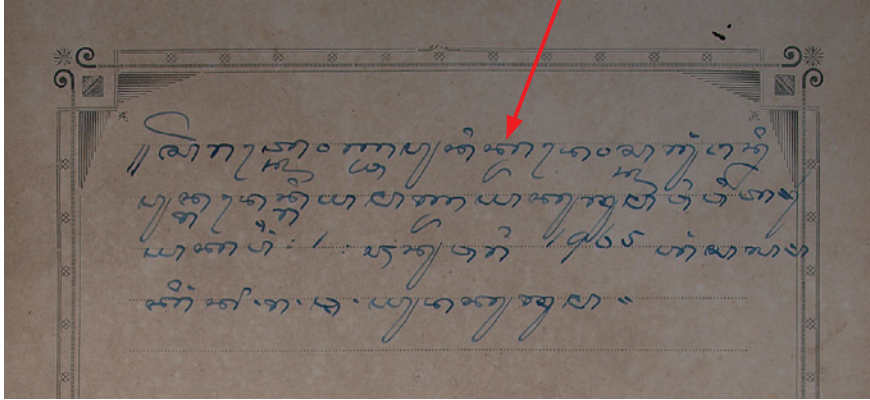
term 'difference' or 'variation' rather than mistake. Many 'variations' are, however, invisible and only become apparent when we read the manuscript. When not indicated by a scribe, we should be aware that we call them 'mistakes' because of our interpretation.

Editors often fail to report the indications of mistakes and corrections of the scribes or others in the manuscripts of the texts they edit and the same editors may opt to report mistakes they found in one manuscript but fail to do so for other manuscripts. As a result we can draw few conclusions about mistakes based on text editions. This is a pity because paying attention to this may teach us much about the kind of mistakes scribes make and by extension, how scribes work. Editors usually comment on mistakes only if they have been indicated in large numbers and/or have been erased and/or corrected in an inelegant way.

Despite the availability of grammars and dictionaries, the languages in which manuscripts are written in Indonesia – languages such as Sasak for instance – are still often insufficiently understood by text editors. As said above, the reason is that dictionaries are often lacking information or provide too little of it, while there is also an insufficient number of reliable grammars of the languages of the manuscripts. For most languages, there is little information that can be used to trace their historical developments and we often do not know if words or expressions are indeed wrong or point to new developments. Since much of our knowledge about older stages of languages – e.g. Old Javanese – is derived from manuscripts it is particularly hard to speak of mistakes, as Worsley indicated in the quote above. Thus, especially when manuscripts cannot be dated and when no chronological order can be made in the manuscript material it is hard to decide if a variant is a mistake or is a new development in the language. Especially when we find variant readings that make sense in themselves it is little use to speak of mistakes because they may be intentional and may be the result of conscious efforts to improve or otherwise change the wordings of the text.

This having been said, when we use our common sense and the knowledge we have of the manuscript's language, we can conclude that omissions of one or more letters, for instance, are indeed mistakes and not the result of synonyms or later developments of the language of the manuscript. See for instance the example in illustration 334 where an obvious error has indeed been made. Because the scribe used the *pasangan* /da/ of /*dados*/ rather than the *aksara* /da/, the vowel /a/ of *punika* disappeared.





ILL. 334      *Sĕrat Kondha Langĕn Mondrawanara* (*Stories of the Langen Mondrawanara Dance Theater*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 38.8 × 21.3 cm., 781 inscribed pages. The text says:<sup>10</sup> This *Sĕrat Kondha* came into the possession of Raden Riya Mandayakusuma as of 1 January 1965. It originates from Kangjeng Raden Tumenggung Yudakusuma.

Often scribes will correct their mistakes. In the case of paper manuscripts there is usually more space for corrections in the margins than in *lontar* manuscripts, because *lontar* have small margins only at the left and right sides of the leaves. For this reason we find few corrections in *lontar* manuscripts and more in paper ones. As said above, in the past, editors of Indonesian texts provided precious little information, or none at all, if mistakes were made, what those mistakes were, and how they were indicated in the manuscripts they used. A welcome exception is Gonda in his 1932 edition of the Old Javanese prose text *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* and its poetic version, the *Kakawin Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (*Prthuwijaya*). In his discussion of the manuscripts he used from the Leiden University Library he reports where letters were erased or corrected and where additional notes were provided. It becomes clear from his descriptions that the paper manuscripts, especially in this case those made for Van der Tuuk, contain many notes. Unfortunately however, Gonda does not mention this for all the manuscripts he used.<sup>11</sup>

A better example is Peter Worsley in his 1972 edition of the Balinese historical chronicle *Babad Buleleng*. He pays detailed attention to the types of scribal

10      *sĕrat kondha punik<a> dados kagunganipun raden riya mandayakusuma wiwit surya kap-  
ing 1 januwari 1965 angsal saking k.r.t. yudakusuma.*

11      Gonda 1932: 25–27; 183–184.



errors, spelling variations, word division and punctuation he found in the manuscripts he used of this text.<sup>12</sup> In 2010, I published an extensive study of variations in three manuscripts of the Javanese text *Nabi Aparas* from Lombok and in 2011 on the variations encountered in various sources of the Balinese *Kidung Dampati Lalangon*.<sup>13</sup> In my view, the manuscripts of the *Nabi Aparas* are probably all new creations whereas the variations in the sources of the *Kidung Dampati Lalangon* show that for this text a transmission by means of copying may be assumed.

### Levels of Mistakes

In manuscripts, mistakes are indicated at various levels. The first is on the level of the wordings of the text and concerns corrected omissions or deleted repetitions. Other indications correct the inscription of wrong letters and misspellings of words and so on. The third level concerns punctuation such as commas, periods, and indications of changes in verse meters or in the division between stanzas within a canto of a poem. Lastly, corrections may be made in the numbering of *lontar* leaves or paper pages and in the ordering of leaves and pages within a manuscript.

### Indications of Mistakes and Corrections

So far, little attention has been paid as to how differences and mistakes and the conventions behind their corrections in manuscripts actually appear. In order to address that situation we will be concerned here with the ways in which various kinds of mistakes have been indicated and corrected in manuscripts.

Two questions arise when we talk about these indications of mistakes in manuscripts. The first is how the scribe notices that he has made a mistake. Does he do so while he is writing or does he come across them as he rereads what he has been writing, or indeed both? Or does someone else point out to him that something has gone wrong and that it should be corrected? How do we know if mistakes have been indicated by the scribes themselves and not by others? Is there any way of discovering when a correction has been made and by whom? What does a scribe do if he has made a major omission in his writing and has no writing space left on the page for corrections?

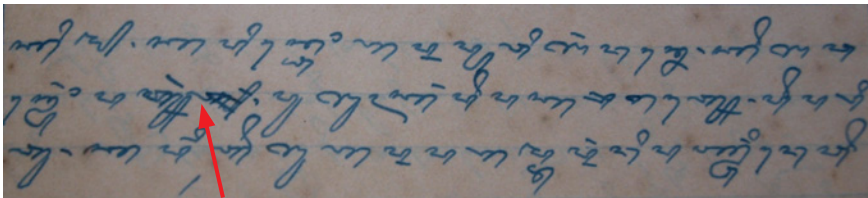
<sup>12</sup> Worsley 1972: 97–117.

<sup>13</sup> Van der Meij 2010 and 2011.



Although not proof in itself, if a correction has been made in another kind of ink or other agent and seemingly in another hand we may probably conclude that the correction was made by someone other than the scribe. But first we have to see how the scribes indicate mistakes themselves.

At first glance, it would appear that scribes tend to be consistent in the way they indicate mistakes and in the way they correct them. Once we find out what errors a scribe makes – as he indicated them himself – we may use this information when we see a variation which probably is a mistake, but is one unnoticed by the scribe, as it is consistent with the way the scribe works. If a scribe has a tendency to make a mistake in a specific letter and usually corrects it but in another position in the text, in the same word the same mistake is found but has been unnoticed by the scribe we may safely assume that it is indeed an error. Any writer will make mistakes and perhaps after multiple readings still does not notice that he has made one. No one reads words letter by letter but as totalities or part-totalities and if a word looks almost right a mistake may go unnoticed for a long time. Incidentally, we should be mindful that that does not only apply to the scribe of the manuscript but also to researching scholars.



ILL. 335      Primbon Saka Kutha Gëdhe (*Assorted Notes from Kota Gedhe*). *Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 21 × 17 cm., page 96. This is a rather elegant way of indicating a mistake. The scribe neatly erased the wrong syllables.*

Some scribes prefer to indicate mistakes in such a way that it does not impede on the aesthetic quality of the handwriting. This is by no means always the case and sometimes a manuscript has been corrected in the crudest of ways. See for instance illustration 336 of two pages from a second volume of the *Lakad* written in AJ 1799/AD 1870. The entire manuscript is full of these indications of mistakes and it is clear that in this manuscript no attempt has been made to be subtle. Mistakes and whole parts of text have simply been crossed out. According to the information in the manuscript provided on a separate page



before the text starts, it belonged to Bendara Raden Ayu Panji Purbawardaya and thus originates from the milieu of a Javanese palace.



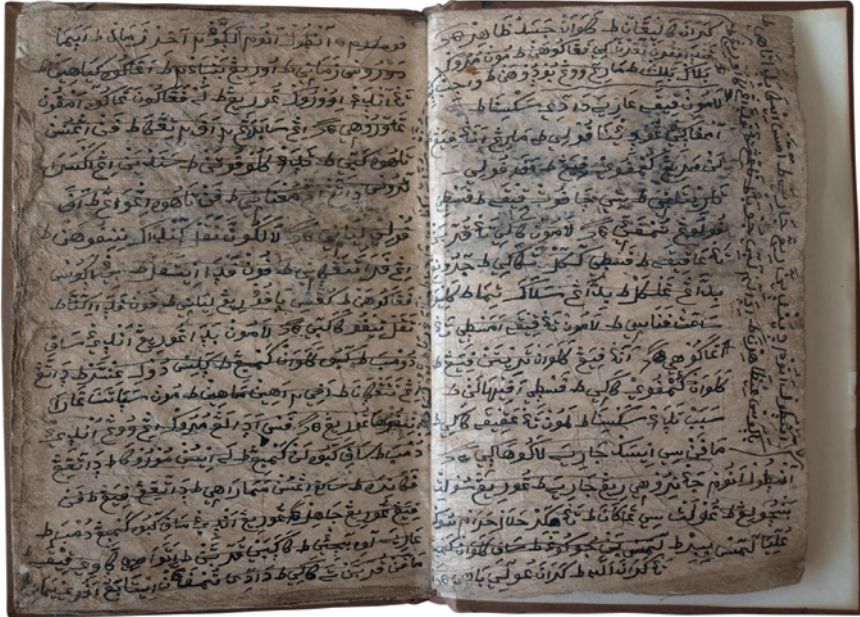
ILL. 336 Lakad (*Poem of the King of Lakad. An Episode of Muhammad's Life*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AD 1870. PC, 32 × 19.4 cm., 280 inscribed pages, pages 37–38. Extreme example of a manuscript littered with mistakes.

PHOTOGRAPHED BY DANKER PEEMAN

This kind of manuscript gives me the idea that we might want to rethink our notions of the status of manuscripts. This particular manuscript may have been a try-out from a person who had just started writing this kind of text. The handwriting looks as if the scribe was well acquainted with the script but perhaps his or her<sup>14</sup> literary skills had not yet sufficiently developed. Something else altogether may have been the case and it may be a manuscript from an author who was composing his text and made alterations as s/he went along and/or after s/he was finished.

14 That the Raden Ayu owned the manuscript does not mean that she actually wrote it.





ILL. 337      Ēntol Anom (*Didactic Poem of Ēntol Anom*). Madurese, Madura, undated but before 1907. UBL Cod.Or. 4856, 22 × 5.5 cm., 74 pages, opening pages.<sup>15</sup> Dluwang manuscript of which the first pages have been erased totally.

Below we will take a closer look at individual mistakes in a variety of manuscripts.

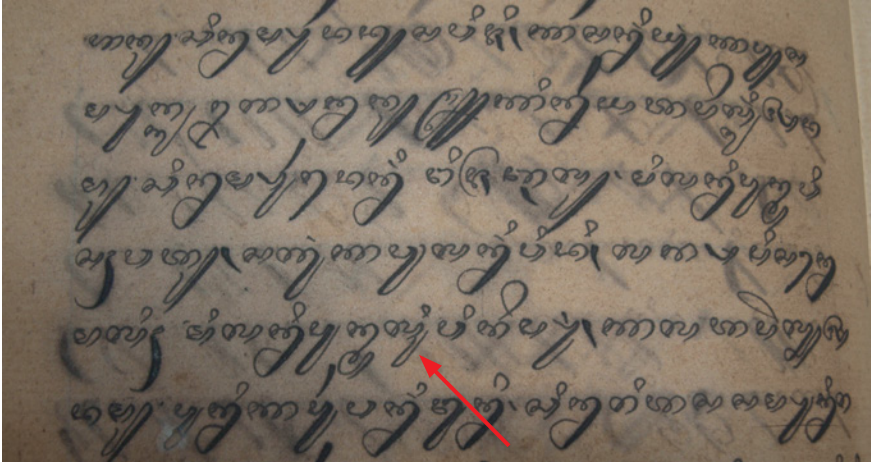
### *Mistakes of Single Letters*

The Javanese script consists of *aksara* that carry the inherent vowel /a/. A second set of letters, called *pasangan*, is used to 'kill' the vowel of the first set and itself carries the same vowel /a/. If another vowel is needed, it has to be indicated by adding a sign above (/i/, /ě/), under (/u/), before (/é/) or before and after (/o/) the *aksara*. This means that if an *aksara* has two vowel signs it becomes unreadable because we have no way of knowing what the intended vowel was. Adding two vowel signs is therefore an indication that the *aksara* is wrong. We often find this, as it is the most elegant way of mistake indication because it does not jump to the eye. The idea obviously is not to make a mistake too noticeable but at the same time that it should not be missed the moment a reader arrives at the mistake when reading the manuscript. In line

15      Juynboll 1907: 5.



five in illustration 338, the mistaken *aksara* /la/ has been provided with /i/ and /u/ and is thus indicated as a mistake.<sup>16</sup>



ILL. 338 Sĕrat Anbiya (*Song of the Prophets*). Javanese, Bantul, Yogyakarta, dated AH 1314 = AD 1896. PC, 32.2 × 19.7 cm., page 17a.

Apparently, the provision of two vowel signs to indicate mistakes is quite old. Drewes<sup>17</sup> gave two 'facsimiles' of pages 28 and 29 of the Leiden University Library manuscript Cod.Or. 1928 on Islamic mysticism, dating from the end of the sixteenth century and written on the north coast of Java.<sup>18</sup> In both of them we see mistakes indicated by double vowel signs (page 28 line 11 and page 29 line 13).

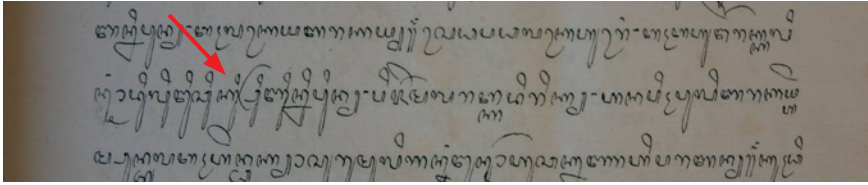
This way of indicating a mistake was also in practice in Madura, Bali and Lombok. In illustration 339, no less than nine *aksaras* in the second line have been indicated as wrong by adding superfluous vowels.

16 The /u/ has moreover been added in a different way to the /la/ as in cases where it was intended. When correct, the /u/ is written with the *aksara* in an undisturbed flow of writing whereas in the case in question it does not.

17 Drewes 1969: 146, 148.

18 Pigeaud 1970: 31.





ILL. 339 Cĕrita Randa Kaseyan (*Song of the Widow Kaseyan*). *Madurese, Madura, undated but before AD 1871. UBL Cod.Or. 2039, 33.1 × 20.5 cm., 79 inscribed pages, page 8.*<sup>19</sup>

In Bali this system of marking mistakes is called *suku-ulu* (i-u) marking. This was not always used, however. In his edition of the *Kidung Tantri Piśācaraṇa* (Fables including Corps-devouring Demons) (2007), I Nyoman Suarka states that many mistakes were made in the *lontar* manuscript he used (collection I Tekek, the servant of Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen, Renon, South Denpasar, Bali) which were crossed out rather than having been marked by *suku-ulu* so that the manuscript is full of erasures, as many as three to six per page.<sup>20</sup>

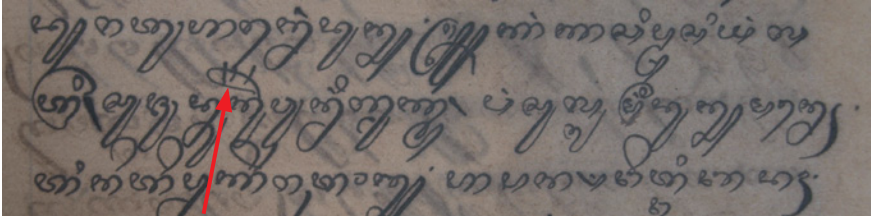
Apparently, there is a preference to maintain the *aksara* when the vowel or other added signs were wrong. A way to indicate a wrong vowel that is frequently found is by simply crossing it out – either gently or crudely – and by adding the correct vowel sign. This way of indicating mistakes was also apparently already in use at the end of the sixteenth century. Pigeaud included a facsimile of one page of Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 1928 mentioned above (Pigeaud 1970 plate 34). In line 6 we see that the word *piniturakĕn* was spelled *pinututurakĕn* and the wrong /u/ was crossed out with small strokes while the correct /i/ was put above it.

Below we see that an /ĕ/ was written which was obviously wrong and therefore crossed out and the correct sign for /u/ added. This case is interesting because the mistake was apparently noticed later. In the manuscript, the /u/ under the *aksaras* are directly connected to the *aksaras* in an unbroken line. However, the /u/ under the mistake does not run in a direct line with the *aksara* and thus was written later.

19 Vreede 1892: 411.

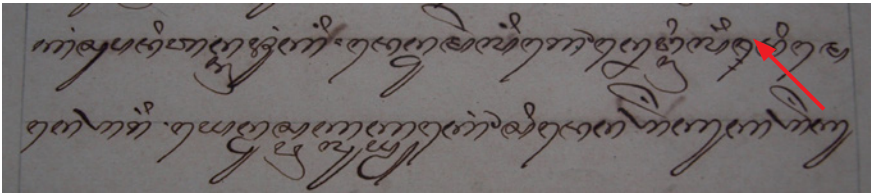
20 Suarka 2007: 169.





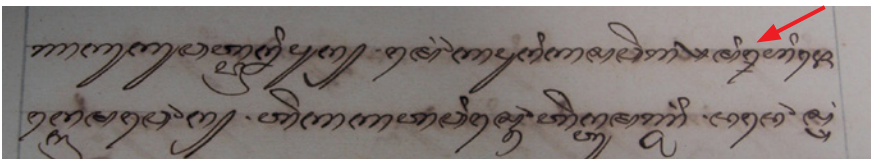
ILL. 340 Sērat Anbiya (*Song of the Prophets*). Javanese, Bantul, Yogyakarta, dated AH 1314 = AD 1896. PC, 32.2 × 19.7 cm., page 10b.

The same has happened below where the sign for /e/ had already been written but was wrong and therefore crossed out and thus the following *aksara* has to be read /di/ because of the /i/ that was added above.



ILL. 341 Sērat Nitimani (*Text on Eroticism, Procreation and Mysticism*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1832 = AD 1902. PC, 20 × 16.5 cm., 139 inscribed pages, page 3. The wrongly written /e/ at the end of line two was neatly erased.

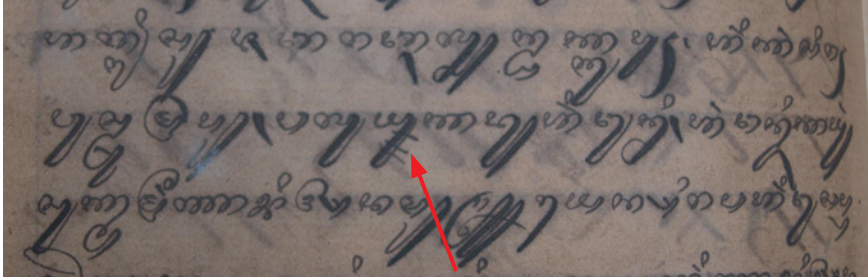
The same thing happened in another position in this manuscript, and because the mistake was made twice (wrong /e/ and corrected to /i/) in the same way it may point to an idiosyncrasy on the part of this particular scribe. In both cases the next *aksara* did have an /e/ vowel and the scribe apparently already had in his mind the vowel of the following *aksara* and wrote that one.



ILL. 342 Sērat Nitimani (*Text on Eroticism, Procreation and Mysticism*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1832 = AD 1902. PC, 20 × 16.5 cm., 139 inscribed pages, page n6. In the first line almost at the end, the taling /e/ has been erased.

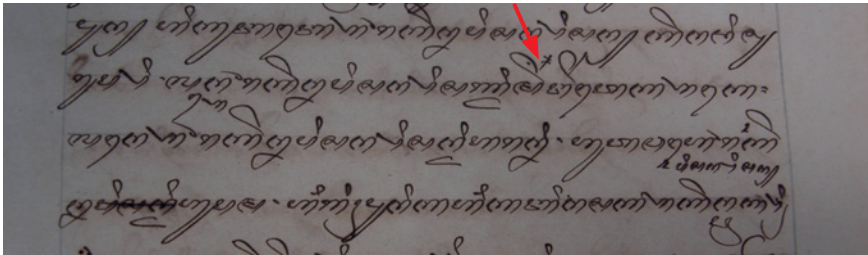


Below, a /u/ was added which was incorrect and thus crossed out and therefore the *aksara* has no vowel sign and thus carries its inherent vowel /a/. No two vowel signs were needed as the *aksara* was the right one.



ILL. 343 Sĕrat Anbiya (*Song of the Prophets*). Javanese, Bantul, Yogyakarta, dated AH 1314 = AD 1896. PC, 32.2 × 19.7 cm., page 20a. The /u/ has been crossed out so that it has to be read as /ya/.

Special signs are also added to *aksara* that often occur at the end of a syllable such as the final /r/ which has the form of an upward stroke. Below we see that it was wrongly added and designated as mistaken by the addition of two tiny strokes through it.

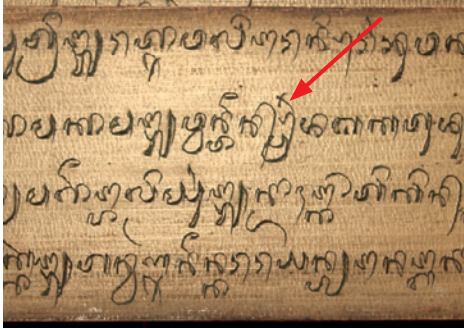


ILL. 344 Sĕrat Nitimani (*Text on Eroticism, Procreation and Mysticism*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1832 = AD 1902. PC, 20 × 16.5 cm., 139 inscribed pages, page 122. In the second line, the final /r/ is crossed out. Other mistakes here concern the last part of the third line where some text was added and the start of the fourth where a mistake was crossed out.

In Bali and Lombok, in Old Javanese and Balinese *lontar* manuscripts a wrong *aksara* may be indicated by writing the correct one under or above the wrong



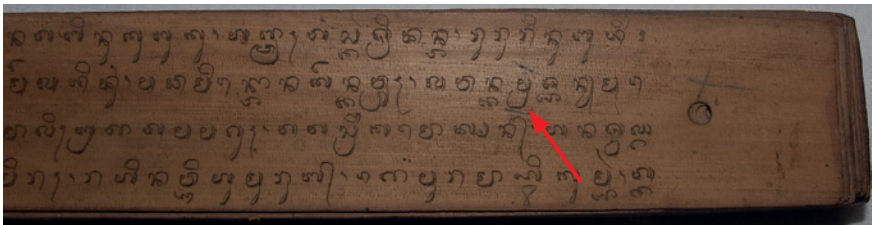
one, as shown in the following illustration. Sometimes for extra emphasis, a little cross or other sign is added to make the indication even clearer than it already is.



ILL. 345

Kakawin Smaradahana (*Burning of Smara, the God of Love*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1773 = AD 1851. PC, 3.2 × 50 cm., 46 inscribed leaves, leaf 36b. In line two, the scribe omitted a syllable and he added it under the line with a little × sign above.

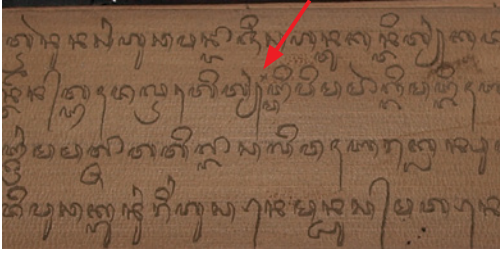
In the illustration below, the cross in pencil in the margin shows that something has gone wrong. A clear example of misreading or perhaps rather ‘miss-scribing.’ The text says *lawan kawrajñan* which should be *lawan kaprajñan*. The mistake is indicated but not corrected.



ILL. 346 Kidung Bagus Diarsa (*Song of Bagus Diarsa*). Balinese, Bali, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 3.2 × 34.5 cm., 49 inscribed leaves, leaf 13b.

Indicating and correcting a mistake with a little cross also happens in Balinese manuscripts from Lombok. In the example below the *aksara* /ma/ was forgotten and placed under the line and a small × sign was added above for extra clarity.

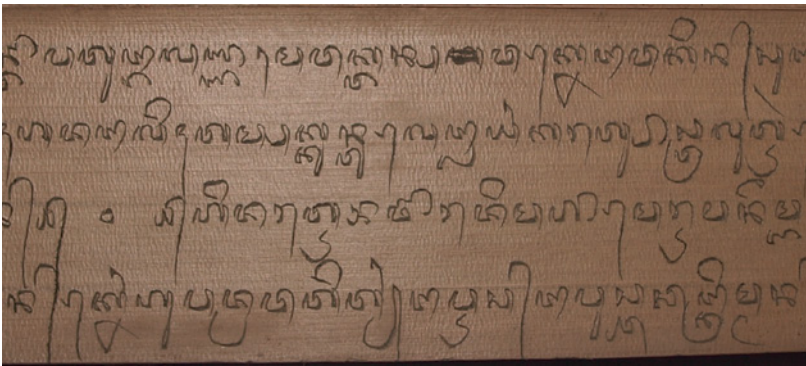




ILL. 347

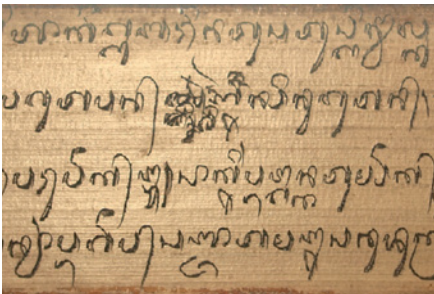
Kidung Dampati Lalangon (*The Diversion of the Spouses*). Balinese, Lombok, undated. PC, 3.4 × 28.5 cm., 33 inscribed leaves, leaf 26b line 2.

In Bali and the Balinese part of Lombok, mistakes were also simply erased when the scribe noticed that a mistake was made the moment he wrote it. See for instance this illustration from the *Kidung Dampati Lalangon*:



ILL. 348 Kidung Dampati Lalangon (*The Diversion of the Spouses*). Balinese, Lombok, undated. PC, 2.4 × 28.5 cm., 33 inscribed leaves, leaf 24b, line 1.

Whole words may be indicated as wrong by crossing them out and providing the correct words under or above the unit or sentence.



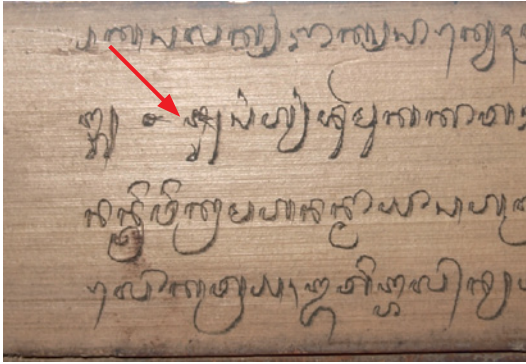
ILL. 349

Kakawin Smaradahana (*Burning of Smara, the God of Love*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1773 = AD 1851. PC, 3.2 × 50 cm., 46 inscribed leaves, leaf 32a. In line two, the scribe crossed out some text but the result is still somewhat ambiguous.

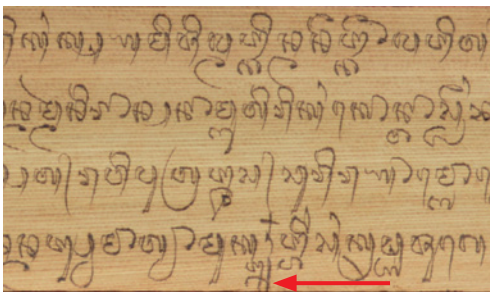


*Mistakes in Indicating the End/Start of a Canto*

In illustration 350, the indication of a change in canto was corrected to the indication of only a change in stanza.



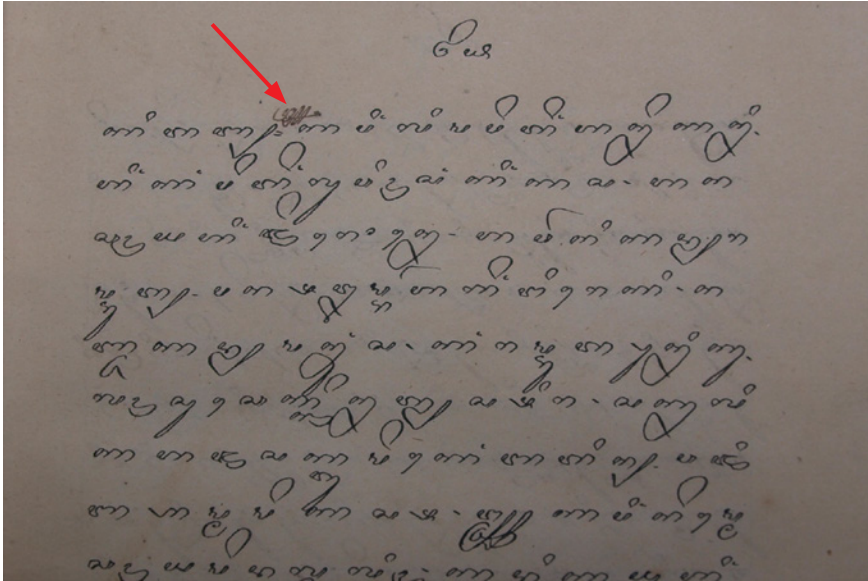
ILL. 350 Kakawin Smaradahana (*Burning of Smara, the God of Love*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1773 = AD 1851. PC, 3.2 × 50 cm., 46 inscribed leaves, leaf 34a. The scribe mistakenly thought he had arrived at the end of a canto but it was the end of a stanza.



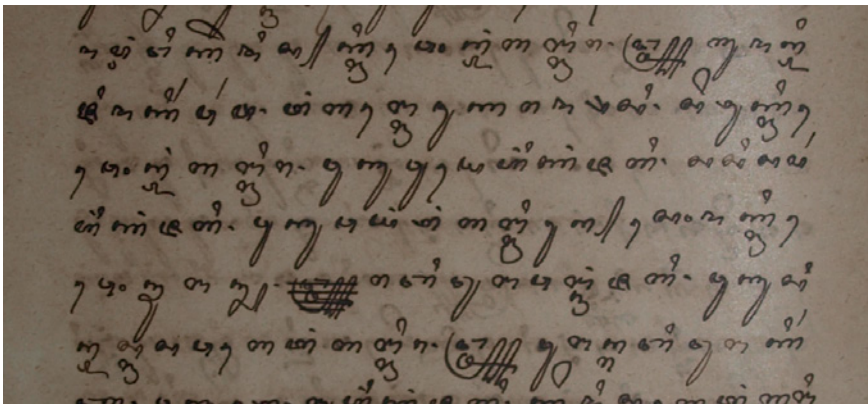
ILL. 351 Kakawin Bhāratayuddha (*War of the Bhāratas*). Old Javanese, Lombok, dated Śaka 1891 = AD 1969. Collection Toenggoel Siagian, Jakarta, 51 × 3.7 cm., 70 inscribed leaves, leaf 29a. In the last line the indication of the end of a stanza had been forgotten and later added.

Below, the indication between two stanzas was forgotten and added later.



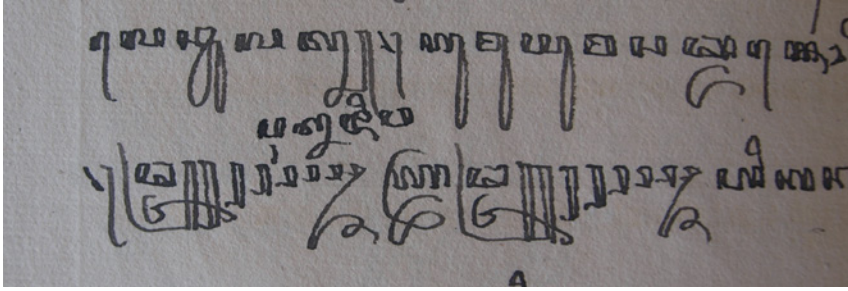


ILL. 352 Suluk Sujina (*Mystic Suluk Poem Featuring Princess Sujina*) in *Sêrat Kidungan* (*Compilation of Poems with a Mystic Character*). Javanese, Central Java, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 20.8 × 16.3 cm., 416 pages, page 48.



ILL. 353 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. BBY 10514, page 24, 30 × 20.4 cm. The sign that a new stanza is to start was mistakenly written too early in the text and subsequently erased and put in the right place.





ILL. 354 Romo Kawi (*Rama's Quest*). Old Javanese, Surakarta, dated AJ 1709 = AD 1782. UBL Cod.Or. 1790, 33 × 21 cm., 736 pages, page 427.<sup>21</sup> Throughout the manuscript the name of the verse is indicated in the pada mark at the change of a canto except in some places where it has been forgotten and later added above the pada mark, as above (to *rětnajiwa*).

Mistakes are also made in the provision of the name of the verse form used in the manuscript. This is tricky, however, and an editor has to be aware that alternative names for verse meters exist, as discussed above. Here it may suffice to say that we have to be careful with the names and also with opinions about these names. Supomo states that names in his ms M (= collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 1855) are erroneous because two cantos in the same meter carry different names.<sup>22</sup> We only have to look at Zoetmulder's *Kalangwan* to see that *kakawin* meters often have multiple names and thus using two different names for the same meter in itself does not have to mean that a mistake has been made.<sup>23</sup>

#### *Mistakes Made in Whole Lines*

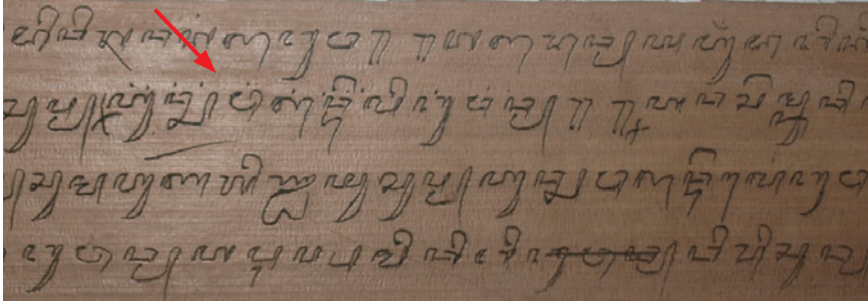
Mistakes not only appear in single letters and words but also in sentences or other larger parts of texts. For instance, in the *Sěrat Yusup* from Madura, a verse line was wrong. It was indicated by small crosses at the start and at the end of the line and the mistake was moreover indicated by dots above the line, as in the illustration below.

<sup>21</sup> Vreede 1892: 6; Pigeaud 1968: 26.

<sup>22</sup> Supmo 1977: 87.

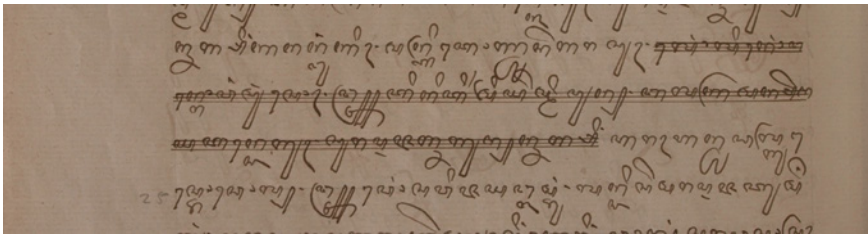
<sup>23</sup> Zoetmulder 1974 e.g. 466–467.





ILL. 355 Sĕrat Yusup (*Poem of the Prophet Joseph, from Madura*). Javanese, Madura, dated AD 1860. PC, 3,3 × 42.5 cm., 90 inscribed leaves.

Larger mistakes can be indicated neatly as in illustration 356 or in a dramatically more crude fashion as in illustrations 336, 337 and 476.

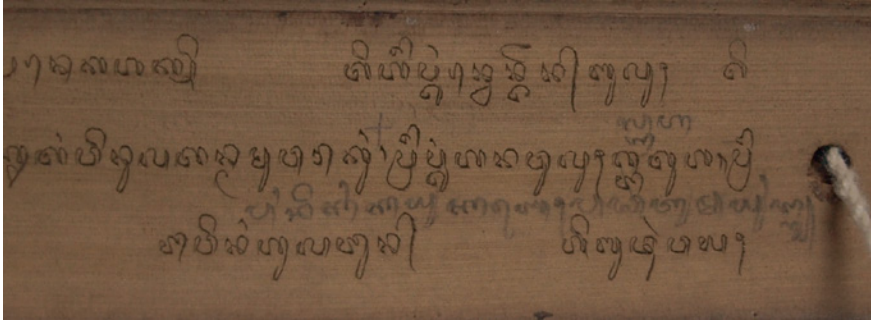


ILL. 356 Babad Pĕrang Dipo Nĕgoro (*Chronicle of the Dipanagara War*). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1892. UBL Cod.Or. 6199, 34 × 21.5 cm., 368 pages, page 343.<sup>24</sup> The mistaken line was neatly crossed out with the use of a ruler.

In illustration 357, part of the Old Javanese text (line in the middle) was forgotten and has been added later in pencil and the location where the correction should be placed has been indicated with a little x sign also in pencil.

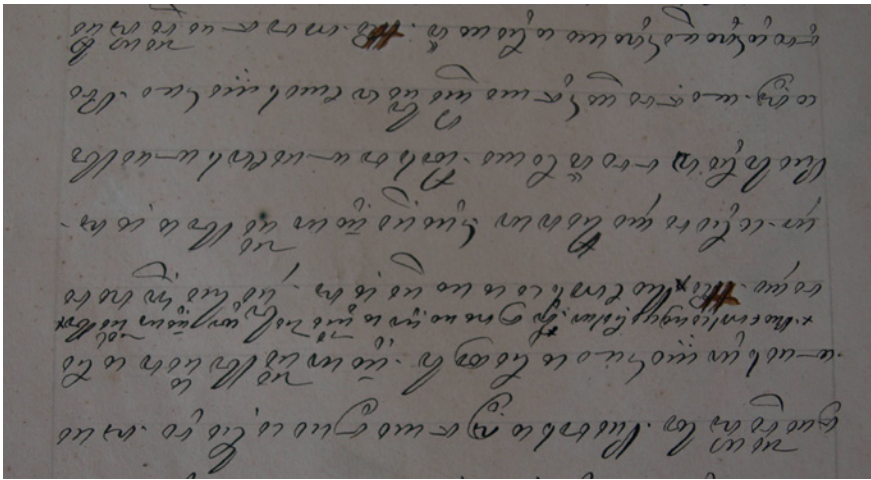
24 Pigeaud 1968: 346.





ILL. 357 Kakawin Pārthayajña maarti (*Pārtha's Sacrifice, with Balinese glosses*). Old Javanese and Balinese, Bali, dated Śaka 1864 = AD 1942. PC, 3.5 × 50.3 cm., 156 leaves, leaf 138b.

Entire lines may have also been omitted and later added by the same scribe or by someone else, as in the illustration below.



ILL. 358 *Memoires of Ko Ho Sing of Yogyakarta*. Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but probably early 20th century. UBL KITLV D Or. 409, 32.5 × 21 cm., 721 + 40 pages, page. 383.<sup>25</sup> Before the pada marker a little × sign was placed to indicate that a mistake had been made. The omitted line was added between the following two lines. As the script is smaller and fills the gap between the two lines, the addition was probably made later.

25 Pigeaud 1980: 242–245.



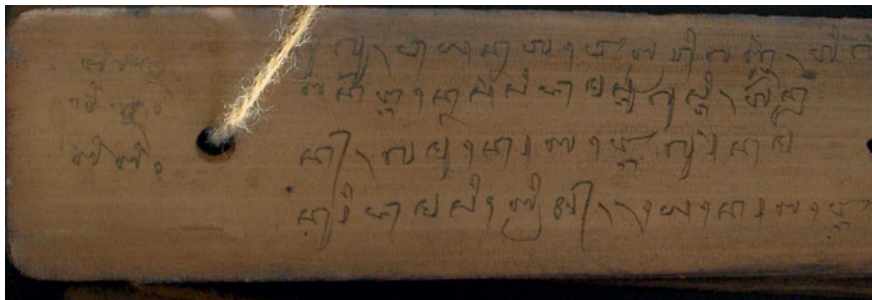
*Mistakes in Indicating the Numbers of Lontar Leaves*

In *lontar* manuscripts, leaves are usually numbered on the left-hand, 'b' sides. When this is not the case there is reason for investigation. In the example below, number 14 has been erased and replaced by 15, with the numbers occurring on the right-hand side of the leaves.



ILL. 359 Kakawin Bhomāntaka (*Bhoma's Death*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. PC Toenggoel Siagian, Jakarta, 3.5 × 42.3 cm., 112 inscribed leaves, leaf 15b.

The example below is from a *lontar* manuscript from Lombok of 1932. The numbering was corrected twice at the left-hand side of the leaf.



ILL. 360 Datu Daha (*Poem of Datu Daha*). Sasak, Lombok, dated AJ 1351 = AD 1932. Private collection J.J. Witkam, 3 × 23 cm., 147 inscribed leaves, leaf no.

Mistakes in the numbering of the manuscripts occur often. Numberings may be repeated or a number may have been skipped. As said above, it appears that in Bali *lontar* manuscripts are numbered before the text is added and the

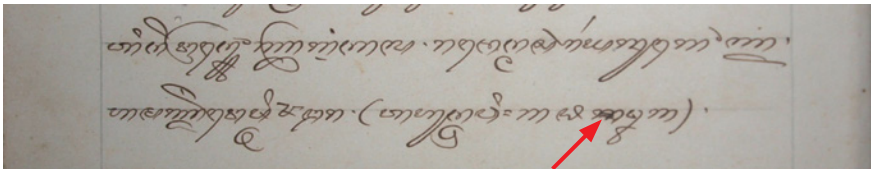


numbering may be disturbed when the leaves have been compiled sloppily or when a leaf has been rejected or inserted for whatever reason. This may explain why the text shows no gaps whereas page numbers may run disturbed as for instance in the *lontar* used as manuscript D by Robson in his edition of the *Kidung Wangbang Wideya* of 1971 (collection Leiden University Library Cod. Or. 3715) It appears that leaf 66 is missing while the text runs undisturbed.<sup>26</sup> The same situation is frequently encountered in Balinese and Old Javanese manuscripts from Bali. For instance, in the *Kidung Bagus Diarsa* (private collection) where page number 46 is missing but the text runs undisturbed, and as is also the case with *Kakawin Pārthayajña maarti* (private collection) where page number 51 is lacking but no text is missing.

In paper manuscripts from Java the numbering is often faulty because numbers have been wrongly added or were omitted. In Java it has also happened that the manuscript was numbered after having been written, but incorrectly. Apparently, as in the case Behrend mentions of ms. Sasana Pustaka 121 of the *Sĕrat Jatiswara* the numbering is not disturbed but the text is not in the correct order.<sup>27</sup>

### *Mistakes in Numerals*

Of course, mistakes in numerals occur as well. In the example below the year 1821 was written mistakenly by writing first 181 after which the scribe corrected it to 1821 after having indicated the mistake.



ILL. 361 Sĕrat Nitimani (*Text on Eroticism, Procreation and Mysticism*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1832 = AD 1902. PC, 20 × 16.5 cm., 139 inscribed pages, page 1.

### *Major Mistakes*

In the examples shown above we have seen mistakes that consist of the writing of just a single incorrect letter or a few lines. However, mistakes may be considerably longer and consist of whole paragraphs. In these cases addressing the

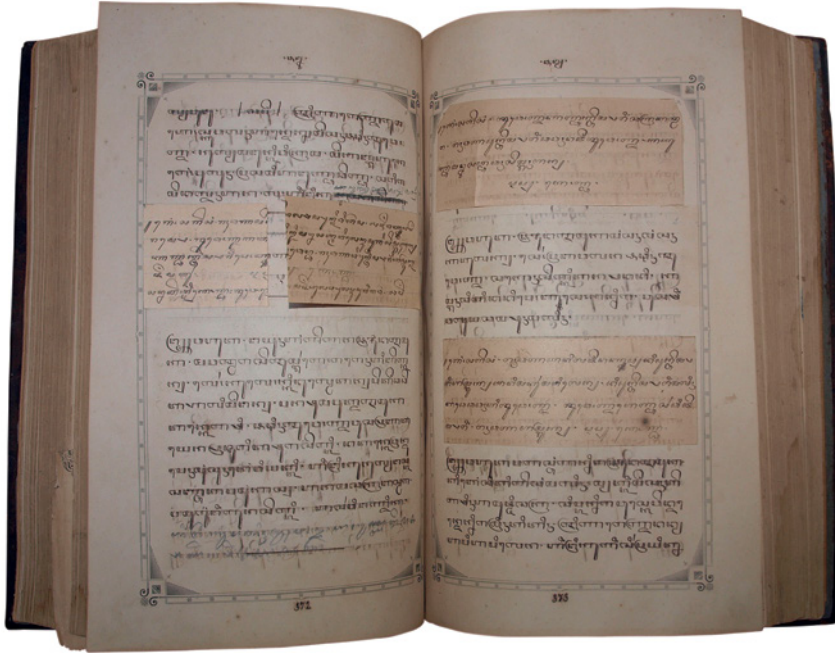
<sup>26</sup> Robson 1971: 54.

<sup>27</sup> Behrend 1987: 59. This manuscript is KS 474 in Florida 1993: 252.



mistakes is much more difficult and may also result in ugly indications of the kinds we have seen above. In Bali, when too many mistakes have been made in writing a *lontar* leaf it may simply be discarded.

The manuscript in the illustration below has been heavily corrected. In this case, corrections were not only made in the text itself but pieces of paper containing the correct texts have also been pasted over the parts of the texts that were wrong. In the manuscript below this was done very often.



ILL. 362      Sꦿꦫꦠꦏꦺꦴꦢꦲꦭꦁꦒꦺꦴꦩꦺꦴꦢꦫꦤꦫ (Stories of the Langen Mondrawanara Dance Theater). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 38.8 x 21.3 cm., 781 inscribed pages

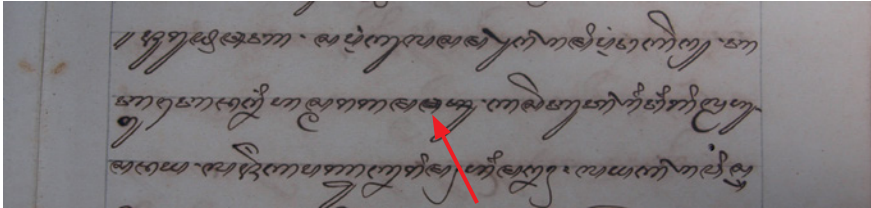
It may happen that a scribe understands that the manuscript he has in front of him is faulty and he has to address the mistake in what he had already copied. This is what happened, for instance, with manuscript A2 (collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 2216) of the *Sꦿꦫꦠꦗꦠꦶꦱꦮꦫ* used by Tim Behrend.<sup>28</sup> The scribe became aware that something was wrong and he re-copied twelve lines.

28 Behrend 1987: 21.



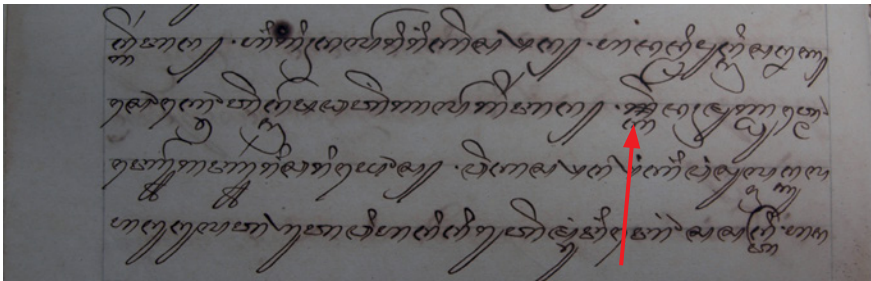
### Mistakes Indicated and Corrected During Writing or Afterwards

Scribes often realized that they made a mistake during the writing process and they corrected their mistakes in various ways. In illustration 363, the scribe inadvertently wrote the word ‘*wau*’ which was superfluous and so crossed it out, probably as he was writing, because he realized it was in the wrong sentence.



ILL. 363      Sĕrat Nitimani (*Text on Eroticism, Procreation and Mysticism*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1832 = AD 1902. PC, 20 × 16.5 cm., 139 inscribed pages, page 122.

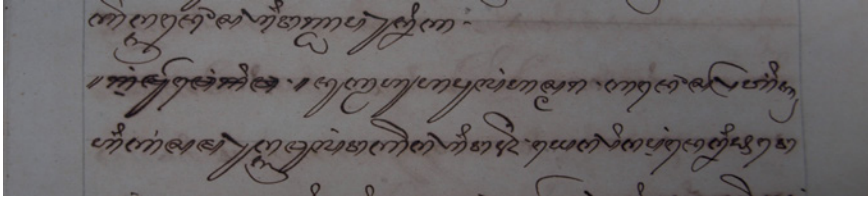
In the same manuscript, in the second line on page 122, the scribe corrected the /g/ of *gĕdah* to /k/ to make *kĕdah*. Apparently, the scribe must have been thinking of the word or even pronouncing it. As /g/ and /k/ may sound quite similar he made this error which he was aware of and he corrected it.



ILL. 364      Sĕrat Nitimani (*Text on Eroticism, Procreation and Mysticism*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1832 = AD 1902. PC, 20 × 16.5 cm., 139 inscribed pages, page 122.

In the same manuscript again, the following happened: many new paragraphs in this text start with ‘*Sang murweng gita*’ (The composer of the song) and apparently the scribe assumed this was the case here too but he was wrong and he crossed it out.





ILL. 365 Sèrat Nitimani (*Text on Eroticism, Procreation and Mysticism*). Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1832 = AD 1902. PC, 20 × 16.5 cm., 139 inscribed pages, page 122.

So the question may be asked: how may we know that a mistake became obvious during the writing process and not later? In general it is obvious that when a mistake is simply crossed out and the correct letters follow immediately, the mistake must have been noticed during the writing process. However, if the mistake is indicated and the correct letter added above or under the mistake, or added where it was omitted, it may have been doomitted, it may have been done later.

### Corrections and Additional Notes and Editions of Texts

As mentioned above, Gonda noted that corrections and notes were added to manuscripts but from his *apparatus criticus* it does not become clear whether he used them or not. The question is whether or not these corrections and notes should be incorporated in the *apparatus criticus* or otherwise used in our text editions. In my view they should as they are part of the manuscript and thus should be given the same attention as all other parts of the manuscripts.

In the case of commissioned manuscripts, for instance inscribed for Van der Tuuk and intensively corrected and commented upon by himself in these manuscripts, it becomes difficult to decide whether or not they can be used as part of the manuscript 'proper' or as additional information provided by Van der Tuuk and thus providing us with something on a different level. But, what about emendations made in the past by a Javanese or Balinese reader? Should they be treated differently than those made by a later scholar? And what to do if contemporary additions and corrections have been erased at later stages in the existence of the manuscript? A good example of this is Van der Tuuk's paper manuscript of the prose *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (Cod.Or. 4155) that Gonda used as manuscript D in his edition of 1932. In this manuscript, corrections and



notes were made in ink, ink-pencil and pencil. Apparently there was a differentiation in the various notes and corrections Van der Tuuk made.<sup>29</sup> Although Gonda does not elaborate on what these corrections and notes are, they were probably of a textual, grammatical, and orthographic nature.

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29 Gonda 1932: 26. Van der Tuuk also made these corrections and notes in this way in a manuscript of the *kakawin* but he failed to mention that his ms. v is part of the Van der Tuuk collection (Gonda 1932: 184/Pigeaud 1968: 196).



## Dating and Calendars

Aside from the Gregorian calendar, Indonesian manuscripts use a variety of other calendrical systems. Of course, the Muslim calendar is in use but other, older systems are used as well, especially for Javanese manuscripts and those from Bali and Lombok. These calendrical systems are often used in combinations, sometimes in part and in order to establish the date in the Gregorian calendar for when a manuscript was produced it is imperative to have a thorough understanding of all these calendrical systems. The Javanese system was explained by M.C. Ricklefs in 1978 in his *Modern Javanese Historical Tradition*.<sup>1</sup> A very important book on the subject, and also the latest work to appear, is Ian Proudfoot's *Old Muslim Calendars of Southeast Asia* of 2006, and the conversion facility on the CD-ROM attached to the book which is also available online.<sup>2</sup> Other helpful sources are Rouffaer's contribution 'Tijdrekening' in the *Encyclopedie van Nederlandsch-Indië* and the anonymously published *Djidwal Memindahkan Tahoen Djawa dan 'Arab Ketahoen Maséhi* (Tables to Calibrate the Javanese and Arabic Years to the Christian Years) of 1932. For Old Javanese texts we have to resort to Damais's publications in the *Bulletin de l'École française d'Extrême Orient* of 1951 and 1958. Other useful works include J. de Casparis, *Indonesian Chronology*<sup>3</sup> and Tjokorda Rai Sudharta et al. *Kalender 301 Tahun (Tahun 1800 s/d 2100)*.<sup>4</sup>

Many manuscripts made use of various calendars concurrently but often the information provided is incomplete, so that establishing the exact date of a manuscript is often impossible. Moreover, a surprising number of manuscripts may offer information on the time of writing derived from multiple calendar systems but the dates do not mutually agree as the date in one calendar does not correspond to the accepted corresponding date in another of the calendars used. That this happens so often is interesting in itself and should be the cause of some serious study to find out the real cause. This is a fact of life not to be lamented but to be explained and Ann Kumar has explained why it is that so many calendrical inconsistencies occur in Javanese manuscript. She states:

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1 Ricklefs 1978: 223–238.

2 <http://mcp.anu.edu.au/proudfoot/Takwim.html>.

3 De Casparis 1978.

4 Sudharta et al. Various editions.



[...] the Javanese system was an extremely complex, high-maintenance, demanding one in which the balance of probability was towards some internal inconsistency, and which could only be operated by a very cluey professional secretariat at court, able also to keep track of the recalibrations that had periodically to be made to the calendar. This intricate maintenance is the cerebral equivalent of the physical maintenance of old European weight-driven clocks with their multiple linked mechanisms.<sup>5</sup>

Here I will give a short description of some calendrical systems used in Indonesian manuscripts. For the Javanese system I will draw primarily, and indeed heavily, on the concise and excellent description Ricklefs provided while other information will be added from the sources mentioned above and others as indicated in the footnotes. Many areas that were influenced by Javanese culture such as Sunda,<sup>6</sup> Madura, Bali and Lombok use many but not necessarily all elements of the Javanese calendrical system.

## The Javanese Calendar

### *Days and Weeks*

In the Javanese calendar there are ten different weeks lasting from one to ten days of which the weeks of five, six, and seven days are used in colophons. The most complicated colophons use all three weeks while mostly combinations of the five (*pasaran*) and seven-day week are encountered, usually, but by no means always, starting with the day in the 5-day *pasaran* week followed by the day in the seven-day week. Each day in all weeks has a distinct name and is considered to start at sunset and last until the next sunset rather than to start and end at midnight.

### *Sangat*

The only references I have so far for *sangat* are a mention in the description of A 4.02 *Sangkan Turunan* (Almanac) in the collection of the University of Indonesia Library<sup>7</sup> and in Kumar's work. She states: "The *sangat* are the five guardians of the day, named Ahmad, Jabarail, Ibrahim, Yusup and Ngirjail."<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Kumar 2009/2011: 4.

<sup>6</sup> For a short treatise on the Sundanese calendar of West Java (in Sundanese) see Sastramidjaja 2004.

<sup>7</sup> Behrend and Pudjiastuti 1997: 614–615.

<sup>8</sup> Kumar 2009/2011: 3.



### ***Five-Day Week: Pasaran***

The five-day week is called *pasaran* (from *pasar*, market) and the names of the days (and their abbreviations) are:

- |    |                                |       |
|----|--------------------------------|-------|
| 1. | <i>Pahing</i>                  | (pa)  |
| 2. | <i>Pon (Pwan)</i>              | (pwa) |
| 3. | <i>Wage (Wagai, Cēměngan)</i>  | (wa)  |
| 4. | <i>Kliwon (Kaliwon, Kasih)</i> | (ka)  |
| 5. | <i>Lěgi (Manis, Umanis)</i>    | (u)   |

There is confusion in the literature over which day actually starts the five-day week and we may reasonably conclude that this was considered unimportant in the Javanese world or that regional differences existed.

### ***Paringkėlan***

The six-day week is called *paringkėlan* and the names of the days are:

- |    |                            |               |
|----|----------------------------|---------------|
| 1. | <i>Tunglai (Tungle)</i>    | (leaf)        |
| 2. | <i>Ariyang (Haryang)</i>   | (human being) |
| 3. | <i>Wurukung</i>            | (animal)      |
| 4. | <i>Paningron (Paniron)</i> | (fish)        |
| 5. | <i>Uwas (Was)</i>          | (bird)        |
| 6. | <i>Mawulu (Maulu)</i>      | (seed)        |

### ***Seven-Day Week: Minggu***

The seven-day week is called *minggu*, or *saptawāra* and the days have two names, one in Arabic and one in Javanese. Their names (and abbreviations) are:

- |    |                           |                                       |           |
|----|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. | <i>Akad (Ngahad)</i>      | <i>Rėdite (Dite), Āditya (ā, ra)</i>  | Sunday    |
| 2. | <i>Sėnen (Isnen)</i>      | <i>Soma, Candra (sa, ca)</i>          | Monday    |
| 3. | <i>Sėlasa</i>             | <i>Anggara (ang, ha)</i>              | Tuesday   |
| 4. | <i>Rėbo (Arbo)</i>        | <i>Buda (Bu)</i>                      | Wednesday |
| 5. | <i>Kėmis (Kamis)</i>      | <i>Rėspati (Wrėhaspati) (Wī, wrė)</i> | Thursday  |
| 6. | <i>Jumuwah (Jumungah)</i> | <i>Śukra (śu, su)</i>                 | Friday    |
| 7. | <i>Sėtu (Sabtu, Satu)</i> | <i>Tumpak, Śaniscara (śa)</i>         | Saturday  |

The combinations of the days of the five- and seven-day weeks result in 35 indivisible combinations that reoccur after a 35-day cycle has ended and constitute a month of 35 days called *mangsa wuku*. To the present day, people in Java, especially in rural areas remember their combination-day better



than the actual modern date on which they were born and which, especially in the past, they indeed often did not know. In divination almanacs (*Pawukon*), certain combinations of days and weeks are considered auspicious or inauspicious. The most auspicious combination is that of Selasa-Kliwon which is also named *Anggara Kasih*. The combinations of the days of the five-, six-, and seven-day weeks results in a cycle of 210 days, called *oton* in Bali.

In Java and Bali there are ten weeks ranging from one to ten days. The names of the weeks and the days are as follows (minor spelling variation may be found):

TABLE 5     *The names of the days in the weeks from 1 to 10 days in Bali*

WEEK	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
EKA WARA	Luang									
DWI WARA	Menga	Pepet								
TRI WARA	Pasah,	Beteng	G. Kajeng							
CATUR WARA	Sri	Laba	Jaya	Menala						
PANCA WARA	Umanis	Paing	Pon	Wage	Kliwon					
SAD WARA	Tungleh	Aryang	Rurukung	Paniron	Was	Maulu				
SAPTA WARA	Redite	Soma	Anggara	Buda	Wraspati	Sukra	Saniscara			
ASTA WARA	Sri	Indra	Guru	Yama	Ludra	Brahma	Kala	Uma		
SANGA WARA	Dangu	Jangur	Gigis	Nohan	Ogan	Erangan	Tulus	Dadi		
DASA WARA	Pandita	Pati	Suka	Duka	Sri	Manuh	Manusa	Raja	Dewa	Raksasa



### Weeks: Wuku

In the Javanese and Javanese-inspired cultures a system of 30 weeks (*wuku*), each with its own name, is in use. In the table below the names of the *wuku* are given as they are used in Java with the names between parentheses for the names in Bali (B.) and Sunda (S.) when they differ from those of Java. The name of the god or goddess for the *wuku* are written below the names of the *wuku*. Unlike the days of the *pancawāra* (*pasaran*) and the *saptawāra* (*mingu*), the names of the *wuku* are never abbreviated. They are used in an overwhelming majority of manuscripts but sometimes not because “wukus are haram” [Islamically disallowed] as stated in a manuscript of AD 1833 of the *Sérat Menak Amir Hamza*, collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 2171).<sup>9</sup>



ILL. 366 *Notes of Raden Tirtadrana, grand vizier of Purworejo. Pawukon (Almanac on Chronology and Divination). Javanese, Yogyakarta, before AD 1907. UBL Cod.Or. 6446, 33.5 × 20.5 cm., 174 pages, pages 118 and 119. The picture shows the god of the wuku Mondhasiya, Bathara Brama.*<sup>10</sup>

9 Pigeaud 1968: 79.

10 Pigeaud 1968: 379.





ILL. 367 *Notes of Raden Tirtadrana, grand vizier of Purworejo. Pawukon. (Almanac on Chronology and Divination). Javanese, Yogyakarta, before AD 1907. UBL Cod.Or. 6446, 33.5 × 20.5 cm., 174 pages, pages 128 and 129. The picture shows the god of the wuku Wuye, Bathara Wera.<sup>11</sup>*

Combinations of the days of the five- and seven-day weeks in a certain *wuku* may be extra auspicious. The most inauspicious is *wuku* Wayang which is so negative that a child born in that *wuku* needs to have a ceremony called *ruwat* enacted during which a shadow play performance was given of the story *Murwakala* in which the demon of time, *Batara Kala*, is defeated. For this reason we often find a short synopsis of this text in compilation manuscripts from Central Java.

11 Pigeaud 1968: 379.



TABLE 6 *The names of 30 Wuku weeks and their corresponding deities*

No.	Name of the wuku and its deity	No.	Name of the wuku and its deity	No.	Name of the wuku and its deity
1	<i>Sinta</i> Dewa Yamadipati	11	<i>Galungan</i> , B. <i>Dungulan</i> Hyang Kamajaya, Kumajaya <sup>a</sup>	21	<i>Maktal</i> , B. <i>Matal</i> Bathara Sakri
2	<i>Landép</i> Hyang Mahadewa	12	<i>Kuningan</i> Hyang Endra/Indra	22	<i>Wuye</i> , B. <i>Uye</i> Bathara Kuwera
3	<i>Wukir</i> , <i>Ukir</i> Hyang Mahayekti	13	<i>Langkir</i> Bathara Kala	23	<i>Manahil</i> , B. <i>Mėnail</i> Bathara Citragotra
4	<i>Kurantil</i> , B. <i>Kulantir</i> , S. <i>Kuranti</i> Hyang Langsur	14	<i>Mandhasiya</i> , <i>Mondhasiya</i> , B. <i>Mėdangsyā</i> , S. <i>Madhasiya</i> Hyang Brama	24	<i>Prangbakat</i> Hyang Bisma, Bima <sup>b</sup>
5	<i>Tolu</i> Hyang Bayu	15	<i>Julung Pujut</i> , S. <i>Julungpujud</i> Hyang Guritna	25	<i>Bala</i> Bathari Durga
6	<i>Gumbrėg</i> Hyang Cakra	16	<i>Pahang</i> Hyang Tantra	26	<i>Wugu</i> , B. <i>Ugu</i> Hyang Singajalma
7	<i>Wariga(-alit)</i> , B. <i>Wariga</i> , S. <i>Warigalit</i> Hyang Asmara	17	<i>Kuruwėlut</i> , B. <i>Krulut</i> Bathara Wisnu	27	<i>Wayang</i> Bathari Sri
8	<i>Wariga-agung</i> , B. <i>Warigadean</i> , S. <i>Warigagung</i> Hyang Maharėsi, Poncarėsi <sup>c</sup>	18	<i>Marakeh</i> , B. <i>Merakih</i> , S. <i>Marekeh</i> Hyang Surenggana	28	<i>Kulawu</i> , B. <i>Kėlawu</i> Hyang Sadana, <sup>d</sup> Baruna <sup>e</sup>
9	<i>Julungwangi</i> , S. <i>Jungjungwang</i> Hyang Sambu	18	<i>Tambir</i> Bathara Siwah	29	<i>Dhukut</i> , B. S. <i>Dukut</i> Hyang Sadana, Panyarikan, <sup>f</sup> Sakri <sup>g</sup>
10	<i>Sungsang</i> Hyang Bathara Gana	20	<i>Medhangkungan</i> , B. <i>Dedangkungan</i> S. <i>Wedangkungan</i> Hyang Basuki	30	<i>Watugunung</i> Dewa Hyang Ontaboga, Hyang Nagagini, Anantaboga

a According to UBL Cod.Or. 6405: 21).

b According to UBL Cod.Or. 6405: 47).

c According to UBL Cod.Or. 6405: 15).

d According to *Götter und Dämonen* p. MS 30.

e According to Mulyono 1993: 135.

f According to UBL Cod.Or. 6405: 57).

g According to UBL KITLV D Or. 410b: 15.





ILL. 368 Pangruwatan. Lakon Murwakala (*Exorcism, Wayang story Murwakala*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but before AD 1931. UBL Cod.Or. 6525, 19 × 15.5 cm., 104 pages, opening pages.<sup>12</sup>

As far as scribal activities go, there seems to have been no *wuku* that were either considered good or bad for engaging in this activity. In Bali a cycle of 30 *wuku* constitutes a year (*oton*) of 210 days but in Java this is not the case as it has been superseded in the past by the Śaka and subsequently by the Anno Java year systems. The 30 *wuku* are divided again into five groups of six *wuku* (1–6, 7–12, 13–18, 19–24, and 25–30) called *ringkĕl ing wuku* and each group has six *ringkĕl* just as there are six days in the *paringkĕlan* week but now each *ringkĕl* is a week of seven days starting with *Jalma* rather than *Tunglai*. As if to make matters even more complicated the fifth day of the *paringkĕlan* week is no longer called *Wiji* but *Wuku*. The names of the *ringkĕl ing wuku* are:

- |    |         |                   |                                  |
|----|---------|-------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1. | Jalma   | (human being)     | ( <i>wuku</i> 1, 7, 13, 19, 25)  |
| 2. | Sato    | (animal)          | ( <i>wuku</i> 2, 8, 14, 20, 26)  |
| 3. | Iwak    | (fish)            | ( <i>wuku</i> 3, 9, 15, 21, 27)  |
| 4. | Manuk   | (bird)            | ( <i>wuku</i> 4, 10, 16, 22, 28) |
| 5. | Wuku    | (seed, offspring) | ( <i>wuku</i> 5, 11, 17, 23, 29) |
| 6. | Godhong | (leaf)            | ( <i>wuku</i> 6, 12, 18, 24, 30) |

<sup>12</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 390.





ILL. 369  
 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*).  
 Illustrated page of a Javanese work on the characters of days, weeks, and so forth. Yogyakarta, written in Baki (Kartosuro) in 1931.<sup>13</sup>  
 UBL Cod.Or. n.650, 21 × 17 cm., 118 pages, page 40. The text starts with: Punika watakipun jumuwah dalah padewanipun. (These are the characteristics of Friday and its god [in this case Endra]).

### Months: Sasi, Wulan

#### Lunar months

Despite the fact that the *mangsa wuku* is a kind of month, which is often used in manuscript dating, the Javanese prefer to use two other months, one lunar and the other quasi-solar. Javanese Muslims abide by the Arabic calendrical system of the twelve lunar months otherwise they would be unable to decide the dates of the Muslim festive calendar. The lengths of these months, which carry Javanized Arabic as well as Javanese names vary according to their place in the eight-year *windu* cycle in which each year has a distinct name as well (see below). Since AJ 1675/AD 1749 the system has become more complicated as the Dal year (the fifth year in the *windu* cycle) has been given a unique month structure. This has probably been done in order to ensure that the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad, which according to the Javanese falls on Monday-Pon, 12 Mulud indeed falls on that calendrical combination. Since 1675, each Dal year has the regular number of 354 days but an abnormal number of days in several months. The number of days in a year that is divided in lunar months is either 354 or 355.

13 Pigeaud 1970: 125.



TABLE 7 *The names and numbers of days of the Javanese lunar months*

Names in Javanese	Number of days in a normal year	Number of days in a leap year	Number of days in a Dal year after AD 1675/AJ 1749	Candra names in Sundanese	Number of days
1. Sura (Muharam)	30	30	30	Kartika	30
2. Sapar	29	29	30	Margasisra	29
3. Mulud (Rabingulawal)	30	30	29	Posya	30
4. Bakda Mulud (Silih Mulud, Rabingulakir)	29	29	29	Maga	29
5. Jumadilawal	30	30	29	Palguna	30
6. Jumadilakir	29	29	29	Setra	29
7. Rĕjĕb (Rajab)	30	30	30	Wesaka	30
8. Ruwah (Arwah, Rewah, Saban)	29	29	29	Yesta	29
9. Pasa (Puasa, Siyam, Ramĕlan)	30	30	30	Asada	30
10. Sawal	29	29	29	Srawana	29
11. Dulkangidah (Sĕla, Apit)	30	30	30	Badra	30
12. Bĕsar (Dulkijah, Rayagung)	29	30	30	Asuji	29/30

Lunar months are unsuited for deciding on seasonal agricultural activities. So, the Javanese have kept twelve ‘solar’ months next to the lunar system. They are called *mongso* or sometimes written *mangsa* (season, time). Interestingly, the year that results from the use of these solar months is disregarded and plays no role. The months had no regular number of days and they vary in length between 23 and 43 days and Ricklefs implies that the start of the first month in the cycle was perhaps determined by celestial observation.



TABLE 8    *The names of the quasi-solar months: Pranata-Mangsa*

Name in Javanese	Name in Balinese	Names in Sanskrit/ Old Javanese	Approximate dates in the older system (still in use in Bali)	Number of days	Dates in the Gregorian Calendar after 1855
<i>Kasa</i>	<i>Kasa</i>	<i>Śrāvaṇa, Śrāvaṇa</i>	July–August	41	22/23 June–2 Aug.
<i>Karo, Karwa</i>	<i>Karo</i>	<i>Bhādrapada, Bhādra, Proṣṭhapada, Bhādrawada</i>	August–September	23	2/3 Aug.–25 Aug.
<i>Katelu, Katiga</i>	<i>Katiga</i>	<i>Asuḷi, (Aśwayuja)</i>	September–October	23	25/26 Aug.–18 Sept.
<i>Kapat, Kacatur</i>	<i>Kapat</i>	<i>Kārttika</i>	October–November	25	18/19 Sept.–13 Oct.
<i>Kalina</i>	<i>Kalina</i>	<i>Agrahāyana, Mārgaśīrṣa</i>	November–December	27	13/14 Oct.–9 Nov.
<i>Kanem</i>	<i>Kanem</i>	<i>Pauṣa, Poṣya</i>	December–January	43	9/10 Nov.–22 Dec.
<i>Kapitu</i>	<i>Kapitu</i>	<i>Māgha</i>	January–February	43	22/23 Dec.–3 Febr.
<i>Kawolu</i>	<i>Kaulu</i>	<i>Phālguna</i>	February–March	27	3/4 Febr.–1 March
<i>Kasanga</i>	<i>Kasanga</i>	<i>Chaitra, Cetra</i>	March–April	25	1/2 March–26 March
<i>Kadasa, Kasepuluh</i>	<i>Kasadasa, Kadasa</i>	<i>Vaiśākha, Waiśākha, Weśākha</i>	April–May	24	26/27 March–19 April
<i>Dhesta</i>	<i>Jeshta/Destha, hapit (lēmah?)</i>	<i>Jyēṣṭha</i>	May–June	24	19/20 April–12 May
<i>Sadha</i>	<i>Sada, hapit (kayu?)</i>	<i>Āṣāḍha</i>	June–July	41	12/13 May–22 June



### Years: Taun, Warsa, Warsi

The Hindu Śaka year is 78 years behind the Gregorian Calendar and thus adding 78 to the Śaka year will provide the year according to the Gregorian Calendar. Before or after the Śaka year, the year is also often indicated by a *tenggĕk* (tens) and a *rah* (digits). Thus *tenggĕk 1 rah 2* means that the year is 12.<sup>14</sup>

The differences between the Islamic (AH) and Gregorian (AD) calendars may be explained as follows. The AH year starts in AD 621. Thirty-two Gregorian solar years correspond to 33 Islamic lunar years. In the Islamic calendar, each period of 30 years is divided into 19 years of 354 days and 11 years of 355 days. The years in the Islamic calendar can be converted into AD years according to a table devised by Klinkert. The table below is taken from Pudjiastuti 2006.

TABLE 9 *Table for the conversion of the Islamic calendar to the Gregorian calendar*

AH	AH	AH	AH
33-1	363-11	693-21	1023-31
66-2	396-12	726-22	1056-32
99-3	429-13	759-23	1089-33
132-4	462-14	792-24	1122-34
165-5	495-15	825-25	1155-35
198-6	528-16	858-26	1188-36
231-8	594-18	924-28	1223-38
297-9	627-19	957-29	1287-39
330-10	660-20	990-30	1320-40

Conversion steps: to convert a year in the Islamic calendar AH to the corresponding year in the Gregorian calendar, first add 621 to that year after which the number after the hyphen for the AH year in the table above is subtracted. For instance, a text is written in AH 990.  $990 + 621 = 1611$ . In the table, 990 corresponds with 30.  $1611 - 30 = \text{AD } 1581$ . If the AH year number is not found in the table, the one below, nearest to that number is taken. For instance, the year AH

14 Apparently, the number of the Śaka year may differ one year from that provided by the *tenggĕk* and *rah* which indicates, according to Friederich, that the Śaka year has ended and the next year is running. Thus, Śaka 1841, *tenggĕk 4, rah 2* means that the Śaka year 1841 has passed and the following Śaka year 1842 is running. Friederich 1849: 1.



757 is not found in the table. First 621 is added so the total is  $757 + 621 = 1378$ . The smallest number in the table nearest to 757 is 726 which corresponds with 22. The AD year is thus  $1378 - 22 = 1356$ .

The combinations of the Gregorian, Javanese and Islamic years may be found in the table derived from the *Djidwal* of 1932 which is added as Appendix Eight to this book.

### Windu

In the Javanese calendar, a cycle of eight years is called a *windu* and each year within a *windu* has its own name, derived from the names of the letters of the Arabic alphabet: 1. *Alip*, 2. *Ēhe*, 3. *Jimawal*, 4. *Je*, 5. *Dal*, 6. *Be*, 7. *Wawu*, 8. *Jimakir*.

The *windu* are grouped in cycles of four and each cycle has its own name as well: 1. *Adi*, 2. *Kunthara*, 3. *Sangara* and 4. *Sancaya*. A period of 4 *windu* (32 years) is called *tumbuk alit*, a period of 8 *windu* (64 years) is called *tumbuk agĕng* and a period of 15 *windu* (120 years) is called *kurup*.<sup>15</sup>

### Candra Sangkala

Many colophons in manuscripts from Java and Bali indicate the year by means of a chronogram or *candra sangkala*: “aphoristic phrases, whose words when read backwards, signify – by a logical system of associative conventions – different numerical values”<sup>16</sup> also more simply called “reverse order chronogram.”<sup>17</sup> Thus, the *candra sangkala*: *sirna* (empty, wiped out, 0) *rasa* (feelings, 6) *ngesthi* (to reflect, 8) *gusti* (lord, 1) = AJ 1860 = AD 1929.<sup>18</sup> The words used in *candra sangkala* may be the numeral itself (*eka*, *siji*, *satunggal* and *satunggil*, ‘one’; *dwi*, *rong*, *loro* and *kalih*, ‘two’; *tri*, *tĕlu* and *tiga*, ‘three’, and so on) and objects or concepts clearly leading to an understanding of their numeral value like *netra* ‘eyes’ or *kuping* ‘ears’ for ‘two’, and by extension their senses ‘see’ (*mulat*, *tingal*, *aningali*) and ‘hear’ (*krungu*, *myarsa*). This is by no means an easy rule. Why ‘horse’ (*kuda*, *turongga*, *jaran*), mountain (*ardi*, *giri*, *gunung*, *wukir*), and sage or priest (*wiku*, *pandhita*, *muni*, *mahamuni*, *mahasri*, *rĕsi*, and so on) all should indicate ‘seven’ can, for instance, only be explained through a thorough knowledge of Javanese literature, history and culture.

15 <http://eyang-nardi.blogspot.com/2013/05/kontroversi-hari-jadi-kab-banyumas-6.html>, accessed 27 March 2015.

16 Florida 2012: 37.

17 Rubinstein 1996b: 181. For more information on *candra sangkala* in Java see, for instance, Bratakesawa 1952 and Noorduy 1993.

18 It is not always clear though if the *candra sangkala* points to a year in the Javanese or in the Gregorian calendar. Often other information the manuscript provides (such as paper, binding, scribe’s name) may lead to the conclusion about what kind of year it indicates.



*Candra Sangkala in Manuscripts from Java*

Among more than one thousand *candra sangkala* used in Javanese texts that I have collected from a variety of catalogs and texts<sup>19</sup> I have found only one instance that consists of just words for numerals. It concerns manuscript MN 290 of the Islamic *Sĕrat Tajusalatin* (Didactic-Moralistic Poem on Statecraft and Good Worldly Behavior) in the library of the Pura Mangkunagaran in Surakarta: *dwi* (2) *sapta* (7) *pitu* (7) *tunggal* (1) = AJ 1772 = AD 1845.<sup>20</sup>

As Ricklefs stated in 1978 (page 239), *candra sangkala* have not been studied extensively and I have the impression the situation has not changed much since then. As a result, scholars usually refer to the standard work on the issue written by Bratakesawa which was first published in 1928 and then re-published in 1952.

As far as I know, no in-depth research has been conducted into which manuscripts contain texts that mention a *candra sangkala* and which texts do not. Browsing the catalogs of Javanese manuscripts from Central Java, it would seem that *candra sangkala* are used in manuscripts of all sorts of texts but mostly – though by no means exclusively – in those made by people related to the palaces in Central Java. Manuscripts containing texts pertaining to *wayang purwa* shadow play and its repertoire seldom seem to carry a *candra sangkala* and I have the impression that manuscripts dealing with pure Islam also hardly ever do. This is not the case, however, with narrative Islamic texts such as the *Sĕrat Tajusalatin* mentioned above or the history of the Islamic prophets, *Sĕrat Anbiya*. These do carry *candra sangkala*, as, for instance, NR 146 in the library of the University of Indonesia Library which was finished in the year with the *candra sangkala*: *trustha* (happy, 9) *tunggal* (one, 1) *swaraning* (voice of, 7) *rat* (the world, 1) = 1719 = AD 1792,<sup>21</sup> or the *Sĕrat Anbiya* in a private collection that was finished on *ngrasa* (6) *nĕmbah* (2) *slĕna* (?8?)<sup>22</sup> *ji* (1) = 6281 = AJ 1826 = AD 1896. *Candra sangkala* are apparently seldom used for the Muslim calendar. Some examples are W.56 of the Karaton Yogyakarta that contains the *Sĕrat Nitik Sultan Agung* with the *candra sangkala*: *nglangut* (in the distance, 0)

19 Florida 1993, 2000, and 2012; Lindsay, Soetanto and Feinstein 1994; Behrend and Pudjiastuti 1997; Behrend 1998; Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop 2014 and other printed and unprinted sources where I happened upon a *candra sangkala*.

20 Florida 2000: 181.

21 Behrend and Pudjiastuti 1997: 141.

22 The Javanese script seems to indicate *slĕna* or perhaps *slĕka*. *Slĕna* is not in the dictionaries while *sleko* exists as 'gate' with the numerical value of 9. In that case the colophon would indicate the AD year, which would not fit other dating information in the manuscript.



*myat* (seen, 2) *padaming* (?? o) *rat* (the world, 1) = 0201 = AH 1020 = AD 1610,<sup>23</sup> *Suluk Gontor* (Mystic Suluk Poem) MN 357A.3 of the Pura Mangkunagaran in Surakarta which reads: *yaksa* (5) *slira* (8) *tingal* (2) *něrpatri* (1) = AH 1285 = AD 1868/9,<sup>24</sup> and *Angling Darma*, India Office Library IOL Jav. 17 with *sapta* (seven, 7) *guna* (benefit, 3) *ratu* (king, 1) *jalma* (human being, 1) = AH 1137 = AD 1724.<sup>25</sup> Apparently, manuscripts written in *pegon* script seldom contain a *candra sangkala*. The only two instances I have found was in the Islamic story *Sěrat Asmarasupi* in the library of Museum Sonobudoyo in Yogyakarta L 207 which was dated *toya* (water, 4) *cipta* (wishes, 8) *numpang* (to conquer, 7) *jagat* (the world, 1) = AJ 1784 = AD 1855<sup>26</sup> and the manuscript portrayed in illustration 375.

Sometimes, but not very often, *candra sangkala* do not read backwards. My list has only 19 instances.<sup>27</sup> Some examples include *Sěrat Gondakusuma* (Wayang Gedhog Tale of Raden Gondakusuma) Add. 12294 in the British Library which reads *jilma* (human being, 1) *muni* (sage, 7) *kěrni* (? , 2) *naga* (dragon, 8) = AJ 1728 = AD 1801;<sup>28</sup> Karaton Yogyakarta W. 355b *Cathětan Kawontěnanipun Pusaka-Dalěm Wangkingan* (Notes about the royal sacred heirloom weapons of the Karaton Yogyakarta) which has a *candra sangkala* that reads *putra* (son, 1) *manggala* (commander, 8) *rupa* (form, 8) *kěkalih* (two, 2) = AD 1883<sup>29</sup> *bumi* (earth, 1] *sapta* (7) *wayang* (shadow, 6) *naga* (dragon, 8) = AD 1868 in the *Rěngganis* RP 355 in Museum Radya Pustaka in Surakarta;<sup>30</sup> and *dara* (pigeon, 1) *walu* (8) *muluk* (sing, o) *ing kuping* (in the ears, 2)<sup>31</sup> = AJ 1802 = AD 1873 in the *Sěrat Babad Ngayogyakarta* (Chronicle of Yogyakarta) in the Hardjonagaran library (HN 7), also in Surakarta.<sup>32</sup> Cod.Or. 2295 containing the history of Mecca has no less than three *candra sangkala* in reversed order, AJ 1788, AH 1276 and AD 1859.<sup>33</sup>

It is good to bear in mind that some *candra sangkala* words are contested and may sometimes mean different numerals. This may depend on the time of writing or because of other reasons which have not yet been insufficiently explored.

23 Lindsay, Soetanto and Feinstein 1994: 102.

24 Florida 2000: 234.

25 Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop 2014: 60.

26 Behrend 1990: 343.

27 Pigeaud 1968: 96.

28 Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop 2014: 46.

29 Lindsay, Soetanto and Feinstein 1994: 222.

30 Florida 2012: 258.

31 I have no idea how this should be translated.

32 Florida 2012: 286.

33 Vreede 1892: 150–152; Pigeaud 1968: 96.



I have the feeling that the *candra sangkala* used in the palaces of Surakarta are not always the same as those used in Yogyakarta and there may have been preferences for the use of specific *candra sangkala* in these two cities. Some *candra sangkala* words are extremely popular whereas others are only found rarely. After browsing the catalogues of the collections in Yogyakarta and Surakarta it would seem that *candra sangkala* were much more frequently in use in manuscripts from Surakarta than in Yogyakarta. This needs to be verified through more research, however.

As may be seen from the examples above, one might think that a *candra sangkala* always consists of only four words. This is not the case and sometimes the chronogram words are hidden in longer expressions. For instance, collection Karaton Surakarta KS 80.2 contains the *Pengĕtan Lĕlampahanipun Bĕndara Raden Mas Panji Sumahatmaja* (Wanderings of Bendara Raden Mas Panji Sumahatmaja as he mourned the death of his father). The *candra sangkala* reads *keh pandhita* (many priests, 7) *kang muja* (who praise, 1) *salira* (body, 8) *mrih kanggĕp marang ratune* (so that they are appreciated by their king, 1) = AJ 1817 = AD 1887.<sup>34</sup> Other instances include *mugiantuka wawĕnganipun* (may you receive privilege, 9), *pambudi aywa ilang* (and not abandon your efforts, 0), *pangesthi* (is the intention, 8) *mugi Hyang Widdhi* (hopefully of God, 1) = AJ 1809 = AD 1880 (*Sĕrat Dombasawala*, Karaton Surakarta KS 103)<sup>35</sup> and *atmaja* (the son, 1) *Hyang Girinata* (of the Lord of the Mountain, 1+7+1 = 9) *mulang* (instructs, 7) *mring punggawa mantri* (the high courtiers and the lesser retainers, 1) = AJ 1791 = AD 1862 (*Sĕrat Nayakawara* (Didactic Poem written by Mangkunagara IV), Pura Mangkunagaran MN 610).<sup>36</sup> Some caution needs to be applied as sometimes two words are contracted into one and thus the *candra sangkala* seems to consist of only three words. For instance *manggalengrat* = *manggala ing rat* (commander of the world); *sagaragni* = *sagara agni* (ocean of fire); *sliraji* = *slira aji* (the person of the king), *murtingrat* = *murti ing rat* (the embodiment of the world); *nagendra* = *naga indra* (Indra's dragon), and so on. Also, rarely, a numeral is provided which consists of more than one word such as *hyang girinata* which is 1 plus 7 plus 1 = 9 (MN 531B.5, *Sĕrat Nayakawara*).<sup>37</sup>

Rarely *candra sangkala* are provided to indicate both the Javanese and the Gregorian calendar in the same manuscript. Apart from Cod.Or. 2295 mentioned above, other instances are *Babad Jaka Tingkir* KS 78.2 in the Karaton Surakarta which has the *candra sangkala*: *Sang mahamuni* (exalted sage, 7)

34 Florida 1993: 95.

35 Florida 1993: 101–2.

36 Florida 2000: 410.

37 Florida 2000: 355.



*anata* (settle, 5) *goraning* (7) *rat* (1) = AJ 1757 / *trus* (immediately, 9) *sinĕmbah* (being paid respect, 2) *sariraning* (person of the, 8) *ratu* (king, 1) = AD 1829,<sup>38</sup> and the *Sĕrat Babad Sĕgaluh* (Chronicle of Segaluh) MN 268.1 in the Pura Mangkunagaran which has the *sangkala rasaning* (6) *rat* (1) *salira* (8) *tunggal* (1) = AJ 1816 / *sapda* (speech, 7) *trus* (immediately, 9) *murtining* (manifestation, 8) *aji* (king, 1) = AD 1897. The latter is interesting as the two dates do not match, as AJ 1816 corresponds with AJ 1886 rather than 1897.<sup>39</sup>

Occasionally a text starts with the *candra sangkala*. This is, for instance, the case with the *Sĕrat Sajarah Urun Wijining Karaton*, RP 64 that starts with the verse meter *dhandhanggula* with *dadi* (let it be, 4) *suci* (pure, 4) *samadnyaning* (in the center of, 8) *bumi* (the earth, 1) = AJ 1844 = AD 1913<sup>40</sup> and with the rather old text *Sorĕndaka* which starts in the verse-form *sinom* with *amrih rasa* (seeking feelings, 6) *pandhita* (priest, 7) *hyang* (of the divine, 6) *candra* (moon, 1)<sup>41</sup> which, according to the editor of the text, Van den Berg, should be read as Śaka 1676 = AD 1754.<sup>42</sup>

Another example is the *Sĕrat Nitipraja* (Didactic Poem on Behavior of Men in Office) RP 346(2)<sup>43</sup> which opens in *dhandhanggula* with the *candra sangkala kadya sinileming sagaragni* (as submerged in an ocean of fire, 4 and 3), *rasaning* (were his feelings, 6) *driya* (in his heart, 1) = AJ 1634 = AD 1710/11. The same or almost the same *candra sangkala* are found in manuscripts of the *Sĕrat Nitipraja* in the collection of the Mangkunagaran MN 294C.27, MN 367.8, MN 380, MN 520.4,<sup>44</sup> Karaton Solo KS 415.3<sup>45</sup> and in Raffles Java 22, 31C and 34B in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society in London.<sup>46</sup> The difference is that the start of the texts in Raffles Java 31C runs *kadi asilĕm ing nagara gni rasa ning driya eka sakala duk linakwan panyarike Niti praja ingapus* (“as if submerged in a sea of fire were his feelings in his one heart when he made the deceptive Nitipraja”) and, like Poerbatjaraka in *Kapustakan Djawi*, added the word *eka* (1) and ended up with the year AJ 1563 – AD 1641. Ricklefs and Voorhoeve quite rightfully added to their description (page 82) that the date

38 Florida 1993: 94.

39 Florida 2000: 173.

40 Florida 2012: 81.

41 I have no idea how to translate this.

42 Van den Berg 1939: 2. In my *candra sangkala* database *hyang* only stands for 1 so I am not sure if this colophon has been interpreted correctly.

43 Florida 2012: 251.

44 Florida 2000: 189, 240, 246, 346.

45 Florida 1993: 231.

46 Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop 2014: 80–82.



in the colophons is unclear, as does Florida for that matter.<sup>47</sup> Curiously, there is another manuscript with a beginning that looks much like the start of the manuscripts discussed above. It concerns the *Sĕrat Nitipraja* MN 294C.30 in the Mangkunagaran Palace: “I felt in my heart as if submerged in an ocean of fire”: *kaya silulup sagara* (like he went down in an ocean 4) [*a*] *gni* (fire, 3) *rasane* (was the feeling in, 6) *atiku* (my heart, 1) where the same interpretation error was made as in MN 294C.27 as being AJ 1643 = AD 1718/9.<sup>48</sup> A possible conclusion may be that all these manuscripts have a close connection one to the other or that the start of the manuscripts are seen as containing a *candra sangkala* whereas in fact they do not. The last opinion is implied in Sri Ratna Saktimulya’s catalog, which simply includes the almost same expression (*kadya anilĕm sĕgara gĕni, rasaning driya datan mĕngkana*) as the first sentence of the *Sĕrat Nitipraja* Pi.25 and Pi.28 in the Perpustakaan Widyapustaka, Pura Pakualaman but dates the entire manuscript of which it is part following the *candra sangkala*: *pujangga* (poet, 8] *sapta* (seven, 7) *swaraning* (are the voices, 7) *jalmi* (of the people, 1) to AJ 1778 = AD 1849–1850 (1849?).<sup>49</sup>

Apparently, *candra sangkala* were part of the expertise of a writer’s skill. Most collections of Javanese manuscripts therefore contain manuscripts exclusively dealing with these chronograms and therefore named *Candra sangkala*, or *Condra sangkala* under which name they can be found in the indexes or otherwise under the designation ‘chronograms.’ These manuscripts usually originate from Yogyakarta or Surakarta but were also made in Cirebon, for example *Layang Sumĕraping Kangge Wangun Candrasĕngkala* (Explanation about how to make a Candra Sangkala), from the *Karaton* Kacirebonan written in 1895.<sup>50</sup>

Apparently too, scribes and writers liked to have as much variation as they could in their use of *candra sangkala*. I have, for instance, encountered only one instance of a manuscript that was started and finished in the same year while the year was indicated with the exact same *candra sangkala*. It concerns the story of the Muslim prophets, *Sĕrat Anbiya*, in Museum Sonobudoyo L 11: *buntut* (1) *naga* (8) *suwara* (7) *bumi* (1) = AJ 1781 = AD 1852.<sup>51</sup>

Rarely is the name of the author of the text indicated in a so-called *sandiasma* (acrostichon, see Chapter Eight) in the *candra sangkala*. For instance, the *Sĕrat Cakrawarti* (= *Weddhapratyana*) which itself is a prose treatise on Javanese

47 Florida 2000: 246.

48 Florida 2000: 189.

49 Saktimulya 2005: 97–98, 102.

50 Ekadjati and Darsa 1999: 790.

51 Behrend 1990: 206.



time-reckoning and preserved in the Karaton Surakarta KS 595.1. It was written in: *rong* (2) *naga* (8) *mawarni* (4?7?) *sirata* (1) = AJ 1782 = AD 1843 while the name is Ronggawarsita, the famous court poet as indicated in the parts of the words that have been italicized.<sup>52</sup> The same name is found also in a copy of the *Sĕrat Paramusita* which is another name for the *Sĕrat Cakrawarti* and kept in the Pura Mangkunagaran (MN 1). The *candra sangkala* reads: *rong* (2) *naga* (8) *awarna* (7) *sinuta* (1)<sup>53</sup> and thus is slightly different from the one in the manuscript of the Karaton Surakarta.

*Candra sangkala* also feature inside texts to indicate the years in which certain events took place. This we find, for instance, in the *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarnana* where no less than 42 *candra sangkala* are used throughout the text. Because in Balinese the word *sangkala* means ‘inauspicious’ the last editor of the *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarnana*, I Ketut Riana prefers the term *candra bhūmi* and he lists all of them in his edition of 2009.<sup>54</sup>

*Candra sangkala* changed over time. The manuscripts from the so-called Merapi-Merbabu collection in the National Library of Indonesia contain *candra sangkala* words that have not been encountered in the catalogs of the collections I used for my list and that contain more modern manuscripts than the ones in this collection that stem from the early sixteenth to the end of the eighteenth centuries.<sup>55</sup> Appendix One in this book contains *candra sangkala* words. In this Appendix the words found in this catalog of the Merapi-Merbabu collection but not elsewhere have been included but italicized.

Many chronicles moreover contain lists of memorable events that are expressed in *candra sangkala*.<sup>56</sup> One of them, the Javanese *Babad ing Sangkala* (Manuscript India Office Library, London number IOL Jav.36(b)) was edited and translated by M.C. Ricklefs in 1978.

#### *Candra Sangkala in Manuscripts from Bali*

*Candra sangkala* are also used in Balinese manuscripts for texts written in Old and Middle Javanese, and Balinese. As far as I know, little detailed research has been conducted into the use of *candra sangkala* in colophons of manuscripts although, in his *Candrasangkala: The Balinese Art of Dating Events* of 2006, Hans Hägerdal gives a well-documented expose of the Balinese use of *candra sangkala* to date events.

<sup>52</sup> Florida 1993: 329.

<sup>53</sup> Florida 2000: 35. I don't know how this should be translated.

<sup>54</sup> Riana 2009: xvii-xxiii.

<sup>55</sup> Kartika, Wiryamartana and Van der Molen 2002.

<sup>56</sup> For instance, in the index of Pigeaud 1967–1980 under chronograms I and II.



Rubinstein described the *candra sangkala* used by the extraordinary Balinese man of letters, Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen.<sup>57</sup> Apparently, he did not use many different words to compose his *candra sangkala*. Rubinstein mentions the following:

o *śūnya* (empty), 1 *mūrti/mūrtika* (shape), *wong* (people), *bhūmi* (earth), *wit* (tree), 2 *pakṣa* (force), 3 *brāhma* (god Brahma), *guṇa* (magic), *gēni/hagni* (fire), 4 *śrama* (hermitage), 5 *bhūta* (demon), *pañca* (five), *mārga* (road), 6 *rasa* (feeling), *ṣaḍ/sat* (six), 7 *rēsi* (sage), *sapta/sapto* (seven), 8 *brāhmaṇa* (brahmin), *gaja* (elephant), (*h*)*aṣṭa* (eight), *asti* (elephant), *nāga* (dragon), *ulā* (snake), *aṣṭaseni* (?), 9 *nawa* (nine), *manawa* (nine).<sup>58</sup>

Ida Pedanda Ngurah from Blayu, Tabanan, West Bali, used *candra sangkala* in his writings such as in his *Kakawin Gunung Kawi* (Tale of Gunung Kawi) which he wrote in the Śaka year *indura* (light, o) *mayogha* (practice yoga, 4) *ring naga* (snake, 8) *prabhu* (king, 1) = 1840 = AD 1938 and the *Kakawin Surāntaka* (Sura's Death) which he wrote in the Śaka year *turaga* (7) *matta* (2) *haṣṭhi* (8) *candrama* (1) = 1827 = AD 1895.<sup>59</sup>

A rather late example of a manuscript that used a *candra sangkala* is the *Putru Sangaskara* which was already discussed above. In this case, the *candra sangkala* should not be read backwards and reads *nunggal* (one, 1) *uluning* (eight, 8) *sad* (six, 6) *catur* (four, 4) = Śaka 1864 = AD 1942 and consists only of words for numerals.

57 Rubinstein 1996b: 181–182.

58 Rubinstein 1996b: 182, translations by the present author.

59 Dharma Palguna 1998: 19, 39.



## Colophons

Many manuscripts in the manuscript traditions in Indonesia contain a colophon. A colophon is an important source of information about a manuscript and its cultural surroundings and is usually placed at the end or at the start of a manuscript, or both. It often states the identity of the writer, the time of writing and where it was written and other information as well. Apart from the articles by Chambert-Loir (2006) on Malay, Rubinstein (1996b) on Balinese, Creese (1996) on colophons of *kakawin* manuscripts from Bali and Lombok, and Kurnia (2012) on Sundanese colophons, no in-depth study on colophons has come to my notice. Colophons differ widely and some are quite extensive and provide researchers with all the information they could possibly want. At other times, they are exasperatingly short and contain information that seems to make no sense and that boils down to no more than jottings.

Although one might assume that with all our understanding of the calendars used in the region colophons would be easy to interpret and the dating of manuscripts would not pose problems, this is far from the case. Much remains to be studied in order to understand the bewilderingly large number of manuscripts where one calendar cannot be matched with another because of discrepancies in the outcomes of our calculations. Also, we should not automatically assume that a colophon always provides information concerning the scribe who actually made the manuscript we have in front of us. There are instances when the manuscript was produced by someone other than the person mentioned in the colophon; someone who was only the owner of the 'scriptorium' where the manuscript was produced. It happens that scribes may copy manuscripts including the colophons they have found in the manuscripts before them so that we do not have any information about the manuscripts they made but rather of their 'originals.' It may even be that, for whatever reason, a manuscript was already finished long before a colophon was added. Perhaps a colophon may even contain information that is purposefully inaccurate for specific reasons that are, to us, as yet unknown. Manuscript production is after all a human activity so we may assume that anything is possible. Much more research is needed, of course, to establish any validity about our conclusions on these matters. A frustrating circumstance with colophons is that they are not always translated in text editions. This is especially so for Old



and Middle Javanese texts as aptly noted by Soekatno<sup>1</sup> and before him Robson, who states:

Neither this nor the following colophons will be translated, because the obscurity of the language and the many dubious readings make such an attempt as good as useless. Even the division of the words is debatable.<sup>2</sup>

It is often unclear what the reasons may have been that certain information has been put in a colophon or, indeed, why there is a colophon to begin with. In some cases, it may be that scribes included colophons because they wanted to remind themselves about the time and the circumstances in which they wrote the manuscript. In other cases, it may be proof of the identity of the person who made the manuscript in relation to payments or other rewards. A colophon may also validate a manuscript as authentic or being of a particular quality because of the identity of the author/scribe who produced it or because of the special venue in which it was made. It may also very well be that by stating a specific time of writing a colophon provides the manuscript and its producer with extra status. For instance, in Lombok, a number of manuscripts from the Sasak community were finished (according to the colophon, that is) in the month of Ramadan. In Islam, writing the *Qur'ān* in the holy fasting month gives the scribe extra religious merit and it may well be that by stating that a manuscript, which has nothing to do with Islam, was finished in Ramadan, some may consider it part of the Islamic tradition and by so doing the text becomes Islamically validated, especially if the *basmalah* (the expression *bismilahirrahmanirrahim*, In the name of the One God the Merciful, the Compassionate) is included at the start as well.

Because pages of manuscripts are often damaged at the start and/or at the end or because parts of the start and/or the end have become lost entirely, many colophons that these manuscripts might have contained have unfortunately become irretrievably lost. Below we will look at a variety of colophons. We will start with the curious phenomenon that manuscripts are copied with the original colophon.

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1 Soekatno 2013: 31.

2 Robson 1971: 53 note 130.



### Manuscripts Copied with the Original Colophon

If we are unaware that a manuscript was copied with the original colophon we may think it to be older than in fact it is. As with all copying, the information may even have been copied incorrectly because the scribe did not properly understand the information in the original colophon. This is, for instance, what may have happened to a Javanese copy of a Balinese manuscript of the *Kakawin Wṛttasañcaya* (collection Leiden University Library NBG 72).<sup>3</sup> The original colophon states that it was written on Friday Kliwon, in the week Watugunung, the 10th of the dark half of the moon Pausha in the Śaka year 1741, in the 2nd Rah, the 4th Tenggĕk (= 1819 AD).<sup>4</sup> This colophon is also found in the Javanese copy of this manuscript but the Javanese scribe apparently did not understand the expression *śu ka* which he changed into *śukra* (Friday and thus omitting *kaliwon*).<sup>5</sup>

One manuscript of the *Kakawin Sumanasāntaka* contains no less than three colophons (collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 5015). The first states that the text was copied in the Śaka year 1459 = AD 1537 by Nirartha in Bali. The second colophon is incomplete and contains no date. The third colophon states the time the copying of the actual manuscript was started and finished. The copying was done by Nini Pangkajawati in Lombok and she started in Śaka 1722 = AD 1800 and had finished in AD 1801.<sup>6</sup> Pangkajawati apparently copied a manuscript that contained both the first and the second colophon and this would mean that an astonishing 263 years would have elapsed between Nirartha's copy and the one Pangkajawati made.

A good example of a manuscript with both a new colophon of the time of copying and the colophon of the original text is Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 6199, containing the History of the Java War. The colophon of the new copy is written on a separate page (page one) and thus is clearly distinct from

3 Juynboll 1907: 132; Pigeaud 1968: 727.

4 The original text reads: *tlasinurat ring dinā, śu, ka, watu gunung, tithi, kreśṇamāsa, i śaka, 1741, rah, 2, tenggĕk, 4*. Kern dates the manuscript in AD 1829 which must have been a slip of the pen because Śaka 1741 corresponds with AD 1819. More important is that the date 1741 not corresponds with the *rah* and the *tenggĕk* which would lead to 1842. According to Friederich the *rah* and the *tenggĕk* point to the running 42nd year in the century.

5 Friederich 1849: 1; Kern 1875: 1–2.

6 Worsley, Supomo, Hunter and Fletcher 2013: 523–524.



the original colophon as may be seen in illustration 370. The text of the new colophon reads:<sup>7</sup>

The song is written in *sinom*. The writing was started at 7 o'clock in the morning on Sunday Pon on the sixth, the fifth day of the six-day week (*uwas*), the fourth week cycle 'bird' (*pěksi*) in the week Galungan in the month Běsar in the year Jimawal. The *candra sangkala* (chronogram) is: *amba* (servant, 1), *němbah* (pay obeisance with two hands, 2), *angesthi* (thinking about, 8), *utama* (main, 1) = AJ 1821 = AD 1892.<sup>8</sup> The Dutch day is Saturday, 2 July in the year 1892. It was compiled at the wish of G.J. Oudemans, the commission controller in Yogyakarta. This is the story of the Dipanagara War and starts after the Perang Sepehi [War with the British in Yogyakarta that started in 1813]. The original of this work belongs to Queen Sasi, the daughter of the 6th ruler in illustrious Yogyakarta, who ordered the aspirant clerk Raden Mas Saleh to copy it.

The original colophon was copied on pages two and three. The text reads:<sup>9</sup>

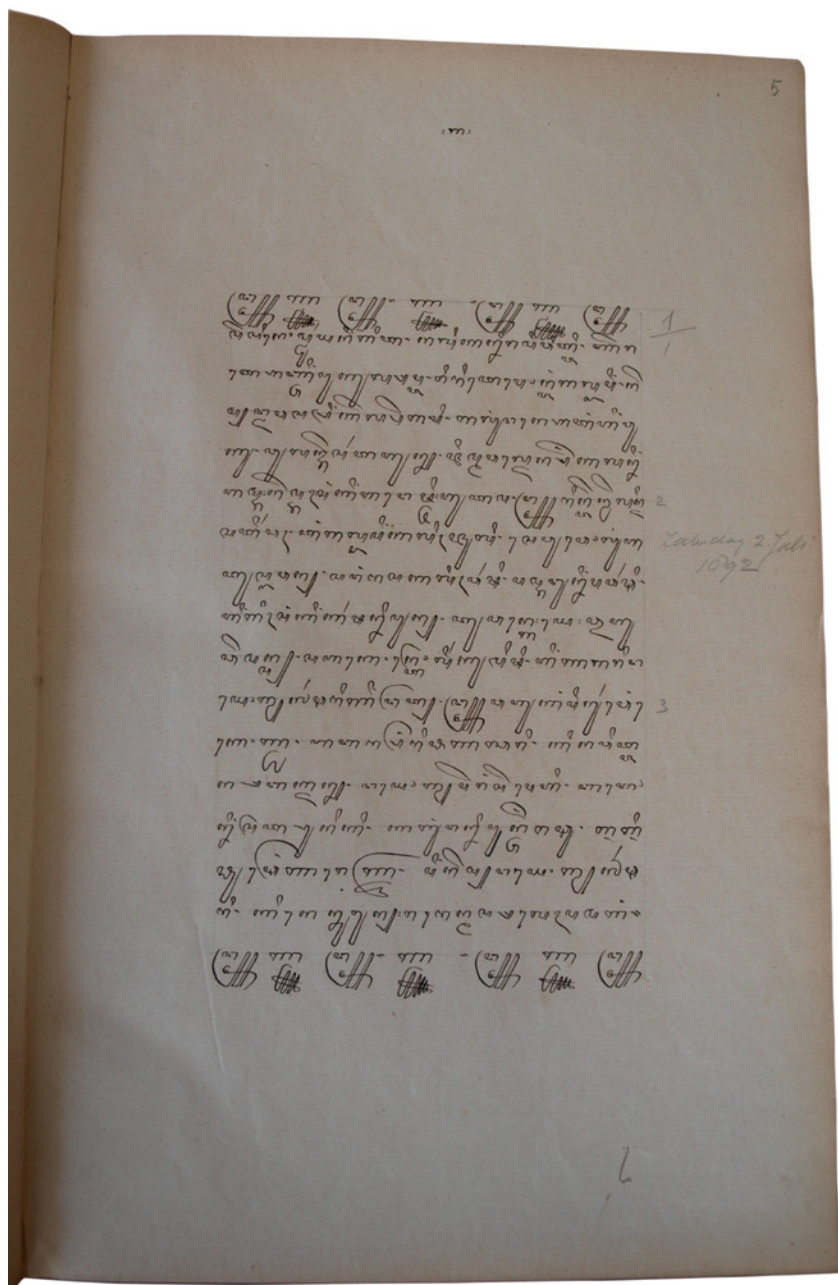
Composed in *roning kamal* (*sinom*). The writing was started at 10 o'clock on the 14th on Sunday Lěgi in the *mongsa* Dhestha in the week Langkir

7 "sěsinom wuryaning gita, nalikanira miwiti, nyěrat enjing pukul sapta ri dite pon tanggal kap-  
ing, nēm uwas pringkěl pęgsi, galungan etang ing wuku, wulan bęsar tahunnya, jimawal den  
sęngkalaning amba nęmbah sangking angesthi utama. dintęn węlandi satirdhah, tanggal kap-  
ing kaliah juli, sewu wolungatus lawan, sangang dasa kalih warsi, pambanguning pawarti,  
inggi sangking karsanipun, tuwan ge ye oudhęmans, saha kontrolir kumisi, ing nagari ngayo-  
gyakarta diningrat. wau kang pinurweng kondha, babab prang dipanagari, kinawitan sabak-  
danya, ngayogya pęrang sępehi, baboning srat puniki, kagunganipun jęng ratu, sasi putreng  
narendra, ping nēm ngayogyakartadi, kinen nurun raden mas saleh pamagang."

8 The dates do not match. 2 July 1992 was a Sunday rather than a Saturday.

9 "sinękaran roning kamal, duk kala miwiti nulis, siyang wanci jam sędasa, ping pathęlas akat  
lęgi, mongsa dhestha maringi, nuju langkir ingkang wuku, tungle kang paringkęlana, saban  
warsa be lumaris, sinękalangera, ręg janma ngesthi raja. kang karsa mangun pustaka, gusti  
kangjęng ratu sasi, putra dalęm sri narendra, ngayogyakarta rat adi, nęnggi kang wus  
suwargi, jujuluk ingkang sinuhun, sultan męngkubuwana, ing ngayogya senapati, ngabdu-  
rahman sayidina panatagama. kaping nēm kalipatolah, ngagęm bintang kumęndur ing, ordę  
sęleyo nedęrlan, gusti kangjęng ratu sasi, miyos ing garwa padmi, jęng ratu kęcana wungu,  
sasurutnya sang nata, jujulukira ingęli, dadya kangjęng ratu hamęngkubuwana. punika putra  
narendra, sinuwun jęng sunan swargi, ping wolu pakubuwana, ing surakarta ngręnggani, pun-  
jul samining aji, ambęg pinandhita luhung, kasusreng praja liyan, tuhu kakasih hyang widhi,  
supangatnya tumęrah ing putra wayah."



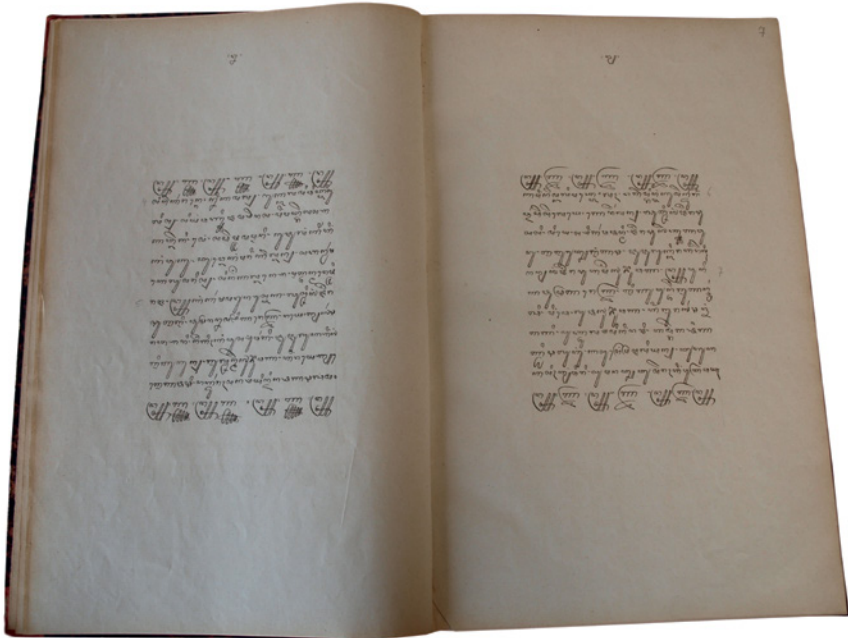


ILL. 370 Babad Pěrang Dipo Nėgoro (*Chronicle of the Dipanagara War*). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1892. UBL Cod.Or. 6199, 34 × 21.5 cm., 368 pages, page 1.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Pigeaud 1967: 167.



on Tungle, the first day of the six-day week, in the running year Be, with the *candra sangkala: rĕg* (? , 1), *janma* (human person, 1), *ngesthi* (thinking about, 8), *raja* (king, 1) = AJ 1811 = AD 1881.<sup>11</sup> The person who desired to own this book is Queen Sasih, the daughter of the late king in illustrious Yogyakarta whose royal name was Sultan Hamengkubuwana the sixth, Senopati, Ngabdurahman Sayidina, Panatagama, Kalipatolah, in Yogyakarta, bearer of the Star of the Commander in the Order of the Netherlands Lion. Her Majesty, Queen Sasih is the daughter of her Majesty, Queen Kencana Wungu. After the king's passing, she became Kangjeng Ratu Hamengkubuwana. She is the daughter of His Majesty, the late Sunan Pakubuwana the Eighth who adorns Surakarta, who surpassed his fellow kings and who had the character of an exalted priest. He was famous among the other realms and verily the truly beloved of God. His blessings pass on to his children and grandchildren.



ILL. 371 Babad Pĕrang Dipo Nĕgoro (*Chronicle of the Dipanagara War*). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1892. UBL Cod.Or. 6199, 34 × 21.5 cm., 368 pages, page 1.<sup>12</sup>

11 The corresponding date in the Gregorian calendar cannot be established because the month has not been mentioned.

12 Pigeaud 1967: 167.



### Colophons in Javanese Texts from Java

Javanese colophons differ as much as colophons in manuscript traditions from other places in Indonesia. They may provide all the information about the production of the manuscript we need but often the information is brief indeed. Catalogs of Javanese manuscripts differ in their presentations of colophons and other information concerning time of writing, ownership and the identity of the scribe, unfortunately. It may be that a colophon has been 'hidden' in the opening passages of the manuscript. The information is there but incorporated in the opening stanzas of the text. Ricklefs says that these opening passages are often "notoriously difficult to understand as the authors indulged in bravura displays of obscure literary vocabulary, double meanings and complex constructions."<sup>13</sup> I could not agree more. We will have a look at some colophons below.

The first is a rather typical colophon from Yogyakarta. It only mentions the date of writing in both the Javanese and Gregorian calendars. In this case the dates in both calendars match. It reads as follows:<sup>14</sup>

The story of the king was started on Thursday, the seventh of the month Ramlan in the week Manail in the seventh *mongsa* in the year Ehe with the *candra sangkala*: *sirna* (empty, 0), *rasa* (feeling, 6), *ngesthi* (thinking about, 8) *gusti* (lord, 1), on 6 February with the *candra sangkala*: *nir* (without, 0), *guna* (use, 3), *gandaning* (smell, 9), *jalma* (human person, 1).

<sup>13</sup> Ricklefs 1998: xviii note 1.

<sup>14</sup> "murweng carita sri nata, nuju ri mulya rěspati, ping sapta kang wulan ramlan, kayoggyeng wuku manail, mongsa <sa>pta ta mamarěngi, něnggih ěhe ingkang taun, angkane siněngkalan, sirna rasa ngesthi gusti (in pencil under the line, 1860), pebruwari kaping sat pan siněngkalan, nir guna gandaning jalma" (1931 under the line). AJ 1860 would be expected to be 1929 or 1930. The *candra sangkala* actually says 1930 and not 1931). The corresponding date in the Gregorian Calendar is indeed 6 February 1930.





ILL. 372 Babad Kartasura (*Chronicle of the Realm of Kartasura*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1860 = AD 1930. BBY 1188. 33 × 21 cm., 323 pages, opening pages.

An example of a rather concise colophon at the start of a manuscript is the following. It dates the manuscript in the Muslim year (*Anno Hegirae*, AH), the Gregorian calendar (*Anno Domini*, AD, here called Dutch year), and the Javanese year (*Anno Javanica*, AJ).

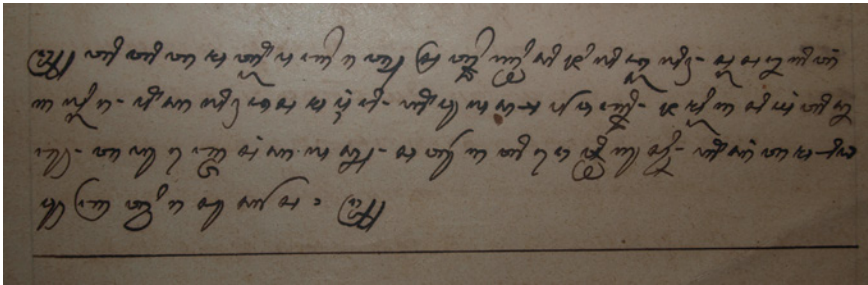
The writing was finished on Monday, 15 Ramadhan in the year Alif, AH 1283, AD 1864, AJ 1794. The person who wrote the manuscript and who signed it is Hasan Dimeja who was 25 years old on the date mentioned above.<sup>15</sup> (PNRI KBG 616-h, *Kitāb Ṭarīkah*).

15 "wis nyerat ing dinten selasa kaping 15 wulan ramadhan tahun alif hijrah nabi duta 1283 londo 1864 jejawi 1794 ingkang nyerat kitab punika sarta ingkang anandani ugi (in latin script added: mas) hasan dimeja pinuju umur 25 tahun titi mangsa ing ngateng punika." (Misbachul Islam 2016: 61).



The following is an example of a short colophon at the end of a Javanese manuscript. It mentions the title of the manuscript and only dates it in the Javanese calendar. The text says:<sup>16</sup>

The writing of the second volume of the *Sĕrat Cĕnthini* (Islamic Encyclopedic Romantic Poem) was finished on Tuesday Lĕgi on the twentieth of the month Sapar at three o'clock in the afternoon in the year Je, with the *candra sangkala*: *catur* (to talk, 4), *ngati* (careful, 5), *ngesthi* (is the intention, 8), *gusti* (Lord, 1) = AJ 1854 = AD 2 October 1923. The assignment was given to Wirasukarsa.



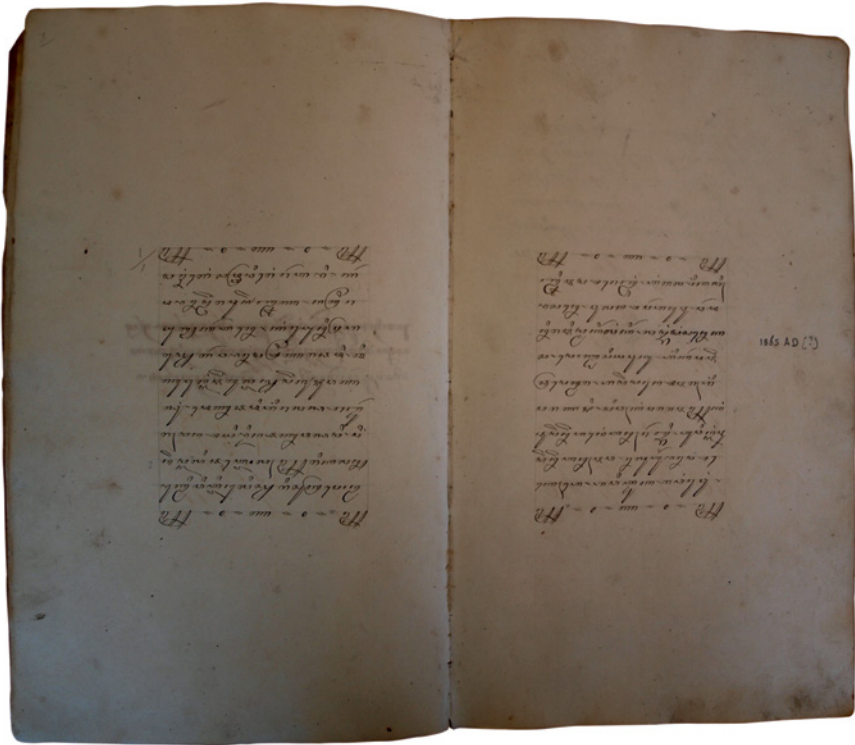
ILL. 373 *Sĕrat Cĕ(n)thini* (Islamic Encyclopedic Romantic Poem). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1854 = AD 1925. PC, 34 × 21.5 cm., 220 pages, last page.

As we have seen above, colophons can be much longer as in the example below of a manuscript owned by Queen Kencana from Yogyakarta. The manuscript is written in a different hand from that of the statement of ownership illustrated below in illustration 394. The start of the text contains an extensive colophon:<sup>17</sup>

- 16 "titi tamating panyĕrat srat cĕnthini jilid kalih, slasa lĕgi tanggalira, ping kalih dasa marĕngi, ing wulan sapar wanci, jam tiga siyang tinabuh, taun je sangkalanya, catur ngati ngesthi gusti. ingkang tampi dhawuh nyrat wirasukarsa." (Private collection).
- 17 "mangrĕnggeng sastradireng artadi, karsa dalĕm jĕng ratu kĕncana, nagri ngayugya-kartane, kang nguyuni pra arum garwa dalĕm sri narapati, sinuwun kangjĕng sultan mĕngkubuwanaung, senapati ingalaga, ngabdulrahman, sayidin panatagama, ping nĕm kalipatulah. ri kalanya duk wiwit tinulis ri sukra pon wanci jam sangenjang, tanggal ping kalih dasane, wulan sapar anuju, warsanira jimakir, lambang mangsane kasa, mondhasiya wuku, ing karsa jĕng prameswara, amĕmangun sajarah ing para nabi, miwah kang para raja. kang jumĕnĕng aneng tanah ngarbi, tuwin kang jumĕnĕng tanah jawa, lĕluhur dalĕm sakehe, awit duk awang-uwung."



Gracing the exalted, beautiful and illustrious literature by the desire of Her Majesty, Queen Kencana in Yogyakarta, taken care of by the ladies-in-waiting of the consort of His Majesty the King, Sultan Hamengkubuwana the sixth, Senapati Ingalaga, Ngabdulrahman, Sayidin, Panatagama, Kalipatulah. The writing was started on Friday Pon at 9 o'clock in the morning of the 20th of the month Sapar in the year Jimakir in the solar month Kasa in the week Mondhasiya.<sup>18</sup> It was Her Majesty's desire to compile the history of the prophets and of the kings who ruled in the land of the Arabs and in the land of Java, all ancestors of His Majesty starting from the time the world was still empty.



ILL. 374 Sayid Anwar (*Tale of Sayid Anwar*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, Central Java, probably dated AD 1865. UBL Cod.Or. 8934.33.5 × 22 cm., 555 pages, opening pages.<sup>19</sup>

The following colophon comes from a Javanese manuscript from a completely different background in Madura. A colophon like this shows the difficulties

<sup>18</sup> I have been unable to establish a date for this manuscript.

<sup>19</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 502.



that sometimes arise in trying to interpret or understand them. It is found in the opening pages of the manuscript and reads as follows:<sup>20</sup>

Kasmaran (the name of the *macapat* meter). The writing was done on Monday Paing at seven o'clock on the twelfth of the month Muharram in the *windu* year Be. The week is Warigagung in the third *mongsa* in the year 1805 with the Javanese *candra sangkala*, *lumaku ejerahe para bujongga* (???). The name of the writer is Kyai Mertaleksana from Kelahonan located in front of the boarding school. He is unemployed but he writes day and night. The writing is a mess and full of erasures and no different from chicken scratches and many lines are wrong. If something is missing, please add to it. If there is something superfluous, please take it out.



ILL. 375 Sĕrat Menak Amir Hamza (*Romance of Menak Amir Hamza*). Javanese, Madura, dated AJ 1805 = AD 1876. Collection Pesantren Peradaban Dunia Jagat 'Arsy in Tangerang Selatan in Banten, 33.5 × 21.5 cm., 232 folio, opening pages.

20 "kasmaran duk tinulis, ing ari sĕnen puniku, paing nĕnggih pĕkĕnane, nuju jam kaping sapta, ing sasi muharam puniku, tanggal kalih wĕlasipun, tumpane tahun be ika. windu perniti kang kaesthi, apan luwih (labuh?) kaping gangsal, warigagung nĕnggih wukune, pinanggih kang titi mongsa, tahun sewu wolung atus gangsal, sĕngkala jawi lumaku, ijĕrahe para bujongga. wĕstanipun kang anulis, kiyahi mĕrtalĕksana, ing kĕlahonan wisma



### *Personal Information in Javanese Colophons*

In the same way as colophons in other writing traditions in Indonesia, Javanese colophons may also contain more information about the scribe and his socio-cultural circumstances, and about the owner of the manuscript or the person who had it made. As stated by Braginsky for the Malay manuscripts he studied, “grief, sorrow, anxiety and other depressive states of the soul” and “turning to writing to dispel these states” are returning elements in these colophons. This is equally true for many Javanese manuscripts.<sup>21</sup> Usually, scribes offer excuses for their lack of writing skills and otherwise denounce themselves as being unworthy for the task (on which more below). An example of this can be seen in the following manuscript from Batang dated in the Gregorian calendar AD 1877.

The text in the illustration, and in the pages that follow it which are not illustrated reads:<sup>22</sup>

The work was completed on Saturday Manis, the 18th of December in the Dutch year 1877. As for the scribe, I am young and foolish, a servant of the Kingdom of Batang who was asked to serve Raden Wiryaatmaja. I am a destitute and pitiable orphan, abandoned by my father and mother and abandoned by all my relatives. I am at my wits' end because I must take care of my little brother.<sup>23</sup> I don't know what to do because I have to take care of my little brother and I am overwhelmed with pity when I see my little brother, as he is still very small so that I have surrendered myself to God. Each day I am destitute and overwhelmed with little to eat and almost no sleep. I try to find ways to amuse my little brother when I

---

*kampungé, kěpěnah sa'hadhapan asrama, ing kurakane (purapen?) punika, datan wonten karyanipun, siyang dalu aněnurat. suratipun borat-barit, pan kadya cinakar sata, ukarane tuna luweh, yen kirang den-wuwuhana langkunge den longana.”*

21 Braginsky 2002.

22 “*duk makirtya ari satu manis, tanggal wolulas něnggih sasinya, dhesemběr taun wlandine, pan sewu wolung atus, pitung dasa sapta kang luwih, aněnggih ingkang nyěrat, tiyang mudha punggung, abdi dalěm prajeng /2/ prajeng batang, pinatědha něnggih iku dadya pekling raden wiryaatmaja. tiyang papa suda kawlasih, kari lola tinilar bu rama, lola lali sakadange, langkung putěk ing kalbu, pan katěmpuh momong ing ari, langkung wělas miyat ing kadang, misih cilik langkung, dadya asrah ing ywang suksma, saběn latri tansah manggung lara brangti, kirang dhahar lan nendra. dadya pinrih pangěněnging ari, pan sinambi kalanya neng wisma, pitěkur tan keksi putěke, ywa kadaluyeng nglangut, pan kinarya lipuring galih, myang wědharing pra kadang, sukaning tyas punggung, pitutur jaman kuna, pinrih wruha lėlakone duk inguni, něnggih ingkang carita.”*

23 I translated ‘ari’ as little brother. However, ‘ari’ can mean both brother(s) and/or sister(s) who are younger than the person who wrote the colophon.



am at home, and I pray that he does not see my quandary and that he is not overwhelmed by my feelings of desolation, and that is why I work on this story from the old days to lighten up the spirit of my little brother, to make him feel better so that he may learn how things were done in the past.'



ILL. 376 Babad Kartasura (*Chronicle of the Realm of Kartasura*). Javanese, Batang, dated AD 1877. UBL KITLV D Or. 259, 33.5 × 14.5 cm., 431 double pages, opening pages.<sup>24</sup>

The following, extensive colophon was made by a Chinese scribe and is an example to show that Chinese calendrical information may also be found in Javanese manuscripts. The text says:<sup>25</sup>

Sugar makes one desirous (reference to the verse meter *dhandhang-gula*). I am of mixed Chinese blood from Mataram and my house is in Kampung Katandhan. I was born in Tugu, here in Mataram. My name

<sup>24</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 835.

<sup>25</sup> Much of the Javanese is difficult to understand and the translation gives the gist of what the scribe may have meant but should not be seen as definitive.





ILL. 377 Sêrat Se Yu (Story of Se Yu). Javanese manuscript with a Chinese background from Yogyakarta, dated AD 1912. First colophon page.





ILL. 378 Sĕrat Se Yu (Story of Se Yu). Javanese manuscript with a Chinese background from Yogyakarta, dated AD 1912. Second colophon page.





ILL. 379 Sĕrat Se Yu (*Story of Se Yu*). Javanese manuscript with a Chinese background from Yogyakarta, dated AD 1912. Collection Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Yogyakarta S 193, 32 × 19 cm., 1800 pages. Third colophon page.

is On Eng Sya. At present I am 55 years old. I wrote this on 26 January with the *candra sangkala toyĕgipun* (? , 2) *janma* (person, 1) *trusing* (going straight through, 9) *bumi* (the earth, 1) = AD 1912. The date in the Chinese year is *Kici Sye*, *Cwo*, *Cyug Wik Je Sijit* and the day is, *krajan bin kog nem taun* (???). The *candra sangkala* of the year is *murti* (embodiment, 8) *yĕkti* (real, 6) *sukci* (pure, 4) *manĕmbah* (to make an obeisance with two



hands, 2).<sup>26</sup> The Javanese date happens to be Friday Manis, the first of the month Rabinulakhir in the year Dal. When the year is calculated the *candra sangkala* is *tēmēn* (true, 2) *slamēt* (safe and sound, 4) *sarira* (8) *satunggal* (1) = AJ 1842 = AD 1912.<sup>27</sup> I would like to state that I never went to a Javanese school and that I can write thanks to God's grace and I learned it only in passing. Therefore (I hope) that when the learned and skilled men or those who are sensitive read and happen upon sentences that are totally wrong they will change the words. I have already said it all before. Chinese characters refer to an error, the name of a person or a village or the name of something else. I state openly that, although I went to school when I was young, it was with uncountable other Chinese (but) I did my best. I was really disappointed because much remained inaccessible and that is the reason that over time my craftsmanship remained insufficient and much to be desired. I have to aspire to emulate the experts but there will be uncountable defects and other errors. However, I would like to ask of you that you will not call me names and such. What I am going to copy is the start of a book in Chinese....<sup>28</sup>

26 I do not understand this *candra sangkala* as the year would be 2468 which does not seem to make much sense.

27 No exact correspondence in dates could be established.

28 “*sri sarkara darpaning pangapti, amba niki pranakan mantaram, kampung katandhan wismane, nguni klairan tugu, ugi nagri mantaram ngriki, amba nama on eng sya. samangkya wus umur sekēt langkung gangsal warsa, wēktu nyērat ping nēm likur januwari, sēngkalane kaetang toyēgipun janma trusing bumi, taun cina nuji kici sye, cwo, cyug wik je sijit arine, krajan bin kog nēm taun, sēngkalane kang warsa murti yēkti sukci manēmbah, jawa kapinuju sukra manis arinira, tanggal pisan wulane rabinulakhir: karērēsan taun dal. bilih ngetang sēngkalaning warsi, tēmēn slamēt sarira satunggal. mangkya amba ngaturake, bilih saestunipun dereng nate sēkolah jawi. sagēdipun manyērat, parmaning hyang agung, muung sangking gēthok tular, marma sagung para sarjana undagi, utawi nawung kridha. bilih maos nuju amgrangguli, kithal langkung dipun kang ukara keguk kau tēmbungane, kawula sampun matur, mratelakēn sagung rumiyin, bilih aksara cina, wontēn ingkang klentu, namaning janma myang desa tuwin malih aranipun samukawis, amba matur prasaja. Nadyan sampun sēkolah ing nguni, nanging dupiturut cina kathah, tanpa wilangan cacache, mong kawulanganipun, gung rukuna kuciwa yēkti, kathah kang tan kasrambah, niku marginipun, ing mongka kagunan amba, muhung lagi blēntang-blēntong tan nyēkapi, sing kapi anrēnging tyas. Kēdah gayuh ngemba pra undhagi, datan ngetang cineda praliyan, wus datan rinatosake, muhung paminta ulun, poma sampun mawi misuhi, tuwin malih punika, kang kawula turun, bibit sangking buku cina.*”



The status of the owner of a manuscript is sometimes given in colophons as well, for example in the following instance of a prince who had a manuscript made by one of his concubines. The opening of the text says:<sup>29</sup>

Kasmaran (reference to the *macapat* meter *asmarandana*). The writing was started on Monday Kaliwon in the morning, the 27th of the month Sura, in the year Alip in the week Kulawu in the third *windu* Kunthara, AJ 1843 (AD 6 January 1913), the week Landëp in the seventh *mangsa*. The work was executed by Raden Ayu Pujaningdyah, a concubine of the prince, Gusti Pangeran Purubaya, Major of the General staff, the younger brother of the Crown prince, .....



ILL. 380 Babad Kartasura (*Chronicle of the Realm of Kartasura*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1843 = AD 1912. Collection Balai Kebudayaan Yogyakarta, 33 × 21 cm., 323 pages, opening pages.

29 "kasmaran wiwit tinulis, ri sēnen kaliwon injang, sura ping pitu likure, alip kulawu kunthara, sewu wolung atus lan, kawan dasa tiganipun, wuku landëp sapta mangsa / nēnggih



The owner of the manuscript illustrated below was apparently proud of his Dutch knighthood – something that is mentioned twice in the manuscript. This is at the start on a separate page and at the end. The text on the separate page at the start and portrayed in illustration 381 reads:

*Sĕrat Prataka* volume III. Owned by Kangjeng Raden Adipati Danureja, Ridder in de Orde van de Nederlandse Leeuw [Knight of the Order of the Netherlands Lion].<sup>30</sup>

The end of the text on the page in illustration 382 on the left says:

The writing was finished in the morning of Saturday Kliwon on the thirteenth of the month Dulkangidah in the *windu* year *Ehe*. The *candra sangkala* is: *tirta* (water, 4) *muluk* (eat, 9) *esthining* (thought, 8) *rat* (world, 1) = AD 1894.<sup>31</sup> The writer is the salaried royal clerk Sastraprawigya.<sup>32</sup>



ILL. 381

*Sĕrat Prataka* (*Romance of Jaka Prataka*, vol. III). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AD 1894. PDS H.B. Jassin 899 221 091 Pra S, 33 × 20.2 cm., 468 pages, page 2.

*kang karya muryani, raden ayu pujaningdyah, garwa paminggir sang sinom, gusti pangran purubaya, mayor jindralen sĕtap, rayi dalĕm krunpris, ....*"

30 "sĕrat prataka jilid kaping, 3, kagunganipun kangjĕng raden adipati danurĕja ridĕr dhĕ ordhĕ fan dhĕ nedĕrlansĕ leyo."

31 Again no agreement with the dates can be established. Saturday Kliwon 13 Dulkangidah would fall in the year AD 1891 rather than 1894.

32 "panduryaning gita titi, ketrĕg-katrakgan tuladha, katandhan tapak astane sang mantri wasesatama, dipati danurĕja ridĕr sangking ordĕ lĕyu, nedĕrlan ngayugyakarta / enjing rampung ing panulis, tumpak kliwon lek tri wĕlas, dulkangidah warsa ĕhe, tirta muluk esthining rat, dene ingkang anurat abdālĕm gajĕyan jurutulis pun sastraprawigya".

















Jaarboek 1933 between pages 234 and 235. The manuscript was presented to the then library of the Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen – now National Library of Indonesia – by Sultan Hamengkubuwana VIII of Yogyakarta. Both pages were included in Kumar and McGlynn 1996: 194. Only the page in Javanese script was included in Sumekar, Rachmananta and Noegraha 1999: 68.



Of course, the Sultan of Yogyakarta or any of the other rulers of Central Java were also endowed with decorations from abroad as in the example of a colophon at the start of a manuscript from Yogyakarta inscribed in 1932. It is included twice in the manuscript, once in Latin script and once in Javanese script. The text reads as follows:<sup>34</sup>

Started at the command of His Serene Majesty Sultan Hamengkubuwana Senapati Ingalaga Ngabdurrahman Sayiddin Panatagama Kalifatullah the Eighth, Commander in the Order of the Netherlands Lion, Grand Officer in the Order of Orange Nassau, Grand Cross of the House Order of Mecklenburg of the Wendish Crown, Grand Cross in the Order of Cambodia, Grand Officer in the Order of the Crown of Siam, Grand Officer in the Order of Leopold II of Belgium, Grand Cross in the Order of the Black Star of Benin, Major General in the Army of Her Majesty the Queen of the Netherlands, who adorns the Palace of Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat.

At the wish of His Serene Majesty (this is) the Pakem Wirama Wileting Gendhing Pradangga Laras Slendra or Pelog, written by Raden Tumenggung Kertanegara, the princely leader of the palace musicians and Chief Wadana Bumija in Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat.

It was started in the year Alip, AJ 1819 = AD 1889.

Initially, it was intended to preserve the correct way of playing the Wilet Gending of Mataram of the old days.

It was compiled by Raden Tumenggung Wiraguna, the princely leader of the heads (*patih*) in the departments of the Crown Prince in Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat assisted by the following royal palace officers and the head of the musicians in the Palace of Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat:

1. Mas Lurah Brangtamara
2. Den Lurah Puspakanthi

34 *"awit saking dhawuh timbalan dalèm sampeyan dalèm ingkang sinuwun, kangjèng sultan hamengkubuwana, senapati ingalaga, ngabdurrahman sayiddin panatagama, kalifatullah ingkang jumènnèng kaping 8, komandur in dhè ordhè pan dhè nedhèrlansèn leyo, grud oppisir dher ordhè pan oranyè nassau, grudkris dher mekkèlènburehsè hissordhè pan dhè wendisè krun, grudkris dher ordhè pan kamboja, grud oppisir dher ordhè pan dhè krun pan siyam, grud oppisir dher ordhè pan leyopol II pan belgi, grudkris in dhè ordhè pan dhen swartèn sètar pan benin, jendral mayor ring wadya balanipun kangjèng sri maharaja putri ing nedhèrlan, ingkang angrènggani kadhaton nagari ing ngayogyakarta adiningrat. kakarsakakèn yasa kagungan dalèm sèrat pakèm wirama wilèting gèndhing pradangga laras surendro utawi pelog, anggitanipun kangjèng raden tumènggung kèrtanègara, bupati*



3. Mas Panewu Demang Angon Gendhing
4. Raden Lurah Bakar Layar

after having obtained the permission of his father: Kangjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Mangkubumi, Officer in the Order of Orange Nassau, Officer in the Order of the Crown of Siam, Lieutenant Colonel in the General Staff and Adjutant of the Wise Lord, the Governor General of the Netherlands Indies in Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat, the son of His Serene Majesty Sultan Hamengkubuwana the sixth in Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat and at the express wish of His Serene Majesty Sultan Hamengkubuwana the seventh in Ngayogyakarta Adiningrat.

Written on Tuesday Kliwon, the 24th of the month Mukaram in the year Dal, 1863 or 31 May 1932.”

### Colophons in Old and Middle Javanese Texts

Colophons in Old Javanese texts were added at the end of the text in many but by no means all manuscripts.<sup>35</sup> There seems to be no clear reason why some manuscripts do, or do not, contain colophons. These colophons usually present the dating information in a standardized way, starting with the days on which they were written followed by the *wuku* week, the month, and end in the Śaka year. After this other information may follow which may include the apologies of the scribe for his poor performance and other information about

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*nyaka lurah wadana bumija, ing nagari ngayogyakarta adiningrat. kala amurwani ing salēbētipun warsa alip, 1819, utawi warsa mēsehi: 1889. ing pangangkah murih botēn kecalan larah bakuning wilēt gēnding mēntawis ingkang kina-kina. kaimpun dening ingkang rayi kangjēng raden tumēnggung wiraguna, bupati papatih ing kadipaten anom ing nagari ngayogyakarta adiningrat, nganthi abdi dalēm lurah saha panewu wiyaga ing kadhaton ngayogyakarta adiningrat: 1: mas lurah brongtamara, 2: den lurah puspakanthi, 3: mas panewu dēmang angon gēndhing, 4: raden lurah bakar layar, sampun kaiden ingkang rama: kangjēng gusti pangeran adipati mangkubumi, oppisir dher ordhē pan oranyē nas-sau, oppisir dher ordhē pan dhē krun pan siyam, litnan kolunel bei dēn generalēn sētap, saha ajidanipun kangjēng turwan ingkang wicaksana gupērnur general ing indiya nedērlan ingkang sinasriya ing nagari ngayogyakarta adiningrat. putra dalēm sampeyan dalēm ingkang sinuhun kangjēng sultan hamēngkubuwana, ingkang jumēnēng kaping 6, ing nagari ngayogyakarta adiningrat, saha sampun tērang karsa dalēm sampeyan dalēm ingkang sinuhun kangjēng sultan hamēngkubuwana, ingkang jumēnēng kaping 7: ing nagari ngayogyakarta adiningrat. sinērat ing dintēn slasa kliwon tanggal kaping, 24, wulan mukaram, tahun dal, onka 1863 utawi tanggal kaping: 31: wulan mei, tahun onka: 1932.”*

35 Many colophons in Balinese and Old Javanese may be found in Brandes 1901–1926.



the scribe and the circumstances under which the work was done. Below a number of examples follow that will illustrate these points.

A rather recent colophon of an Old Javanese *kakawin* text is the following from a *lontar* manuscript of the *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha* and written as late as 1969 in Ampenan, West Lombok:

Thus is the Bhāratayuddha story, the apparent treachery of Bhīṣma, the defeat of Karṇa, the end of the Śalyawādacarita. The copying was finished by I Gde Puji coinciding with the inauguration ceremony of, and followed the next day by the Pujawali offering at Pura Sagara in Ampenan, on the day Śaniscara (Saturday) Wage, in the week Kulantir on the fifteenth of the full moon in the month Jestha in the Śaka year 1891 (= AD 1969). The owner of this *lontar* manuscript is Dewa Komang Bles from the western rice paddies in the village of Jagaraga.<sup>36</sup>

PRIVATE COLLECTION TOENGGGOEL SIAGIAN, JAKARTA

The colophon thus provides information about the title of the work, the copyist and the occasion when it was produced, as well as information about the time of copying and the ownership of the *lontar* manuscript. Colophons can also be dramatically shorter, for example the one that was written at the end of a copy of the *Kakawin Smaradahana* more than a century earlier:

The inscription was finished in Harsawati, by Sangha Patra in the month Jyeṣṭha on the day Pahing Radite (Sunday) in the week Ugu on the eleventh of the tenth month in the Śaka year 1773 (= 1851 AD).<sup>37</sup> (*Kakawin Smaradahana*. Private collection) (Note that the sequence of the days is different and starts with the *pasaran* day rather than the day in the seven-day week).

PRIVATE COLLECTION

Some colophons contain more information such as for whom the manuscript was made as well as what standing that person had in society. As in the colophon added to the Javanese *Sērat Prataka* above, the position of the owner in

36 “*iti bhāratayudda sangkaṭa, bhīṣma droha niyata, karṇa parajaya, puput śālyawādacarita. tlas tinurūn ūlih i gde puji, tpēt ri kāla pamlasas, maturūt raris sane beñjang, pūjā wali pura sāgara ring ampēnan, ring rahinā, śa, wa, wara kulantir, titi, tang, 15, pūrṇamaning śaśih, jyeṣṭha, i śakā, 1891. pustaka rontal iki druwen dewa komang bles, ring carik kawuh, deśa jagarāga.*”

37 “*puput sinurat, ring harsawati, de sangha patra jyeṣṭha sarason, dawēg ring dinā, pa, ra, wara ugu, tanggal, ping, 11, śaśih kadaśa, i śaka, 1773.*”



the Dutch social order was emphasised here as well. Often excuses are added for mistakes or for letters that were not written properly. See for instance the colophon that was added to a *lontar* of the *Kakawin Pārthayaṇa Subhadrāwīwāha* (Pārtha's Quest and Subhadrā's Marriage) of AD 1929:

Thus is the kakawin Pārthayaṇa Subhadrāwīwāha. The copying was completed by Huruju Tantra from the sima of Bungkulan living in the bañjar of Liligundi in Buleleng, on the day Radite (Sunday) Kliwon, in the week Tohu, on the seventh day of the waning moon of the ninth month in the Śaka year 1850 (= 3 March 1929), on the order of the Noble Potraka Jlantik of Puri Kawan, Singaraja, who sits as a member of the Council of Rulers. Please excuse the poor form of the letters. May they be accepted by those who are expert in all knowledge. May they receive it, for it is the work of one who is extremely poor and without sustenance.<sup>38</sup>

Personal exhortations of the incapacity of the scribe were, at times, dramatically longer. See for instance the colophon added to a copy of the *Kakawin Sumanasāntaka*:

This is the kakawin Sumanasāntaka. One by the name of Arya Wala Wiśeṣa of Paśuprabhu (= Singaraja) completed the copy on Candra (Monday)-Pahing, in the week Manahil, on the tenth day of the waxing moon, in the tenth month, units: 3, tens: 5, in the Śaka year of 1853 (= 30 March 1931). Please excuse the poor form of the letters, because of lack of attention to them. They are the work of one who has no merit, lacks any knowledge of literature, is exceedingly lowly, miserable and in a woeful state, weighed down by great unhappiness. It is beyond belief how trouble and despair has come to him. Crushed, broken and shattered, his mind is overwhelmed by darkness. This is why he too copies the Holy Lore, as a comfort for the sadness of his heart, and in the hope that he may find a little happiness in his own mind, and especially for those who are kind enough to read his work. May they find long life, perfect peace,

38 "Iti lāmbang Pārthayaṇa Subhadrāwīwāha puput linikit de Huruju Tantra, mula ning śima Bungkulan, hakuwu ring Bañjar Liligundi, deśa Buleleng, duk ring dinā Ra, Ka, wara, Tolu, tithi, pang, ping, 7 śaśih, ka 9 i śaka 1850, dangke suruhan ira Ki Hāryya Potraka Jlantik ring Puri Kawuhan, Singhārāja, lid rad Krēṭta pwānggēh ira. Nghing hantusakēna wirūpa ning ākṣarēki, malar śraddha nira sang prajñēng walawidhyā hangāmpunana sotan ning gawe nira sang kawēkas ing daridra halpa haraka." Creese 1998: 14. For her edition, Creese used a photocopy of a *lontar* that was transcribed for the Proyek Tik in the Gedong Kirtya in 1979 but it is not clear if it was indeed part of the Gedong Kirtya collection.



and be blessed. Ong gmum, homage to Gaṇapati! Ong, homage at the feet of the illustrious Teacher! Ong, homage to Saraswatī, may it succeed! Hail!<sup>39</sup>

COLLECTION GEDONG KIRTYA K 612/IVB

### Colophons Added to Colophons

Sometimes a colophon was added to a manuscript that already had one in place. For example, The *Kakawin Rāmāwijaya* in the collection of the Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan Provinsi Bali has two colophons. The first says:

The writing was finished on Wage, Radite (Sunday), in the week Landep, in the seventh month, units, 2, tens, 1, in the Śaka year 1812 (= 9 January 1890). This *lontar* is now in the possession of Ida I Gusti Putu Jlantik, the itinerant *punggawa* in Singaraja who obtained it in Denpasar when he accompanied the Dutch troops when they attacked the world, in Badung because of which the palaces of Denpasar and Pamecutan were abandoned. on the day Wrehaspati (Thursday), Kaliwon, in the week Ukir, the first of the fourth month in the Śaka year 1828, in the Dutch year 20 September 1906.<sup>40</sup>

COLLECTION PUSAT DOKUMENTASI DINAS KEBUDAYAAN PROVINSI BALI

- 39 "iti kakawin sumanasāntaka, paścat liṅkit ring we, cā, pa, wara manahil, tang, ping, 10, śaśih, ka, 10, rah, 3, tēng, 5 i śaka, 1853, holih kang hapanlah ki aryya wala wiśeṣa, sthaneng paśuprabhu, ndan paryyantusakna wirupa ning akṣarā wet ning kurang kawotnua, bap kaw nang, mwan hamalanṅting, hapan holiṅ ing wiguṇālpasastra, hantyaṅta niṣṭura, papā kajantakā, duha mahābhara, lwir tan wring rāt, hunggwanyā panmu sāangsarepuh, syuh sirṇna nanā, kadēdētan twas, palar-palār hamanggiḥ swasta ning swacittā matra, makan-guni sang seccā hamacā, mogha hamanggiḥ dirgayuṣā, paripūrṇna, wastu. ong, gmum gānāḍipataye ya namah, ongśri gurūpadukebyo namah, ong saraśwatye namah śwaha, ong sidḍir astu, tat astu, swāa." Worsley, Supomo, Hunter and Fletcher 2013:526–527.
- 40 "wus sinurat ring dina, wa, ra, wara laṅḍēp, titi, pang, ping, 6, śaśi, ka, 7, rah, 2, tē, 1, i śaka 1812. antusakna wirūpaning akṣareki, olihing kadi girna, kang anurat padanda wadhahan gelgel."

The second colophon, written in another hand, reads:

"sakadi mangkin lontar puniki kadruwe antuk ida i gusti putu jlantik, punggawa jawikuṭa ring singharaja. kakniyang ring denpasar, sadawēg ida i gusti ngiring kumpni olanda, nglurug jagate. ring badung, + duk ring dinā, wra, ka, wara ukir, titi, tang, 1, śaśih, ka, 4, i śaka, 1828. tawun walanda, 20 september 1906. + māwana kawon purine ring denpasar, mwah pamcutthan." *Kakawin Rāmāwijaya* (Rāma's Victory), 3.5 × 47.5 cm., 81 leaves. See: <https://archive.org/stream/kakawin-rama-wijaya/kakawin-rama-wijaya-250ppi#page/no/mode/1up>.



These colophons are of interest because they tell of the time of writing of the manuscript and of the time it subsequently entered the collection of I Gusti Putu Jlantik from Singaraja who obtained it on the day of the infamous *puputan Badung* (ritual mass suicide of the entire royal family and its retainers at the hands of the enemy indicating the final demise of a royal dynasty)<sup>41</sup> on 20 September 1906 when almost all inhabitants of the palaces of the Denpasar and Pamecutan dynasties met their deaths.<sup>42</sup>

### Personal and General Information in Balinese Colophons

Often colophons contain information about the person of the scribe or author or about important events that took place when the manuscript was made. Raechelle Rubinstein has given some beautiful examples of this kind of information in *lontar* manuscripts made by Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen. She mentions the following:

The colophon of the *Batur Kalawasan* (Balinese Cosmogony, History, and so on) which he copied in 1963 illustrates this. It mentions the dramatic eruption of Mt. Agung in 1963, which was unconnected with the contents of that *lontar*.

In the eighth month ... Mt. Agung erupted, issuing fire and raining ash, which has continued up until dark moon of the ninth month. The mountain still spews fire together with a flood of lava. There has been no rain. The sun has not been visible for one month. There is no end to it in sight.<sup>43</sup>

And

Similarly, in the colophon of the *Pūjā Pañambutan* which he copied in 1965, he mentioned not only the political uproar that engulfed Bali at the time, but also the eruption of Mt. Agung in 1963 which he believed foreshadowed the events of 1965. Again, there is no obvious connection between the content of that *lontar* and those events:

41 Van der Meij 2015: 122.

42 On the *puputan*, see Creese, Darma Putra and Schulte Nordholt (eds.) 2006.

43 “Duk sasih, 8 ... *Gunung Hagung malētus mēdal hagni, ngadakang hudan hawu, katēkeng tilēm kasanga kari gunungge mēdal hagni, maduluran ěmbah linēt, tan pahudan, tan kantĕn sūrya wahu hasasih, durung kantĕn panguwusane.*”



Copied by Sang Gede Made Sidemen ... in the saka year ... 1887 [1965]. Mt. Agung erupted expelling fire and ash-rain mixed with rocks ... in the saka year 1885 [1963]. In 1887 [1965] the country is in uproar because of the political parties. During the period following full moon of the fourth month until dark moon of the fifth month, there was a smouldering star in the sky just before daybreak, due east. On full moon in the fifth month, the estuary flooded, bursting the banks, sweeping two rocks down to the sea at Intaran; they were the size of dwellings.”<sup>44</sup>

Another interesting colophon is the following from a manuscript of the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*. It explicitly states that making this manuscript was an exercise.

This is the *Rāmāyaṇa*, written in Nusa Mimbā (Intaran, Sanur) on the day *Wrēhaspati* (Thursday), Paing, in the week Tambir, the dark half of the lunar month, the fourth of the fourth month, units 4, tens, 4, in the Śaka year 1844 (= AD 1922). It was a good day to make this manuscript. This *lon-tar* is an exercise to learn how to write. It is owned by Griya Toko, south of the market. The writing was done haphazardly and there are many mistakes as it was made by a person who is still wet behind his ears but who does his best to experience and understand so please understand this. After I had finished writing this very useful hereditary religious advice for the community, my teacher gave me the name Sang Gde Toka in the Griya Toko south of the market. [Śaka] 1857 (= AD 1935).<sup>45</sup>

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- 44 “*Sinurat de Sang Gēde Made Sidēmēn ... kala isaka .. 1887. Malētus Gunung Agung mēdal hagni, hudan hawu mawor watu ... isaka, 1884. Isaka 1887, rijēk jagate hantuk pārthe. Pang, sasih, kapat, tēkeng, tang, ka, 5, bintang kukus ring hambara meh rahina bēñer kangin. Ring pūrṇama kalima, gēntuh pasaning sāgara, hangrubuhakēn pinggir, ngilyakēn watu kaka-lih, ring sāgara Hintaran, kadi kubu göngnya.*” Rubinstein 1996b: 186–187.
- 45 “*iti rāmāyaṇa samāpta, asinurat ing nusa mimbā, ring dinā, wrē, pa, wara tambir, kṛṣṇapāksa, ping 4, śasīh, ka, 4, rah 4, tēng, 4, i śaka, 1844, irika, diwaśaning puṣṭaka, tlas lisīng kita, rontal iki paplajahan, drēwen gya toko, lod pasar, nghing akṣara cacahan, kweh kawnanang, pakaryyan de wuruju jambe, sirahyuni wacawacan, nghing akṣamākna. wus anurat puniki tumutur adhiksākrama, mwah sinungan parab de sang guru, bhibhiṣeka sang gde toka, ring griya toko, lod pasar. 1857.*” See: <https://archive.org/stream/kakawin-ramayana/kakawin-ramayana-25oppi#page/n229/mode/1up>, 229 leaves, no information available about measurements.



Other information which prompts a question as to why it should be in a colophon is for instance found in the colophon of ms. D Teeuw and Robson used for their edition of the *Kakawin Bhomāntaka*:

Thus is the Bhomantakā which took a long time in writing. The writing was finished on the day Wrēhaspati (Thursday) Pahing in the week Pujut on the fifteenth of the new moon, units 7, tens 2 in the Śaka year 1817. It was written by Sang Boman Gede who lives in Sindu on the way to Pasangidan, north of the river who married a wife of lower rank named Jro Tusan. Forgive the letters because I killed many of them with double vowels since I made many mistakes due to my many imperfections.<sup>46</sup>

COLLECTION LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY COD.OR. 22.718

At first glance, the information that the copyist, Sang Boman Gede, married a wife of lower status might seem insignificant and one would wonder why the scribe saw fit to include it. It may however be of great significance and point to the fact that 1. The scribe was brave enough to admit he had married down and 2. that it had no impact on the literary activities in which he was subsequently allowed to indulge. Teeuw and Robson are right to point out that this information is remarkable, but just how remarkable would be interesting to investigate.

### Changes in Colophons Over Time

That colophons are still added to modern copies of *lontar* manuscripts in Bali is attested by the following example of a colophon added to the *Tutur Bhamakrētiḥ* (Rituals Related to Earth) which was copied in 2008. It shows at the same time new elements that scribes started to include in modern colophons such as modern administrative regional units.

Thus is the *Tutur Bhamakrētiḥ*. The original was written in the Griya Pidada in Sidemen, Kabupaten Karangasem, Bali. The writing was

46 "Iti Bhomantakā / samapta / patambakhe pungkuran / puput sunurat ring dinā / Wā / Pā / wara Pūjūt / tētē / tang / ping 15 / śaṣih 1. [?] / rah / 7 / tēnggĕk 2 / i śaka 1817 / kasurat olih sang Boman Gĕḍe / Lume sing Sindu / hanuju ring Pasangidan / baler tukad ning / pangambil rabine panāwing sane mawaṣṭa Jro Tusan / ampura hugi sastra hiki / akeh maḍēm kalih magantung makādi sāsar pinurune / apan holih ing tambĕt //" Teeuw and Robson 2005: 17. My translation. Something is wrong here. According to the *rah* and the *tēnggĕk* the year should be Śaka 1827.



finished on 6 August, approaching the date of independence. This *lontar* was written by I Wayan Samba from the Banjar Kubuanyar in the village of Kubutambahan in the sub district of Kubutambahan, second level administrative region, Buleleng, Singaraja. Post box 81972. The writing was finished on the day Śaniscara (Sunday) Pon in the week Tambir on the fourteenth of the sixth month in the Śaka year 1912 (AD 1990). The person who copied it was I Ketut Sengod from Banjar Murka in the village Aan in Pidpid, sub district Anyar in the Regency of Karangasem. The copying was finished on the day Śukra (Friday) Pon in the week Prangbakat, the first waning moon in the fifth month. Units 0 tens 3 in the Śaka year 1930 (AD 2008). Excuse the work of one who is ignorant and deficient in letters.<sup>47</sup>

COLLECTION PARISADA HINDU INDONESIA NO. 4

It would indeed seem that later manuscripts are more elaborate in the way they mention the exact location where they were copied, the place from where their scribes originated and where they worked. Another instance is Teeuw and Robson<sup>48</sup> who included in their edition of the text the Balinese colophon of a late copy of the *Kakawin Bhomāntaka*:

The writing was finished on the day Wrehaspati (Thursday) Pon, in the week Landep during the full moon in the sixth month in the Śaka year 1914, 1 December 1992 by I Wayan Getas who lives north of the Mangsul market in the village Tista, Babang District in the Regency of Karangasem. I beg the reader's forgiveness because the script is ugly, many letters are in the wrong place and the distribution of long and short syllables is inaccurate while letters hang in the wrong place because of my ignorance in writing.<sup>49</sup>

COLLECTION LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY COD.OR. 23.756

47 "tutur bhamakrētiḥ samāpta. ina puniki puput kasurat ring griya piḍaḍa, sidēmēn, kabupaten karangasēm, bali. puput duk ring tanggal, 6, agustus, yusaning / bhuwana. sane nulis lontar puniki i wayan sambha, saking banjar kubuañar, deśa kubutambahan, kacamatan kubutambahan, daerah tingkat, 2, buleleng, sangaraja, kotak pos 81972. puput ring rahina, śa, pwa, wara tambir, śaśih, 6, ping, 14, i śaka, 1912. sane / nēdunin, i ktut sengod, saking banjar murka deśa an pidpid, kacamatan anyar, kabupaten karangasēm. puput sinurat ring dina, śu, pwa, wara / 81b / prangbakat, titi, pang, ping, 1, śaśih kalima, rah, o, tēnggēk, 3, i śaka warsa, 1930. nghing ksamakēna mudhālpa śastra."

48 Teeuw and Robson 2005: 17.

49 "Puput sinurat dina / Wrē / Pwa, wara Landēp / pūrṇama ning śaśih kanēm / i śaka 1914 / tanggal masehi / 1 Desembēr 1992 / holih I Wayan Gētas / magēnah ring nglod pasar mangsul / Desa Tiṣṭa Kacamatan Babang Kabupaten Karangasēm / nanghing nunagōng ampura ring sang amawos / wirūpa ning akṣara katah sane bañḍung kalikawēnan / tuna lēwih



The scribe thus lived in East Bali, in the village of Tista, district of Babang in the Regency of Karangasem. Because the colophon mentions the modern Indonesian administrative units district (*kecamatan*) and regency (*kabupaten*) it can already be dated as recent because these elaborate administrative distinctions were made after Indonesia became independent. This manuscript was written in 1992, as it says, but even if the year had not been included we would still have valuable dating information. The following colophon from a manuscript of the *Kakawin Gajah Mada* records the date according to the Gregorian calendar but also by means of a *candra sangkala* which is not often used to indicate a year in this calendar. The fact that the Udayana University is stated as its owner also points to a late date:

Thus is the Kakawin Gajah Mada. The writing was finished in *ngwe śiwa wudhaha matal* = 1691 = 1961. The writing was finished in February 1961. Written by the Brahmana in Griya Tegeh Bindu. The manuscript is owned by the Faculty of Literature of Udayana.<sup>50</sup>

COLLECTION PUSAT KAJIAN LONTAR, UDAYANA UNIVERSITY, DENPASAR,  
KEROPAK 136 NO. 135

Later colophons indeed tend no longer to use the Śaka year but rather the Gregorian calendar. This use of the Gregorian calendar may also have been a personal preference of that house. For instance in the Middle Javanese *Kidung Tantri Piśācaraṇa* (Fables with Corpse-devouring Demons) which was copied in the same *griya* as the *Kakawin Gajah Mada* above we read:

Thus is the Piśācaraṇa, the apex of the implementation of the sacred tradition of veneration. The writing was completed in the Griya Tegeh Bindu, Kasiman by a person by the name of Ida Bagus Gde Su, on the day Śaniscara (Saturday) Pahing, in the week Klawu in AD 1964.<sup>51</sup>

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*gurūlagu/ miwah pasang keh gumantung/ hantuk katambētan tityang anurat//*" Teeuw and Robson 2005: 17. My translation.

50 "Iti Kakawin Gajah Madhā samaptā. Suda cinitra rikang ngwe śiwa wudaha, matal, tanggal, tahun masehi, Pēbroari, 1961. Kinurat dērā sang Brahmāṇṇa Astana ring Griya Tgeh Bindu. Druwēn Pakultas Sastra Udhayanṇa." Riana 2010: 4.

51 "Iti Piśācaraṇa wkas ing krētāgama pūja samāpta. Puput katulis ring griya tgēh bindu kasi-man de sang aparab iddha bagus gdhe su, ring dinā, śa, pa, klawu, tang, tahun masehi 1964." Suarka 2007: 172.



### Colophons in Balinese Manuscripts in Balinese

Not surprisingly, colophons in Balinese texts are as varied as those in manuscripts in other languages. They are usually found at the end of the text. Although information about the completion of the inscription of the *lontar* is included, no mention of the year is found in the colophon of this manuscript of the *Japatwan* (Didactic Religious Poem from Bali):

The writing was finished on the day Sukra (Friday) Paing, in the week Mrakih on the fourth. My name is I Wayan Tokolan. Many of my letters are awful. Anyone who is old enough to read this *lontar*, make it sound better and please add to it what is lacking, I just learned it and my letters are awful.<sup>52</sup>

PRIVATE COLLECTION

However, a colophon that does mention the year may run as follows:

Thus is the Putru. The owner is Ida Padanda Istri Made Laktik from Griya Seksari. It was finished in the Śaka year 1864 (= 1942). It was copied from the person whose name is Sri Arya Citrasurya in the Asrama in Iswatirttha, located at the crossroads. However, my writing is exceedingly bad because much does not look the way it should because it is made by one who still does not know how to write because s/he is just learning.”<sup>53</sup>

PRIVATE COLLECTION

Balinese colophons may also be added to Old Javanese texts, as the following makes clear.

52 “puput sinurat ring dinā, śu, pa, wara mrakih, pananggal, 4, tityang mawasta i wayan tokolan, tastra tityang aké tuna liwat, sapa sira yusa maca lontar puniki, énakin, ngwanguhuhin, tityang wawu mlajah, tastran tityang klintang buricak.”

53 “iti putru samapta, druwen ida padanda istri madé jlanṭik, ring grya sēksari. paścat ri /39a/ śakā nunggal uluning sad catūr, tinirun de kang adwaja, śryārjja citrasūryya, aśrameng iswatirttha, agneng ya ning catuspata, anghing paryantusakna wirūpaning akṣara, tuna lēwihnya, bap kaw nang akweh malanting, apan olīh ing wimūdal paśastra, wahwa jarajar.”





ILL. 384 Kakawin Arjunawiwāha (*Arjuna's Marriage*). Old Javanese, Bali, undated. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 069/BPB/Vb/91, 3.5 × 43.2 cm., 58 inscribed leaves.

The colophon reads:

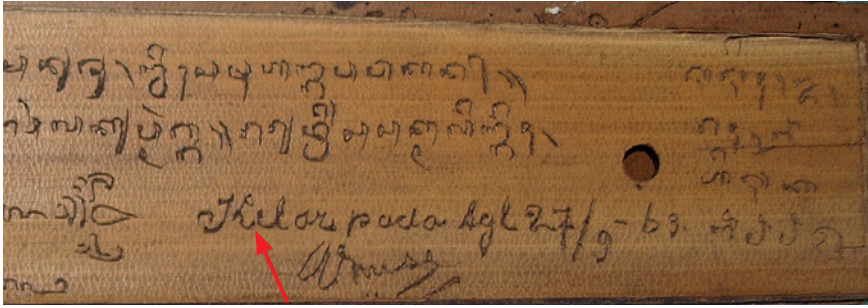
Thus is the Arjuna Wiwāha, the writing was finished on the day Wrehaspati (Thursday) Wage, in the week Sungsang, the 10th month whose character resembles that of the seventh month, tenths 10, in the *windu* Sañcaya. It was written by Ida Bagus Gde Kancana who lives in Griya Gunungwati, in Banjar Tengah, Desa and sub-district Blahbatuh, in the region Gianyar. It was bought by Ida Bagus Made Nadra of the Griya Gde Tegallinggah, Bedahulu, Gianyar.<sup>54</sup>

COLLECTION BALAI BAHASA PROVINSI BALI, DENPASAR 069/BPB/VB/91

Later, colophons, or at least information on the date of writing, in Latin script and according to the Gregorian calendar beside dating information in Balinese in Balinese script is attested by the example below. The text at the end of the Latin script reads: *Kelar pada tanggal 27/9/1963* (Ready on 29 September 1963, using the Dutch loan word '*klaar*.' The text in Balinese script on the right-hand side reads *śaśih, 3, rah, 1, i Śaka 1885* (Third month, 1 rah in the *Śaka* year 1885 = 27/9/1963). The manuscript was thus made after the massive eruption of Mount Agung (also named Gunung Tolangkir) in 1963. Unfortunately, the signature is illegible. Also here there is confusion with the rah which is 1 but this does not return in the year.

54 "iti yārunāwīwāhā samaptā, puput sinurāt, ring, dinā, wrē, wā, warā / sungsang, śaśih, ka, 10, nguña, ka, 7, rah, 10, windū sañcaya. Iti śinurat olih, ida bagus gde kañcānā, magnah ring gīriyā gunungwathi, banjar tngah /, deśa miwah punggawā, blahbatuh, wawangkwan [n] agara gyañyar. katumbas ring ida bagus made nadra, griya gde tgallinggah, bduhu, gyañyar."





ILL. 385 Kakawyan Lētusan Gunung Tolangkir (*Song of the Eruption of Mount Tolangkir*). Balinese, Bali, dated 27-9-1963. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali 070/BPB/IIIb/91, 3.6 × 45.8 cm., 31 leaves, leaf 31b.

### Colophons in Sasak and Javanese Manuscripts from Lombok

Javanese texts from Lombok may also contain information about the reason the manuscript came into being. For instance in the following manuscript of the *Puspakrama*. It is dated in *Anno Hegirae* – the Hijrah, Islamic year – but the year is called *saka* referring to the Hindu calendar. It ends as follows:

Time of writing: Saturday, 13 Jumadilawal, in the year 1363 (6 May, 1944). The text was written by Grandfather Nutri in the village of Obel-Obel. The occasion for writing this manuscript was a *selamatan* (ritual communal meal) for his water buffalo(s). As a note: the (original) manuscript was written by Ama' Kertaji from the village of Obel-Obel, the Kyai of Obel-Obel.<sup>55</sup>

COLLECTION LEIDEN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY COD.OR. 22.474

Some colophons in Lombok are rather complete, others extremely short. Many colophons are provided at the start and/or at the end of the manuscript. A clear and complete colophon in Javanese that uses two calendrical systems was added to the song of the boy *Ta Mēlak Mangan* (The Boy who Loved to Eat), which was written in the local Sasak language. It runs as follows:

55 "Duk puput sinurat / jlo saptu / tanggal 13 / jumadilawal / i saka / 1363 / surat puniki ta gaduh isi' pupu' nutri / lé' désa / Obel-Obel / guna tulininé / jari semangetan ko'nya. Tanda pringetan sijaripiya' surat / orot Ama' Kretaji / lé' désa Obel-Obel / kyayi Obel-Obel." Van der Meij 2002: 162–163.



This lontar was copied from the one owned by Ama' Jumilan from the hamlet of Tēpas in the village of Praya. The writing was finished on the day Monday Kliwon, the 21st of Rajab in the Hijrah year 1348, or 23 December 1929. It was written by Bapaq Su'eb in the hamlet Sundil in the village of Praya.

COLLECTION GEDONG KIRTYA, VB. 430<sup>56</sup>

Mr. Sueb from Praya was apparently a person who was an enthusiast copyist of *lontar* manuscripts, vide the following two colophons. The first was added to a text Marrison calls *Piagem Batu Tulis*. Both the Śaka year and the date in the Gregorian calendar – written in Dutch! – are mentioned. It runs as follows:

The writing was finished on the day Sukra (Friday) Kliwon, in the third week, the first of the fifth month, units 2, tens 5, I Śaka 1852. It is the work of Bapaq Sueb from Abiyantubuh, Sundil, in the village of Praya. Praya, 28 March 1930. The person who collected the copy is the clerk of the Sedahan Agung.”<sup>57</sup>

COLLECTION GEDONG KIRTYA K. 10.108

The second is mentioned at the end of a text called *Asěrak*, an episode of the Islamic romantic *Sěrat Menak Amir Hamza* cycle in verse:

This takepan was copied from a *lontar* owned by Ama from Hasan Montong in the village of Ranggagata in the district of Praya. It was copied by Mr. Sueb who is from the shelter in the rice field of Mantung in the village of Praya. The writing was finished on the date 13 June 1930.<sup>58</sup>

COLLECTION GEDONG KIRTYA K. 470

56 “Takėpan puniki katurun saking dwen Ama' Jumilan, saking Dasan Tėpas, Desa Praya. Puput kasurat, duk ring dina Snen, Kliwon, tanggal, 21, bulan, Rėjėp, Ijrat, 1348. Tanggal 23, bulan Desembėr, tawun, 1929. Kasurat ulih Bapa' Su'eb, ring dasan Sundil, desa Praya.” Argawa 2007: 88.

57 “Duk puput sinurat ring dina Sukra, Kliwon, wara Telu, titi tanggal 1 sasih ke-5, rah 2, tēnggėk 5, I saka 1852 (AD 1930), pakariyan Bapaq Sueb, Abiyantubuh, Sundil Desa Praya. Praya den 28 Maart, 1930, yang ambil salinan, Jurutulis Sėdahan Agung.” Marrison 1999a: 97.

58 “Takėpan puniki katėdun saking lontar duwen Ama, saking Hasan Montong, Desa Ranggagata, Distrik Praya. Katėdun oleh Bapa Sueb saking gubug Mantung, Desa Praya, Puput sinurat duk ring tanggal 13 Juni tahun 1930.” Marrison 1999a: 18.



The two colophons above are interesting because they state from what manuscripts the texts were copied and thus indicating that they were indeed copies and not new creations. It is a nice detail that Mr. Sueb had apparently moved from the hamlet of Sundil as mentioned in the first two colophons to a shelter in a rice field in Mantung, both in Praya.

The year is by no means always mentioned and colophons can be short indeed. For instance, the following colophon of a manuscript of the *Puspakrama* only states the following incomplete Hijrah date:

The day is Wednesday, 21 Dulka'idah.<sup>59</sup>

PRIVATE COLLECTION

Other texts from Lombok such as the colophon of the *Ramayana Macapat* use the Śaka year. This text runs as follows:

The writing was finished on the day Saniscara (Saturday) Wage, week Dukut, *ingkel* tree, the 1st of the month Dulaji, 1821 (1899 AD).<sup>60</sup>

PRIVATE COLLECTION

The use of the Śaka year seems logical for this 'Hindu' text but it would be wrong to assume that the time reckoning system used in colophons from Lombok always has a clear connection with the contents of the text. The manuscript of the Muslim text *Kĕrtanah* (Poem of Kĕrtanah), for example, contains a colophon that uses the Hindu Śaka time reckoning. It says:

Finished on the day Sukra (Friday) Umanis, week Watugunung, the 14th of the fading moon in the 6th month (December–January), units 2, tens 5, in the Śaka year 1852 (= 1930 AD).<sup>61</sup>

COLLECTION MUSEUM NEGERI NUSA TENGGARA BARAT T.215/V.II/91

Apart from the owner, scribe, date and geographical information, colophons may also provide other information on the time of writing, for instance in this manuscript of the *Puspakrama* where the prayer times are mentioned, but no year.

59 "Dina Répbo tanggal duwa pulu satu ulan Dulka'idah."

60 "Puput sinurat ring rahina Sa, Wa, wara, Dukut, *ingkel* Taru, ulan Dulaji, tang 1, taun 1821."

61 "Hatam ring dina, Su, U, wara Watugunung, titi, pang, ping, 14 sasih ka-6, rah 2 tĕnggĕk 5 windu, i saka 1852." Riana 2007: 276.



The writing of this book named Puspakrama was finished on the day Saniscara (Saturday) Kaliwon in the week Kuningan on the seventh of the month Rajab after noon prayers just before the third prayer time. The name of the scribe is Mamiq Sari from the village.<sup>62</sup>

COLLECTION MUSEUM NEGERI NUSA TENGGARA BARAT 3392/NK/83

### Colophon as Part of the Text or Not?

A question that has as yet been left unanswered is whether the colophon is part of the text or not. In some instances the text and the colophon are integrated in such a way that we would be inclined to say that it is. In other cases the colophon is clearly demarcated from the text because of its contents or because the word *tammāt* (The End) has been written after the end of the text and before the colophon. The same question can be asked of the excuses for poor workmanship (*pangaksama*) which, in old *kakawin* used to be part of the first canto, but recently, as for instance in the *kakawin* produced by I Wayan Pamit, have been put on a separate page before the text starts.

In Bali, colophons are apparently not seen as important as they are seen as “discontinuous with the texts to which they are appended and inferior to them. Indeed, colophons usually have only a transitory existence, for it is customary among scribes to discard the colophons of the texts they copy, adding their own colophons instead.”<sup>63</sup> In Java one wonders if the same is true. Many manuscripts start with extensive colophons as may be seen from examples in this book. They are written in verse and the divide between the colophon and the text is not indicated in any way.

### Excuses for Mistakes and Poor Workmanship

As noted above, many scribes in Indonesia, regardless of the tradition they stem from, have offered their excuses for the work they have inscribed. We have seen this already in the colophons translated above. In the Javanese-inspired world, in a remarkably similar way and over a long period of time, scribes

62 “Puput tinadu pustaka, Puspakrama rake kang anami, dawag dina Saniscara, tur Kaliwon rakeki, Kuningan kang uku niki, ulan Rajab duk aputus, wawu pitu tatanggalan, usan Lohor rapat sari, Mamiq Sari wastane kang anurat dari desa.” Benyamin 2007: 261.

63 Rubinstein 1996b: 174.



have begged to be forgiven for the awful form of the letters they write and have stated that they are unworthy and that their work should best be seen as made by someone ill fitted for the job. This has been a habit for centuries and has been expressed in almost the same words throughout that time. The letters scribes write are compared to chicken's scratchings, or crabs marks left on the sand, and readers are urged to ignore letters when they think there are too many and to add them when they think they are lacking, or words to that effect. Sometimes scribes have been more eloquent in their excuses, however, and others have excused themselves profusely for their defects. The following example of excuses found in a Javanese manuscript is interesting because it also states that the scribe was aware of the defects of the manuscript he was copying but that he was not allowed to change anything which made him ill at ease.



ILL. 386      *Sĕrat Asmarasupi (Romance of Asmarasupi). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1893. PNRI KBG 543, 20 × 17 cm., 363 pages, pages 1 and 2.*<sup>64</sup>

64      Behrend 1998: 224.



The text reads:<sup>65</sup>

*Dhandhanggula*. The song opens in *Sarkara* (= sugar and points to *dhandhanggula*, the name of the verse meter). The words in ngoko and krama are a hotchpotch and they give the impression that they are not yet correctly formed and [the text] may seem unrefined. I wanted to change it as I did not feel happy with it but I was too nervous when I received the order [to copy] and I worked with a diligent heart so that I was able to relieve my mood. Really much is incorrect. I have been unable to change anything, and many things are wrong because I only copied it and made it exactly the same as its original. Let us tell of the story of Dyan Asmarasupiputra [....]"

This same pattern of scribes excusing themselves for their work can also be seen in West Java. An example is the excuses added to a manuscript of the *Cĕrita Samun*.<sup>66</sup> It runs as follows:

1. I offer my apologies to my friends who borrow this *wawacan*. Renting it is not forbidden if only for me to have some income. Do not give me losses by damaging this *wawacan*.

2. I am not accustomed to writing the *wawacan* I own and I had to pay someone who understands how to do it. Because of this I ask all of you who rent it to help me cover my losses by renting it at a price of 5 cent, not negotiable.

3. I, who write this, ask forgiveness of all of you, old and young, when there are mistakes. My letters are very ugly but you should understand this as I am just starting to learn how to write these letters.

4. I base myself on public knowledge and under the directions of a priest I just wrote it in Sundanese. It is clear what can be derived from this story so that all may listen to it. Well, here is the story.<sup>67</sup>

65 "dhandhanggula. Sinarkara wĕdharing panganggit, caruking tĕmbung ngoko lan krama, krasa yen dereng pakoleh, dinuga-duga cabul, arsa ngewah datan kadugi, jalaran amba dahat, gugup tampi dhawuh, rukĕt ing pamanggih amba, bantĕring tyas bisa anglĕgakĕn galih, tuhu kathah kang lĕpat. mentak sama sakathahing sami, amba datan bisa ngowahana, yen ana kang lĕpat mangke, rehning amba mung nurun, angĕplĕki baboning tulis, kocap lampahanira nĕnggih sang binagus dyan asmarasupi."

66 PNRI SD 187.

67 "1. Maaf baé jisim kuring, ka sadaya para baraya, anu nginjeum wawacan téh, ari nginjeum teu dirarang, ngan supaya aya panarima, ulah rugi kuring buruh, karusakan ieu wawacan. 2. Sabab kuring teu tiasa nulis, gaduh wawacan téa mah, damel ngongkos ka nu ngartos,



A scribe of a manuscript of the Balinese *Kidung Rare Sasigar* (Poem of the Half-Child) copied in Śaka 1858 = AD 1936 was especially profuse in stating his excuses:

1. May there be no hindrance. Sinom. As the writer, I ask permission to copy this book and I do not know if I will be ridiculed. I follow my own feelings and I don't know what risk I run to be criticized for my mistakes. That is the way of copyists, they never know what they will be criticized for and therefore I offer my humblest apologies. I, who make this copy, hopes to be forgiven in the utmost manner.

2. May I be kept away from the dangers posed by the five senses and from committing sins, I who copy this am a poor person who lives in a world of misery and who endlessly asks for compassion. That is the reason I make this work as a solace although, evidently, I am still not comforted and I still languish without any purpose in life. It is probably my fate as God ordained for me.

3. What I write looks like chicken's scratchings and only happens to resemble letters. Whoever listens to this work, or who sings it, do not feel annoyed or dejected. When something is missing, please add it and when there is too much, please remove it. That is what I humbly ask of you, learned men of letters.

4. I actually do not know what this text is really about and also not how to write it. I have no idea and the same holds true for where the words and sentences should be that, one after the other, form this literary work. I have no idea about how it really should be done. It is very hard if one does not really know about all this.

5. One should really first study these things with people who are really knowledgeable about literature and spelling and about all the letters and the way they should be written. I really have no clue about what the text means and what is hidden behind the words. I have no idea and for this reason I do not have the impression that it has really entered my body and soul.

6. If one does not have any knowledge about all this, about its meaning and about the total set of letters, one should not pretend to understand

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*nu mawi kuring paménta, ka nu nginjeum sadayana, rugi kuring mudu bantu, 5 sén pas nyéwana. 3. Jisim kuring anu nulis, ka dadaya neda hampura, ka sepuh atawa anom, bisi aya kalepatan, aksarana awon pisan, wantuning diajar baru, tutulisan aksarana. 4. Metik tinu élmu lahir, nulad pituduh pandita, dipetakeun sunda baé, puguh pulunganeunana, kana ieu caritana, supaya sami ngadangu, tah ieu caritana."* Holil 2016: 45. Nb This is my translation into English of Munawir Holil's Indonesian translation.



literature. People like me are just like chickens that can only loudly call from a tree but have no idea why they do so. That is the metaphor for people who have no knowledge.

This would have seemed to more than suffice but apparently it was still not enough. At the end of the manuscript the scribe continues:

1. I would like to convey to all my friends and acquaintances that I beg forgiveness for my crude writing and for all the letters that look alike and that I have 'killed' and for those that were not put neatly one after the other or hang too high while others are too low. And because my writing is not neatly put together but rather a mess that follows no rules. It is for that reason that I truly ask to be forgiven. I made this simply because I like to copy.<sup>68</sup>

Such statements of modesty from the author or scribe – even when seemingly excessive – are not limited to poetic texts. Also in Old Javanese prose texts the scribe may excuse himself as in the *Kuñjarakarna* (Buddhist Edifying Tale of Kuñjarakarna), manuscript K which Willem van der Molen used in 1983. The colophon states:

68 “/1a/ 1. awighnamastu. sinom. pasang tabe kang anyurat, anurun pustaka iki, tan wruh yan dadi paguywan, kewalē anut ing ati, tan mawruh ing bayaneki, tingkahe ikang ta nurun, pастine tan wruh ing baya, den agung sampura singgih, kang anurun, agung rēna sinampura. 2. moga doh ing pancabaya, moga adoh ing balahi, apan kang nurun wong nista, ing dunya lara kalwasih, iya marmeng ireki, akarya panglipur linglung, pradene tan linpura, masih kasasar kang iki, baya /1b/ takdir, ing hyang datēng kaula. 3. miwah aksaran kang nyurat, kaya cinakaring paksi, kewalē apinda sastra, sang sapa amyarsa iki, miwah mawos puniki, aywa ana duka ing kalbu, yen kirang wuwuhakna, yen rangkung longana ugi, pan adengsun, maring kang alul ing sastra. 4. jatine tan wruh kang nurat, kang aran sastra puniki, miwah kang aran aksara, kang nurat tatan ngawruhi, miwah kang prēnahe sami, sastra sawiji-wijiku, kang nurat tan uninga, maring kajatyanya sami, lintang e/2a/yuh, yan tan wruh ring sahika. 5. yogya ta pagurwakna, maring kang tatas ing aji, kang aran sastra punika, miwah ikang aksara aji, sapa nganggone malih, sang nurun jati tan wruh, hlinge sang ulu layang, sang anyurat nora uning, pan punika, norana antuk ring wahyat. 6. yan tan wruha punika, tgēsing pnganggoneki, aja sira bunggun sastra, alul ing sastra puniki, umpama rēke singgih, lwir paksi mencok ing taru, kewala ahurahan, tan wruh tgēs yan angling, iku rēko /2b/ upamane wong tan wikan. At the end: /42b/ 1. tityang matur ring ida dane sa<m>yan, nging ampura tityang matur, sastran tityang kasar, bandung korup lwuh mati, ririgane nylingsang, saget mēnek saget <t>uwun, pasang tlēs langkah, /43a/ mēhadukan twara mindik, anging ampurayang pisan, kewala sok dēmēn <n>urun.” I thank I Nyoman Argawa for helping me with this translation.



Written at the foot of the Damalung on the southwestern slope, keeping [....] Gagerwindu is the name of his retreat, built by Hagumuda who is the lord. I warn you that I am like a child who is just starting to learn. Do not wrong me in not excusing me enough because I still use the letters as when I was a child. They are unequal in size, written unevenly like little ants wandering through the paper. I warn you, when someone wants to read this, he has to take out what is too much and add to it what is lacking because the letters look as if they have been made by a crab and they are straggly, stick out everywhere and are a mess. [....].<sup>69</sup>

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69 Van der Molen 1983: 283.



## Other Information on Dating and Ownership

External information may not necessarily lead to the accurate and precise dating of a manuscript but will at least provide information about its relative age and provenance. If, for instance, we know that a manuscript is part of the Lombok Collection in Leiden University Library it means that it is older than 1894 when the Dutch sacked Puri Cakranagara in Lombok and J.L.A. Brandes saved what he could of the palace's manuscript collection. Even if we know little more of the age of these manuscripts this much, at least, is clear. Raffles sacked the Palace (*karaton*) of Yogyakarta in June 1812<sup>1</sup> and many manuscripts were looted from its library and shipped to England. The manuscripts were then divided up into the private collections of Raffles, Crawford and Mackenzie. After Raffles's death in 1826, Lady Raffles presented his manuscripts to the Royal Asiatic Society in 1830, Crawford sold most of his manuscripts to the British Library in 1842 and Mackenzie's manuscripts were sold to the India Office Library (now incorporated into the British Library) in 1823.<sup>2</sup> This means that all these manuscripts are at least as old as those dates. Engelenberg donated his collection to the Koninklijk Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen in Batavia in 1907 and this is thus the *terminus ante quem* for dating these manuscripts. When A. Teeuw was in Lombok in the 1950s, he had 13 *lontar* manuscripts transcribed and his collection has been on loan in the Leiden University Library since 1966. All the original *lontar* manuscripts thus date back to before the 1950s.

The history of the manuscript holdings in Leiden University Library is well documented and the history of the many manuscripts which were acquired by the National Library of Indonesia is recorded in the catalog compiled by Tim Behrend.<sup>3</sup> Ricklefs and Voorhoeve's catalog of Indonesian Manuscripts in Great Britain of 1977, which was recently republished with addenda and corrigenda by M.C. Ricklefs and Annabel Teh Gallop in 2014 also mentions the most prominent collectors of the manuscripts contained in that catalog, together with short biographies and the time their manuscripts entered collections.<sup>4</sup> The origins of many other collections remain unclear, however.

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1 Carey 2008: 331ff.

2 Email from Merle Ricklefs, 26 October 2016.

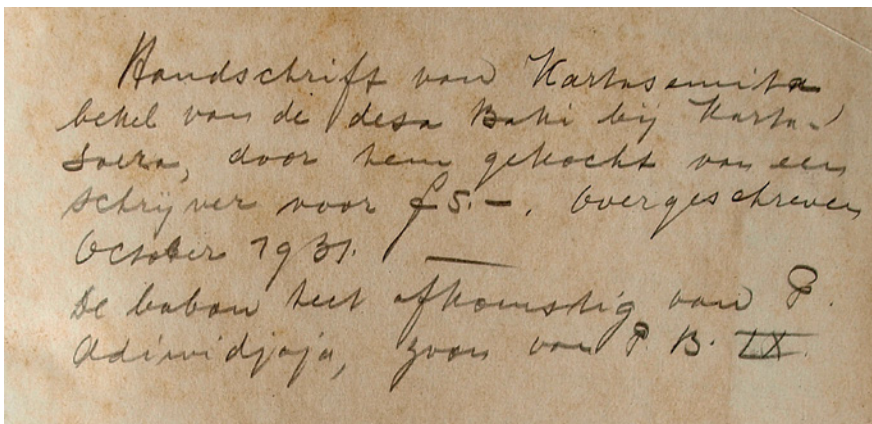
3 Behrend 1998: xiff.

4 Ricklefs, Voorhoeve and Gallop 2014: xxiii–xxix.



Manuscripts may contain information on dates and ownership outside of the text they contain. This information may be provided by handwritten notes, inserted slips with information of purchases and other information. This information may be written in the language of the manuscripts but also in Dutch or English or another language. These letters and notes are usually found in paper manuscripts where indeed they can easily be inserted. In manuscripts that use other materials, like *lontar*, this is found much less often. Below, some of these notes will be shown and discussed. The first is an inserted note added to a manuscript formerly owned by Hendrik Kraemer. It contains the information Kraemer thought worthwhile to record. He mentions the former owner of the manuscript, how he acquired it and at what price it was purchased from the scribe. He also states the month and the year the manuscript was copied and the month and the year of the 'original' it was copied from. No mention is made as to where Kraemer himself got the manuscript from or when he acquired it. The text reads:

Manuscript owned by Kartasemita, bekel of the village Baki near Kartasura, bought by him from a scribe for five guilders. Copied in October 1931. The 'original' is said to have come from Pangeran Adiwijaya, son of Pakubuwana IX.<sup>5</sup>



ILL. 387 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*). Javanese, Baki (Kartasura), Central Java, dated AD 1931. UBL Cod.Or. 11.650, 21 × 17 cm., 118 pages.<sup>6</sup>

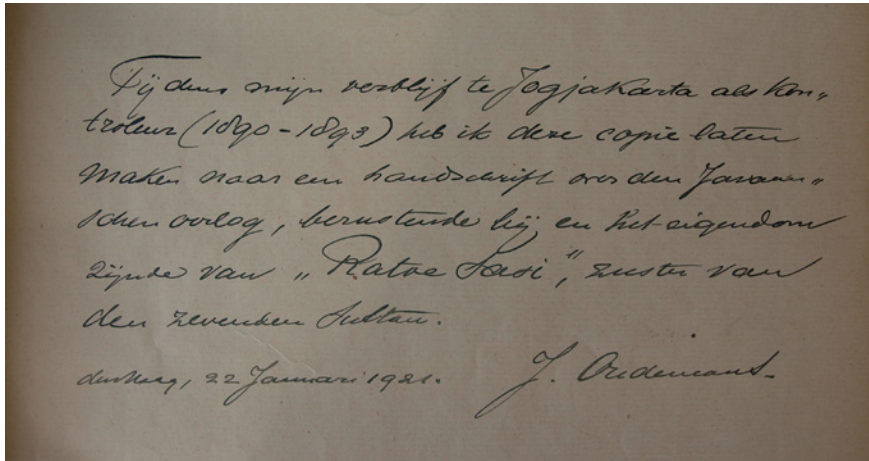
5 "Handschrift van Kartasemita bekel van de desa Baki bij Kartasura, door hem gekocht van een schrijver voor f 5.-. Overgeschreven October 1931. De babon heet afkomstig van P. Adiwidjaja, zoon van P.B. IX."

6 Pigeaud 1970: 125.



The following note is of interest too as it explains how the copy came into being. The text says:

I had this copy made during my stay in Yogyakarta as controller (1890–1893) of a manuscript about the Javanese war kept and owned by Ratu Sasi, the sister of the seventh sultan. Tuesday, 22 January 1921. J. Oudemans.<sup>7</sup>



ILL. 388 Babad Pěrang Dipo Nėgoro (*Chronicle of the Dipanagara War*). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1892. UBL Cod.Or. 6199, 34 × 21.5 cm., 368 pages, page 343.<sup>8</sup>

The information contained in the letter that accompanied the future donation of the following manuscript is especially interesting. It relates how the manuscript came into being but also that apparently, manuscripts were made at the request of outsiders within the Karaton Solo but also that outsiders were allowed to copy them when the *karaton* scribes were unable to do so. In other words, it offers a window into manuscript scribal practices at the time of copying. A study of these letters and notes may lead to unexpected conclusions about manuscript traditions and reveal that the boundaries between the palace cultures and the outside world were much more fluid than we may think.

The letter not only indicates how the manuscript came into being but also how it entered the collection of the KITLV in Leiden. It also clearly expresses

7 "Tijdens mijn verblijf te Jogjakarta als controleur (1890–1893) heb ik deze copie laten maken naar een handschrift over den Javaanschen oorlog, berustende bij en het eigendom zijnde van "Ratoe Sasi," zuster van den zevenden Sultan. Dinsdag 22 Januari 1922. J. Oudemans."

8 Pigeaud 1968: 346.



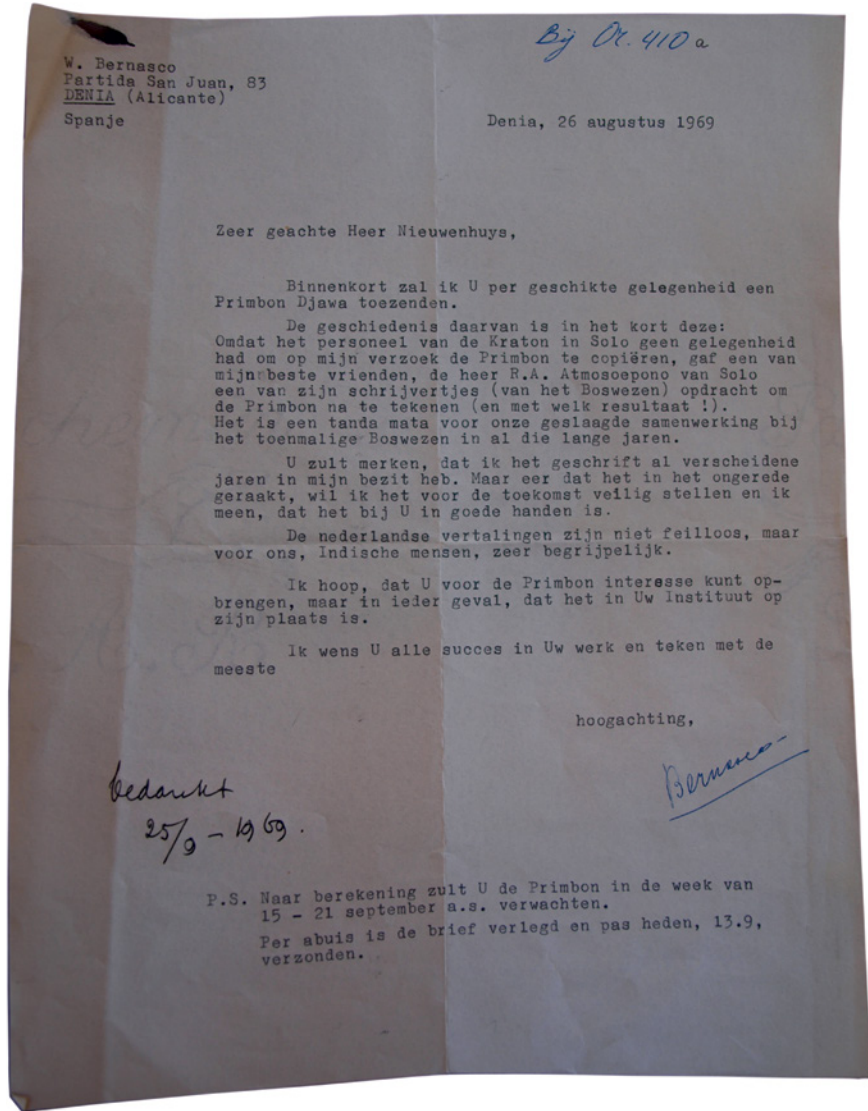
the desire of its owner to ensure that the manuscript would not be lost in the future and thus states the owner's concern for its future preservation.



ILL. 389 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*). Javanese, Surakarta, first half of the twentieth century. UBL KITLV D Or. 410, 35.5 × 24.5 cm., 30 pages text, 30 pages plates, plate 11. Illustration depicting Sang Hyang Kamajaya, the deity of the week (wuku) *Galungan*.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>9</sup> Pigeaud 1980: 245.





ILL. 390 Letter added to the manuscript in illustration 389.

The text reads:

W. Bernasco, Partida San Juan, 83, Denia (Alicante) Spain. Denia, 26 August 1969. Dear Mr. Nieuwenhuys. Shortly I will send you a Primbon Jawa at a convenient occasion. The brief history of this manuscript is as



follows: Because the employees of the Kraton in Solo did not have the occasion to copy the Primbon at my request, one of my best friends, Mr R.A. Atmosoepono ordered one of his scribblers (of the Forestry Department) to copy the Primbon (and with what result!). It is a memento for our successful cooperation in the then Forestry Department during all those long years.

You will find that I already have this manuscript in my possession for some years. However, to ensure it will not get lost, I want to safeguard its future and I think that with you it will be in good hands.

The Dutch translations are not perfect but for us, Indies people, they are easy to understand.

I hope the Primbon will be of interest to you but in any case, it will be in its right place in your Institute.

I wish you success in your work and sign with the highest regards

Bernasco

P.S. According to my estimation you may expect the Primbon to arrive in the week of 15–21 September.

By the way, the letter has been delayed and has only be sent today, 13 September.

### Manuscript Gifts to Scholars

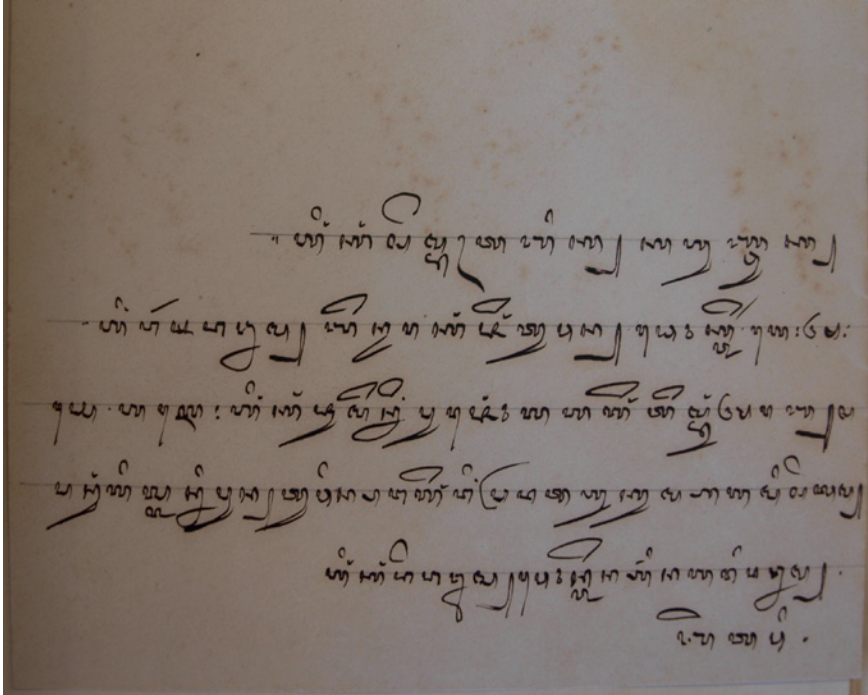
The following note in Javanese (and in Javanese script) was inserted in the manuscript in an envelope. It tells of the way Hazeu became the owner of the manuscript. It was a gift of Raden Tirtadrana, the grand vizier of Purworejo. The text reads:<sup>10</sup>

I offer my humble greetings to his excellency doctor G.A.J. Hazeu who acts as high official for the Arabic language and so on and as magistrate at the Javanese and Islamic courts in Batavia.

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10 *“ingkang sěmbah tabik kaunjuk ing ngarsa dalěm běndara kangjěng tuwan dhoktěr he a ye ěse. ingkang juměněng pujongga agěng těmbung arab sapanunggilanipun tuwin pangagěnging pradata ukum agami sělam. Inggang dědalěm wontěn ing nagari dalěm bětawi.”*





ILL. 391      *Notes of Raden Tirtadrana, grand vizier of Purwarejo. Javanese, Purworejo, Central Java, dated before AD 1907. UBL Cod.Or. 6446, 33.5 × 20.5 cm., 174 pages.<sup>11</sup>*

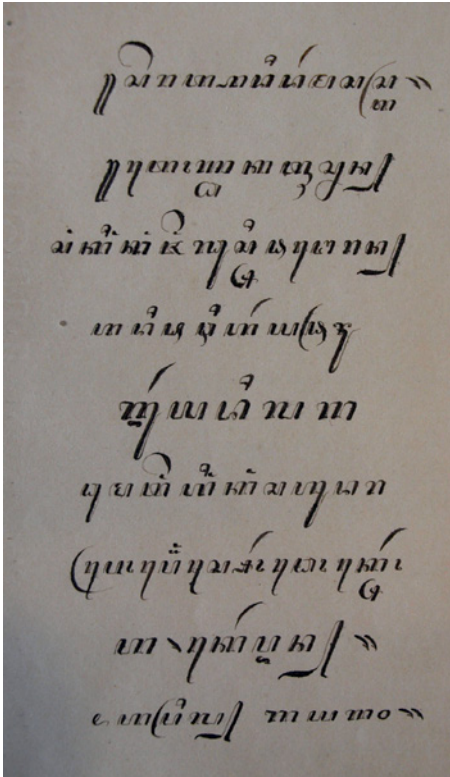
A close relation between a Dutch scholar and a Javanese prince may also be seen from the following note that was added to a beautifully illustrated manuscript of the *Adi Darmasastra*. The note provides information about when the manuscript was offered as a gift, to whom and for what reason. The text reads:

Sĕrat Adi Dharma Sastra. Token of affection from Kangjeng Gusti Pangeran Adipati Harya Prabu Suryadilaga to my friend Professor Doctor A. Kern. 6 April 1910.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 379.

<sup>12</sup> "Sĕrat adi dharma sastra. tondha katrĕsnan sangking kangjĕng gusti pangeran adipati ariya prabu suriyadilaga dhumatĕng ingkang saudara professor dhoktor a. kerĕn. 6 april 1910."





ILL. 392

Adi Darmasastra (*Moralistic Compendium and Book of Fables from the Pura Pakualaman in Yogyakarta*). Javanese, Pakualaman, Yogyakarta, dated AD 1910. 32.5 × 21 cm., 425 pages, opening page. UBL KITLV D Or. 189.<sup>13</sup>

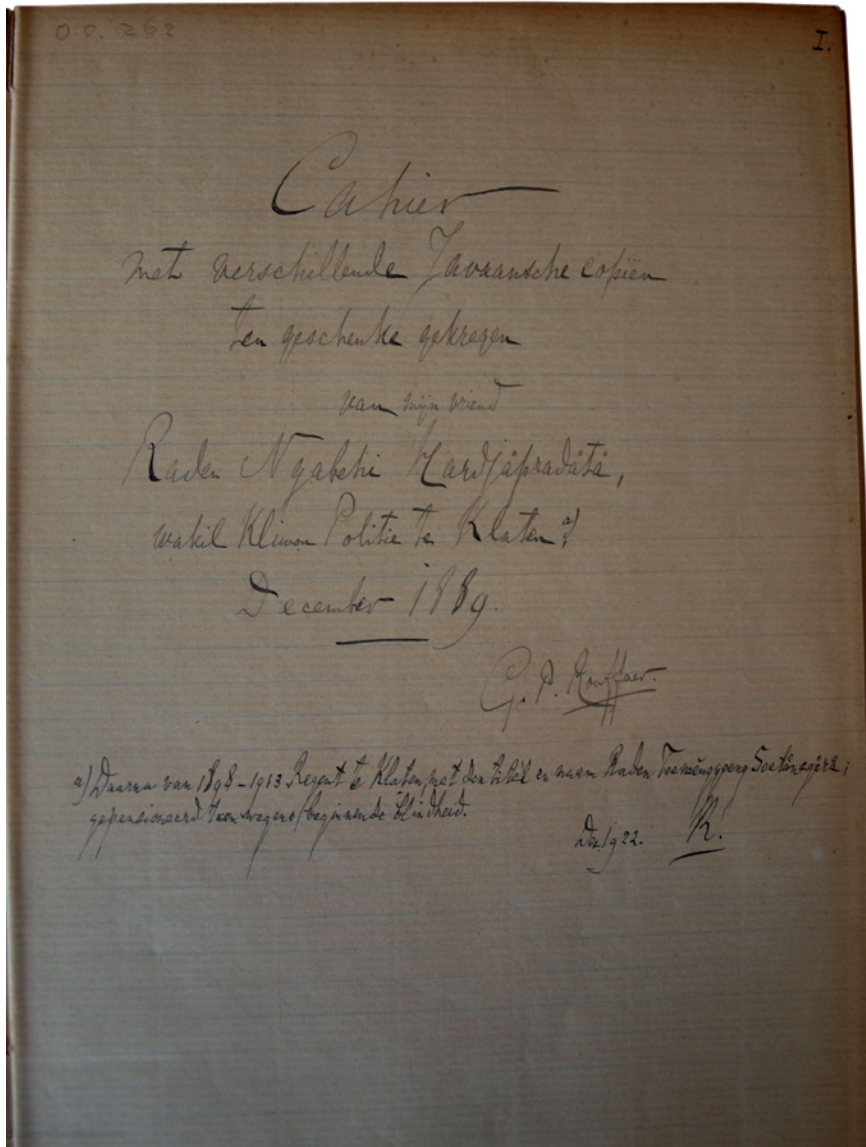
Some manuscripts contain information about the way a manuscript was acquired, followed up by additional information of a personal character such as in the following example. It states in G.P. Rouffaer's handwriting:

Copy book with copies of various Javanese texts presented to me by my friend Raden Ngabehi Hardjapradata, vice-chief of police in Klathen<sup>a)</sup> December 1889. G.P. Rouffaer. <sup>a)</sup> After that, from 1898 until 1913 Regent of Klathen with the title and name Raden Tumenggung Sutanagara. Retired because of the onset of blindness. Dec. 1922. R.<sup>14</sup>

13 Pigeaud 1968: 830–831.

14 “Cahier met verschillende Javaansche copiën ten geschenke gekregen van mijn vriend Raden Ngabehi Harjapradata, wakil Kliwon Politie te Klathen a) December 1889. a) Daarna van 1898 tot 1913 Regent te Klathen met den titel en naam Raden Tumenggeng Sutanagara. Gepensioneerd wegens beginnende blindheid. Dec. 1922 R.”





- ILL. 393      Notes on history and administration of Surakarta compiled by Ngabehi Harya Pradata from Klathen for the use of Dr. Rouffaer. Javanese, Surakarta, dated AD 1889. UBL KITLV D Or. 262, 34.5 × 21 cm., 77 pages, page before the text starts.<sup>15</sup>

Additional information may be found in the text itself, outside the text in margins, or on the covers of the manuscript. For instance, Leiden manuscript

<sup>15</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 835.



Cod.Or. 4522 of the *Kakawin Sutasoma* does not have a complete colophon but in Dutch is added *Origineel uit Mengwi*, adding to our knowledge that it originates from the Balinese kingdom of Mengwi.<sup>16</sup> Another example from Bali is also interesting. The information was written in Latin script on the outside leaf of a *lontar* manuscript of the *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa* in the collection of the Gedong Kirtya in Singaraja (IVB/12/1102). It is a wonderful example of a Western book containing an Indonesian work being re-incorporated into Balinese culture and reads:

Rāmāyaṇa. The edition by H. Kern (1900), copied by I Gde Ngembak, Banjar Dandinpeken (Singaraja) 1/8/1933.<sup>17</sup>

Another kind of information relates to the kind of writing system that is used. In Javanese manuscripts, for instance, we see a development which starts from the disuse of numerals in Javanese script in favor of international numerals or, less often, Roman numerals. The overall make-up of manuscripts also developed over time and was probably influenced by both Western and Islamic ways of manuscript and book production. The addition of tables of content and chapters and sub-chapters formats (with or without titles), paragraphs, rubrication and the use of white lines also point to younger manuscripts. In Lombok, too, we see that printed books started to influence *lontar* manuscript writing. After text editions of Javanese texts found their way to Lombok, *pada* marks to indicate canto changes in *lontar* manuscripts started to resemble those found in these books. These developments not only provide indications of the age of manuscripts, but also about the cultural and educational backgrounds of their scribes. Dating information can also be obtained from the fact that a manuscript has already been used in studies or that it has been catalogued. In modern times a manuscript is of course older than the day it was digitized.

### Ownership Information on Separate Pages Preceding or after the Text

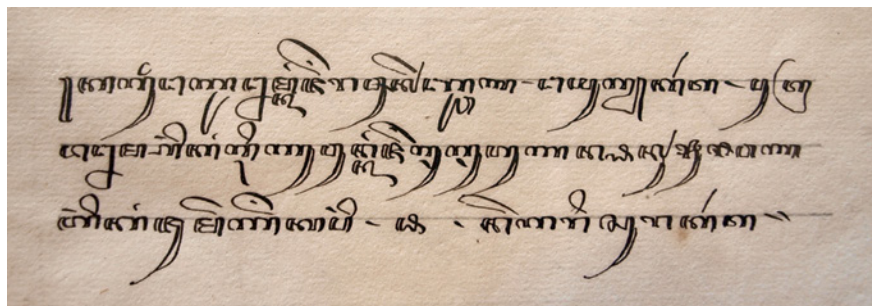
Many manuscripts from Java contain information on their ownership on separate pages. The example below contains detailed information about the owner and who she is. The manuscript belonged to Kangjeng Ratu Kencana, the Queen of Yogyakarta and the daughter of Pakubuwana VIII of Surakarta. The text reads:

<sup>16</sup> Soewito Santoso 1975: 12.

<sup>17</sup> “*Rāmāyaṇa*. Toeroenan dari boekoe uitgave H. Kern (1900) ditoeroen oleh I Gde Ngembak Br. Dandinpĕkĕn (Singaradja) 1/8/1933.”

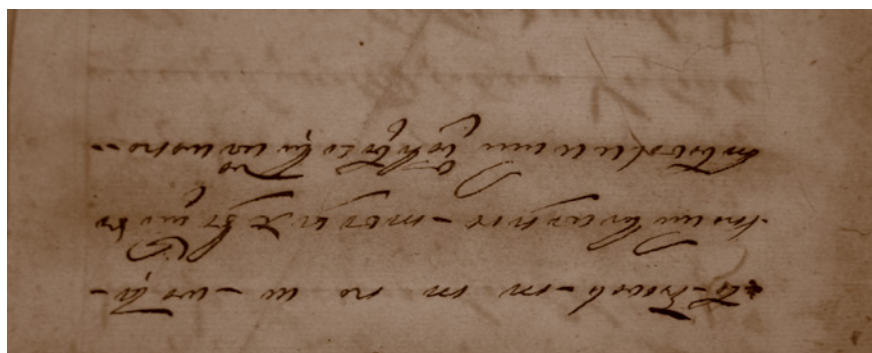


Owned by Dalem Kangjeng Ratu Kencana, Ngayogyakarta, daughter of His Majesty Susuhunan Pakubuwana VIII of Surakarta.<sup>18</sup>



ILL. 394 Sayid Anwar (*Tale of Sayid Anwar*). Javanese, Yogyakarta?, Central Java, probably dated AD 1865. UBL Cod.Or. 8934, 33.5 × 21 cm., 555 pages.<sup>19</sup>

The next example is from a manuscript owned by Bendara Raden Ayu Panji Purbawardaya and also contains the title of the manuscript and a date. It is not clear whether the date refers to the date of copying or to the day the manuscript entered the collection of this lady.



ILL. 395 Lakad (*Poem of the King of Lakad. An Episode of Muhammad's Life*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1799 = AD 1870. PC, 32 × 19.4 cm., 280 inscribed pages. The text says:<sup>20</sup> Lakad, owned by Bendara Raden Ayu Panji Purbawardaya. Month of Safar, fifth year of the eight year cycle (dal), 1799, number 2 (corrected to 4).

<sup>18</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 502.

<sup>19</sup> "kagungan dalēm kangjeng ratu kencana, ngayogyakarta, putra dalēm ingkang sinuwun kangjeng susuhunan pakubuwana ingkang jumēneng kaping 8, nēgari surakarta."

<sup>20</sup> "latat kagunganipun bēndara raden ayu panji purbawardaya. sapar tahun dal, ongka 1799, nomrē, 2" (corrected in pencil to '4').



Sometimes, a statement of ownership is supplemented with a brief description of the content of the text. For instance, the following manuscript of the *Seh Maulana Ibrahim* (Tale of Seh Maulana Ibrahim) as illustrated below. The statement is written in another hand and using another type of Javanese script than the rest of the text. The text reads:<sup>21</sup>

Owned by His Serene Majesty Susunan Pakubuwana x in Surakarta. History of Seh Maulana Ibrahim when he wandered to Aceh and then to Cempa. In Cempa he had a son named Raden Rahmat. Raden Rahmat subsequently halted in Java where he obtained the name Kangjeng Susuhunan ing Ngampelgadhing.

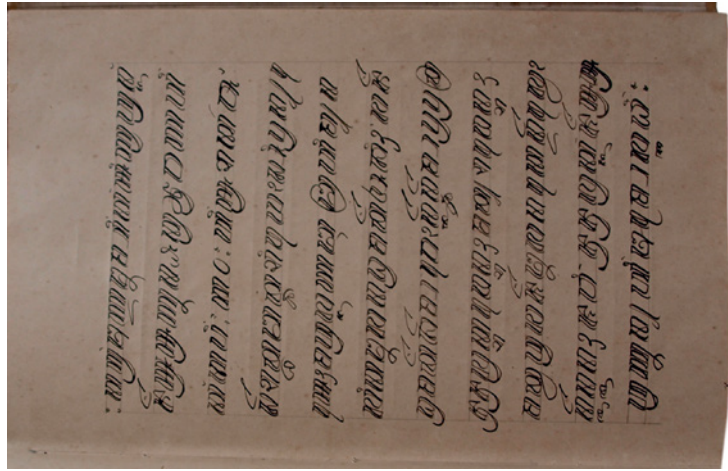
At the end of the same manuscript, more information is provided on its production. It is in the same hand and the date contained in this note is 12-4-1844. It is not indicated if this date is according to the Gregorian Calendar or to the Javanese Calendar. Of course, the fact that in the note at the start of the manuscript is mentioned that it belonged to Susuhunan Pakubuwana the tenth is helpful. However, as the person who wrote the manuscript, Raden Tumenggung Arungbinang is also mentioned we have been provided with the additional information we need. In view of the paper that was used and that one Raden Tumenggung Arungbinang lived in the twentieth century and having a look at the manuscript we may presume that date is in the Javanese Calendar and corresponding with AD 1913. The text says:<sup>22</sup>

*Seh Maulana Ibrahim* has ended. The one ordered to copy it was Tumenggung Arungbinang but it was subsequently entrusted to Raden Sastrapuspita who took care of the copying process. H(arung) B(inang) 12-4-1844 (= AD 1913).

21 "kagungan dalêm ingkang sinuhun kangjêng susunan pakubuwana ingkang kaping 10, ing surakarta. sêrat babat cariyosipun seh maulana ibrahim, nalika lëlana dhumatêng acih, lajêng dhumatêng cempa wontên cempa puputra jujuluk raden rahmat, raden rahmat wau lajêng lëlana kendêl wontên tanah jawi, jujuluk kangjêng susuhunan ing ngampelgadhing."

22 "ingkang kadhawuhan nêdhak tumenggung arungbinang, ananging lajêng miji pun sastrapuspita ingkang anandangi panêdhakipun. H.B. 12-4-1844."





ILL. 396  
Seh Maulana Ibrahim  
(Tale of Seh Maulana  
Ibrahim), Javanese,  
Yogyakarta, dated AD  
1913. PC, first page,  
34 × 22 cm., 257 pages.  
An elaborate statement  
of ownership with  
short synopsis of the  
contents of the manu-  
script on a separate  
page before the text  
begins. It is inscribed in  
a different hand than  
the rest of the text.



ILL. 397  
Seh Maulana  
Ibrahim (Tale  
of Seh Maulana  
Ibrahim),  
Javanese,  
Yogyakarta, dated  
AD 1913. PC, last  
page, 34 × 22 cm.,  
257 pages.



### Personal Information on the Fore-Edge of the Book Block

Stating the ownership of a manuscript on the fore-edge of a book block is something that is seldom encountered. The information may only record ownership while examples also exist that provide the title of the work as well as ownership. For example, the text on the fore-edge of the manuscript illustrated below reads: *kagungan dalēm kangjěng ratu kěncana* (Owned by Dalem Kangjeng Ratu Kencana).



ILL. 398 Sayid Anwar (*Tale of Sayid Anwar*). Javanese, Java, dated AD 1865. UBL Cod.Or. 8934, 34.5 × 22 cm., 555 page.<sup>23</sup>

Another example is a manuscript of the *Babad Trunajaya* (Chronicle of Trunajaya) (collection Leiden University Library Cod.Or. 12.295). All three edges of the book contain information by the owner; the bottom-edge contains the name Trunajaya and the number 439, which is the (incorrect) number of pages of the manuscript. The name Ranadimeja – who was probably the owner of the manuscript – is written on the fore-edge and the title of the work *Babad Měntaram Kuncung Kliwat* on the top.<sup>24</sup>

### Library and Ownership Stamps

Many manuscripts contain yet more information that may assist in either dating the manuscript or identifying its ownership or both. They also give us information that is very welcome about the history of the preservation of the manuscript, especially if more than one stamp is found in a manuscript and their dating is clear. For instance, many inked library and ownership stamps have a decidedly colonial or governmental quality to them enabling us to trace

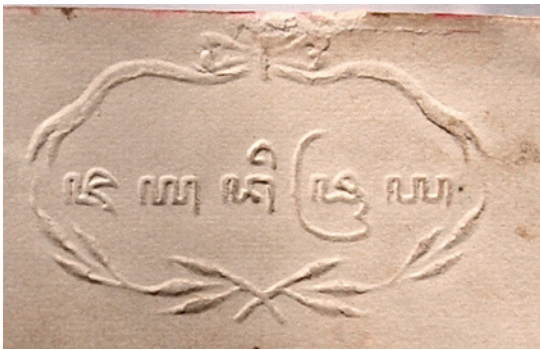
<sup>23</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 502.

<sup>24</sup> Pigeaud 1980: 50.



the history of manuscripts in different collections. The lettering and the kind of ink used for these stamps in themselves also provide information about when and where they were used, as do changing fashions in the form and format of the stamps. Blind ownership stamps are rather rare. At present, no systematic inventory of these stamps has been made, at least not for Dutch and Indonesian collections, and also their use for dating and other information has not yet been explored. By contrast much more progress has been made in this field in the British Library.<sup>25</sup> Below is one example of a blind stamp and examples of inked library and ownership stamps.

The first illustration shows the blind stamp of the owner of the manuscript, Jayadipraya. The make-up of the stamp reveals some information as to the date when it was probably made. The name is written in Javanese script and the top is covered by a ribbon that is tied into a knot. Under the name a kind of laurel wreath is added. These clearly point to a European tradition and the make-up of the stamp reveals that it was probably made somewhere in the early twentieth century. The stamp has a decidedly colonial appearance.



ILL. 399

Sĕrat Wirid Widayat (*Manual on Mysticism*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 20 × 13.5 cm., 142 pages, page 1.

Below are some inked library and ownership stamps found in manuscripts. It has proven impossible to date these stamps as, for instance, the Leiden University Library and the Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde have not kept records when they stopped using a particular stamp and introduced another one. I have tried to put them in the correct chronological order based on the information and spelling they contain.

<sup>25</sup> See Collection Care Blogspot. A Guide to British Library Book Stamps, posted 23 September 2013. See <http://blogs.bl.uk/collectioncare/2013/09/a-guide-to-british-library-book-stamps.html>, accessed 7 November 2016. My thanks go to Annabel Teh Gallop for sending me this link.





ILL. 400 *Ministerie van Koloniën (Ministry of Colonies).*



ILL. 401 *Gouvernements Eigendom (Government Property).*



ILL. 402 *Gouvernements-Eigendom (Property of the Dutch Government).*



ILL. 403 *BAT. GENOOTSCHAP VAN K EN W. (Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen [Batavian Society for the Arts and Sciences]), abbreviated Dutch.*



ILL. 404 *ACAD. LUGD. BAT. BIBL. (Leiden University Library), in abbreviated Latin in blue.*





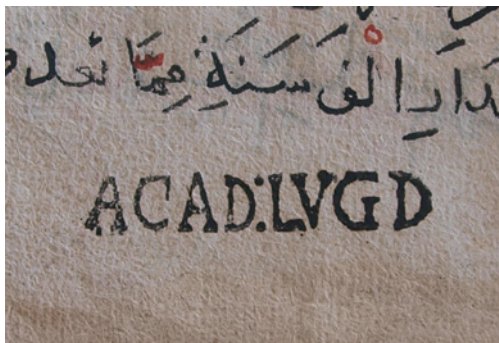
ILL. 405 ACAD. LUGD. BAT. BIBL. (Leiden University Library), in abbreviated Latin in black.



ILL. 406 BIBLIOTHEEK RIJKSUNIV. LEIDEN (Leiden University Library), in partly abbreviated Dutch.



ILL. 407 Tiny stamp. UNIV. LEIDEN BIBL. (Leiden University Library), in abbreviated Dutch.



ILL. 408 ACAD:LVGD (Leiden University), in abbreviated Latin.



ILL. 409 LW. (Legatum Warnerianum in Leiden University Library), in abbreviated Latin.



ILL. 410 Koninklijke Akademie te Delft (Royal Academy at Delft).





ILL. 411 *Koninklijk Instituut voor de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Neêrlandsch Indië.*



ILL. 412 *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde Ned:Indie.*



ILL. 413 *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-Land- & Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie.*



ILL. 414 *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indie. Slightly more modern version.*

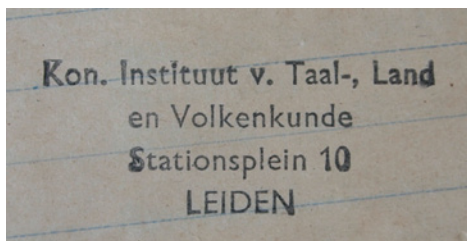


ILL. 415 *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde after Indonesian Independence.*



ILL. 416 *Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde, Van Galenstraat 14, 's-Gravenhage.*





ILL. 417

*Kon. Instituut v. Taal-, Land en  
Volkenkunde Stationsplein 10 LEIDEN.*



ILL. 418

*Koninklijk Instituut voor Taal-, Land- en  
Volkenkunde.*



ILL. 419

*Direktorat Bahasa dan Kesusasteraan  
Departemen Pendidikan dan  
Kebudayaan. Tjabang Singaraja.*



ILL. 420

*Perpustakaan Balai Kajian Jarahnitra,  
Yogyakarta.*

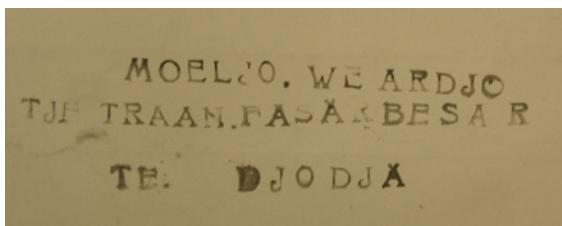


*Stamps of Private Owners*



ILL. 421

*Personal stamp of Raden Tirtadrono.*



ILL. 422

*Personal stamp of Moeljo Weardjo, Yogyakarta.*



ILL. 423

*C.M. Pleyte.*



ILL. 424

*Dr. G.A.J. Hazeu, Weltevreden.*



## Labels

Some manuscripts contain information on glued and self-adhesive labels about previous ownership. Javanese manuscripts may be provided with labels that state the name of the scribe/owner and his position, for instance in the *karaton* as in the example below. The text reads:

Wedana Sastraseparta, Head of the scribes in Yogyakarta<sup>26</sup>



ILL. 425      *Sĕrat Kandha Wayang Purwa (Poetic Stories from the Shadow play Puppet Theatre in Verse). Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 34 × 21.5 cm. Label on the front cover.*

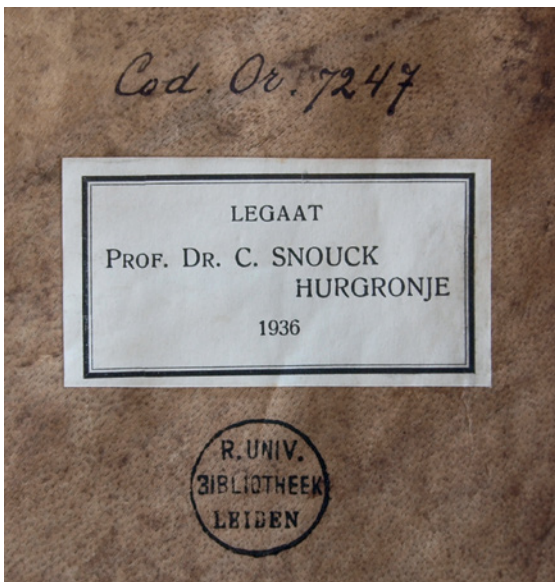
The illustrations below show tags, the first stating that the manuscript is part of the bequest of H.N. van der Tuuk who bequeathed his collection to Leiden University in 1896, and the second that of C. Snouck Hurgronje who donated his collection to Leiden University Library in 1936.

26      “wĕdana sastrasĕparta abdi dalĕm wĕdana punakawan carik ing ngayugyakarta.”





ILL. 426 *Batak ritual Pustaha from the Dairi region. Batak, North Sumatra, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3554, 6 × 4.5 cm., 51 leaves.*<sup>27</sup>



ILL. 427 *Kitāb Masā'il al-Muhtadī li-ikwān al-muhtadī. Arabic and Malay, undated but before AD 1936. UBL Cod.Or. 7247, 22 pages, 15 × 10 cm. Note yet another stamp of the Leiden University Library.*

<sup>27</sup> Voorhoeve 1977: 11, 85.



Other labels concern ex LIBRIS from previous owners which are usually found in the inside cover of the binding of paper manuscripts.



ILL. 428

*Hikayat Hang Tuah (Tale of Hang Tuah). Malay, dated AD 1893. UBL Cod.Or. 6883, 31 × 20 cm., 335 pages.<sup>28</sup> Coat of Arms of the British colonial magistrate and writer, Sir Hugh Clifford (born March 5, 1866, London – died Dec. 18, 1941, Roehampton, London<sup>29</sup>).*



ILL. 429

*Buku Sri Paduka Ratu Agung Gde Ngurah Karang Asem dan Sri Paduka Ratu Agung Ketut Karang Asem (Correspondence between the Great Kings Gde Ngurah Karangasem and Ketut Karangasem). UBL KITLV D Or. 382, 32 × 22 cm., 125 ff.<sup>30</sup> Pasted label inside the front cover of the manuscript of the Ex LIBRIS of A-M Paris.*

28 Iskandar 1999: 370.

29 See <http://www.britannica.com/biography/Hugh-Charles-Clifford>, accessed 28 October 2015.

30 Iskandar 1999: 843.



### *Labels on Exercise Books*

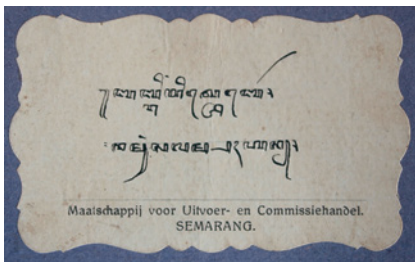
Labels on exercise books may also reveal where they were made and when. No detailed research has been carried out on this subject which is a pity because the number of exercise-book manuscripts may be much larger than expected and reveal a great deal about actual manuscript traditions in other than palace and learned circles. The following examples may be compared out of many.



ILL. 430 *Sim Ban Siong under the brand Seng Bo, Pasar Senen – Batavia-C.*<sup>31</sup>



ILL. 431 *Het boekendepot te Garoet.*<sup>32</sup>



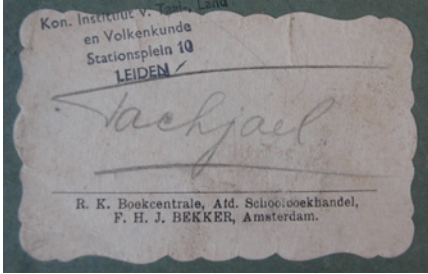
ILL. 432 *Maatschappij voor Uitvoer- en Commissiehandel. Semarang.*<sup>33</sup>



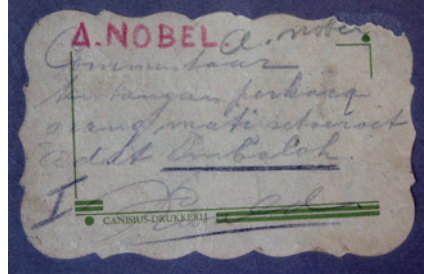
ILL. 433 *Geb. Klompe Rijnstraat Arnhem.*<sup>34</sup>

- 31 *Wasitarama*. Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated 15 May 1933. Private collection, 20,5 × 16 cm., 88 pages.
- 32 *Bahasa Napan* (Notes on the Lapan Language) (Wenami). UBL KITLV D Or. 521(11), 20,5 × 16 cm., 36 pages. Iskandar 1999: 866–867.
- 33 *Bab Ringgit Bêbêr Namung Salampahan*. UBL Cod.Or. 10.973, 20,5 × 16,5 cm., 36 pages. Pigeaud 1968: 700.
- 34 Various *Syair*. UBL KITLV D Or. 106, 21 × 16,5 cm., 70 pages. Iskandar 1999: 775.

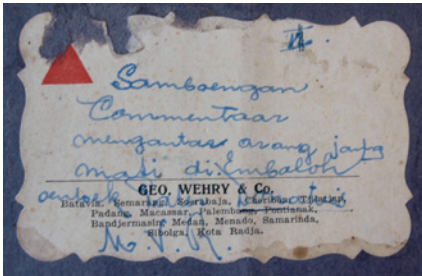




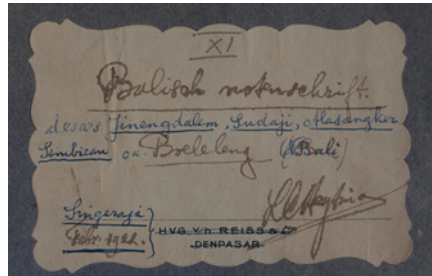
ILL. 434 *R.K. Boekcentrale, Afd. Schoolboekhandel F.H.J. Bekker, Amsterdam.*<sup>35</sup>



ILL. 435 *Canisius Drukkerij.*<sup>36</sup>



ILL. 436 *Geo Wehry & Co. Batavia et cetera.*<sup>37</sup>



ILL. 437 *HVG v/h Reiss & Co Denpasar.*<sup>38</sup>

### *Factory Labels of Paper Producers and Binding Factories*

Yet another source of information about the manuscripts themselves include labels that are usually found on the inside of the covers of manuscripts and tell of the company that produced the paper, the binding or the shop that produced or sold the paper or exercise books. Compare the following examples.

35 *Takhyul*. UBL KITLV D Or. 401d, 21 × 16,5 cm., 40 pages.

36 *Commentaar etc.* UBL KITLV D Or. 401e, 21 × 16,5 cm., 40 pages.

37 *Sambongan Commentaar etc.* UBL KITLV D Or. 401f, 21 × 16,5 cm., 40 pages.

38 *Balisch notenschrift*. UBL KITLV D Or. 411, 21 × 16 cm., 40 pages.





ILL. 438

*Stoomdrukkerij "De Bliksem"*  
*Darpojoedan – Solo in black.*<sup>39</sup>



ILL. 439

*Stoomdrukkerij "De Bliksem" Darpojoedan –*  
*Solo in red.*<sup>40</sup>



ILL. 440

*Toko "Salatiga."*<sup>41</sup>



ILL. 441

*Boekbinderij van G.C.T. van Dorp, Semarang.*<sup>42</sup>

39 *Pawukon* (Almanac on Chronology and Divination). UBL Cod.Or. 12.332, 34 × 21 cm., 192 pages. Pigeaud 1980: 52–53.

40 *Basa Melajoe Djalal* (Dictionary of the Exalted Malay Language). Malay and Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1928. P.C., 21.5 × 16.5 cm., 140 pages.

41 *Para Putra Prabu Brawijaya* (The Sons of King Brawijaya). Javanese, Yogyakarta. Collection Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Yogyakarta S88.

42 *Membuat Zendjata* (How to make arms). Malay, undated. UBL KITLV D Or. 128, 33 × 21 cm., 95 double pages. Juynboll 1899: 296; Wieringa 1998: 197–199; Iskandar 1999: 785.

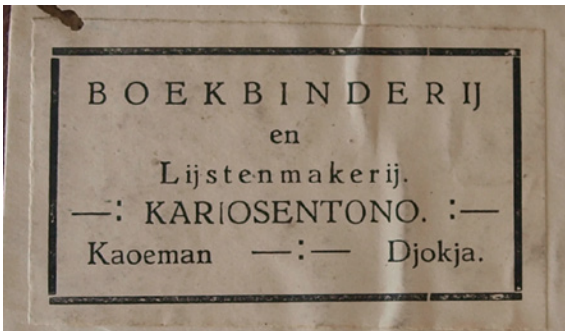




ILL. 442

*P.M. Elberg, Rotterdam.*<sup>43</sup>

ILL. 443

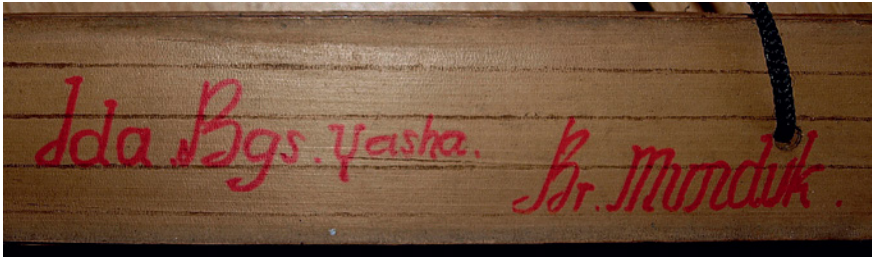
*N.V. Drukkerij "Mardi Moeljo", Yogyakarta.*<sup>44</sup>ILL. 444 *Boekbinderij en Lijstenmakerij Kariosentono. Kauman, Yogyakarta.*<sup>45</sup>

- 
- 43 *Buku Bintang Kemukus* (Book about the Forecast Initiated by the Arrival of the Comet Bintang Kemukus), Malay, East Java, undated but before AD 1935. UBL Cod.Or. 6865A, 20.5 × 16 cm., 12 ff. Iskandar 1999: 369.
- 44 *Sĕrat Panitisastra* (Didactic-Moralistic Poem). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AD 1937. PC, 33.5 × 21.5 cm., 100 pages.
- 45 *Sajarahipun Para Nata* (History of the Kings). Javanese, Yogyakarta. UBL Cod.Or. 10.935, 22.5 × 18 cm., 138 pages. Pigeaud 1968: 695.



### Other Indications of Ownership

Statements of ownership may have been made at the time a manuscript was produced, but may also have been provided at a later time, sometimes even much later. The *lontar* manuscript below was owned by Ida Bagus Yasha but I have the impression that the ownership statement on the *lontar* was made much later than the time the manuscript itself was produced. The writing was done with a red marker which seems highly unlikely to have been available in 1937 when the manuscript was inscribed.



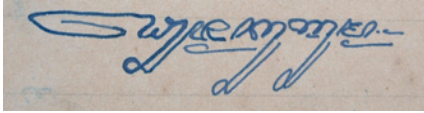
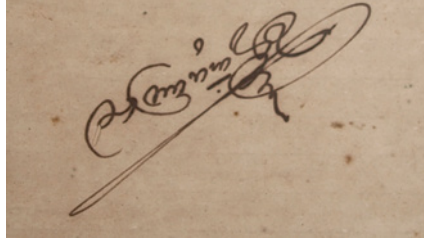
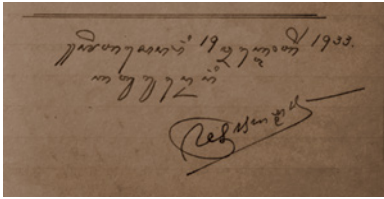
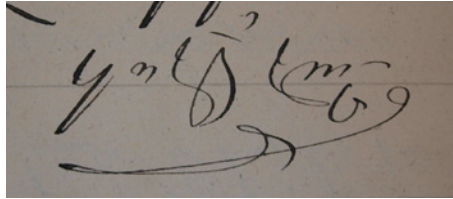
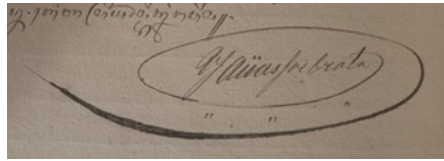
ILL. 445      Nawaruci (*Bima's Adventures in Search of the Water of Life*). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1851 = AD 1937. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 095/BPB/111b/91, 3.5 × 42.3 cm., 6i inscribed leaves.

### Signatures

Owners of manuscripts sometimes added their signature.<sup>46</sup> They used either their own script or Latin script, or both. They did this in the original setting of the manuscript and these signatures thus tell us of the owners of the manuscripts 'in the field.' Some examples from Java include the following:

46      For many signatures in Javanese letters see Vreede and Gunning 1906. Wieringa (2016: 481) gives an illustration of the signature of the scribe Sastragupita in Javanese and Gupita in *pegon* script.



ILL. 446 Signature of Pujakusuma.<sup>47</sup>ILL. 447 Signature of Cakradireja.<sup>48</sup>ILL. 448 Signature of Prajahatmaja.<sup>49</sup>ILL. 449 Signature of Purajibja.<sup>50</sup>ILL. 450 Signature of Poeradjibdja in Latin script.<sup>51</sup>ILL. 451 Signature of Jayasubrata.<sup>52</sup>

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- 47 *Pengĕtan bĕksa bĕdhaya Gĕndhing Jatiwarna* (Memoir of the bedhaya dance with the music gendhing Jatiwarna), Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated 3 May 1953. PC, 34 × 21.9 cm., 40 inscribed pages.
- 48 *Kidung Rumĕksa ing Wĕngi* (Song Guarding at Night, from Central Java), etc. PC, 21 × 17 cm., 38 inscribed pages, dated 15 May 1933.
- 49 *Sĕrat Kacawirangi* (Fairytale of the Dove). PC, 21 × 15 cm., 60 pages.
- 50 *In Kitab Waruga Gĕmĕt* (Book of Divination). Sundanese, West Java, undated but around 1865. UBL NBG 238, 35 × 22 cm., 32 pages, page 32. Juynboll 1912: 70.
- 51 *Ahmad Muhamad* (Story of Ahmad Muhammad). Sundanese, West Java, dated AD 1866. UBL NBG 240, 34 × 20.5 cm., 85 pages, page 85. Juynboll 1912: 1.
- 52 *Ganten Wangi* (Tale of Ganten Wangi, King of Mandrayana). Sundanese, West Java, dated AD 1866. UBL NBG 280, 21 × 17 cm., 320 pages, page 320, Juynboll 1912: 6–8.



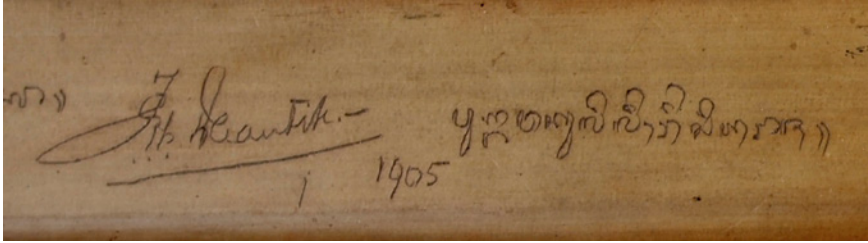
Some examples from Bali include the signature of I Gusti Putu Jlantik, who used to sign most of the manuscripts in his vast collection in Latin script with either his full signature or with his initials. Just as in the case of Bapa Sueb from Praya in Lombok whom we met above in Chapter Seven, some information about the private life of I Gusti Putu Jlantik may be obtained from his manuscripts. In 1893 he was an apprentice controller (*magang kontrolir*) in Buleleng as can be seen from his *lontar* manuscript of the *Panawuran Sod* (Text on Ritual) LT 183<sup>53</sup>) in which this was stated. In 1895 he was still a *magang* in Buleleng, as witnessed by his manuscript of the *Canda Pinggala* (Fables and Lessons on Statecraft) (LT 222). In the same year he was also *magang bestir residen* (Apprentice in the Administration of the Resident) (*Kakawin Rāmaparaśuwijaya* (Rāmaparaśuwijaya's Victory), LT 221) while a year later he was still in the same position (*Kakawin Ghaṭotkacāśraya* LT 216) but now *magang residen Sasak* (Apprentice of the Resident of Sasak [Bali and Lombok]) (*Nitipraja*, LT 156). In 1899 he had been promoted to *kanca rad kreta* (Clerk at the Judicial Council) in Singaraja (*Putru Kalēpasan* LT 213), a position he still held in 1901 (*Adipurāṇa* (Prose Compendium of Epic Tales and the Quest for Holy Water) LT 55). In 1905 he was an *punggawa kuliling* (Ambulant District Head) in Singaraja, as seen in illustration 452, while in 1918 he had become the *punggawa distrik* Sukasada (Head of the District of Sukasada) (*Kakawin Indrawijaya* (Indra's Victory) LT 223). In 1929 he had climbed up again in status and had become *Lid rad brata ring Singaraja* (Member of the Acting Judicial Council in Singaraja), as witnessed by the information in *lontar Mantra Usada Tantri* (Notes on Medicine with Mantras LT 237) and *Lid rad kreta ring Singaraja* (Member of the Bench of Judges) in the *Kakawin Pārthāyaṇa* (Pārtha's Quest) in the same year.<sup>54</sup>

Another, much later example is the signature of I Made Dauh. The manuscript is dated (with correction) and signed by I Made Dauh solely in Latin script, to which he added his name in legible script. I have been unable to trace the meaning of the abbreviation TTLKL.

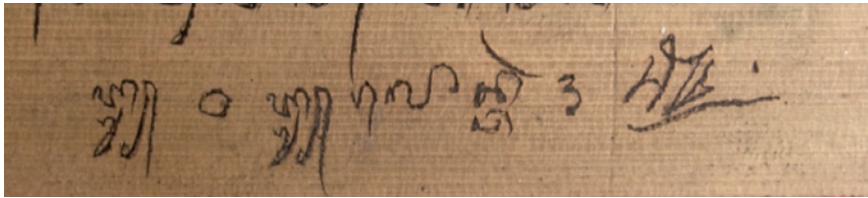
53 All the manuscripts are preserved in the University of Indonesia Library except the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa* (Old Javanese version of the *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*) of 1905 which is in Leiden. Behrend and Pudjiastuti 1997.

54 Creese 1998: 13.

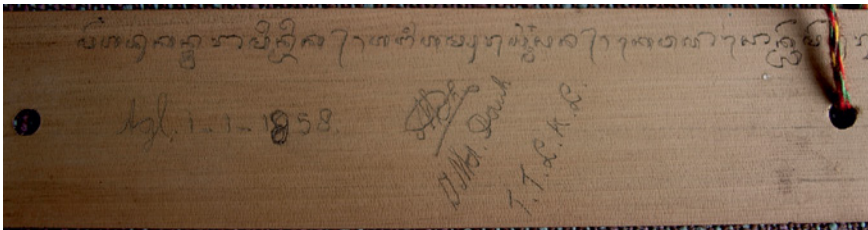




ILL. 452      *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (Old Javanese version of the Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa). Old Javanese, Bali, dated AD 1905. UBL KITLV Or D 417, 3.5 × 50 cm. Signature of I Gusti Putu Jlantik, punggawa kuliling, ring Singaraja (ambulant punggawa in Singaraja).<sup>55</sup>*



ILL. 453      *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha (War of the Bhāratas). Old Javanese, Bali, dated Śaka 1827 = AD 1905. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 015/BBD/11b/91, 3.5 × 51 cm., 87 inscribed leaves, page 68. The text says: Lontar 4 followed by the initials of I Gusti Putu Jlantik.*



ILL. 454      *Kidung Rare Sasigar (Poem of the Half-Child). Balinese, Bali, dated Śaka 1858 = AD 1936. PC, 3.5 × 32.4 cm., 43 leaves, leaf 43a.*

Others signed their manuscript using both Balinese script and Latin script as in the following example.

<sup>55</sup> Pigeaud 1980: 246.





ILL. 455 *Signature of Ida Putu Dana in Balinese script.*



ILL. 456 Tuttur Sanghyang Aji Tigajñana (*Notes on Religious Speculation*). Javanese-Balinese, Bali, dated AD 1927. Collection Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar 145/BPB/IIIb/91, 3.4 × 43.5 cm., 31 inscribed leaves. Signature of Ida Putu Dana in Latin script.

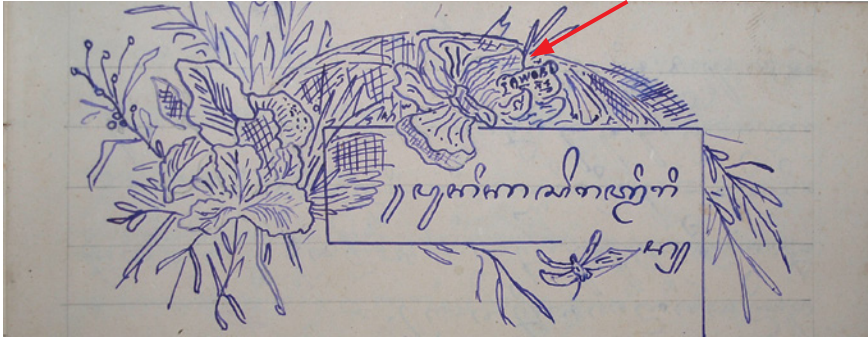
### Hidden Names of Authors and the Places where They Live

Many manuscripts mention the names of their authors or scribes and the place where the manuscript was written in the colophon. Many others do not. Other manuscripts contain indications of the names of the authors or scribes but in a hidden way. Below follow two examples of how this was done.

#### Name Hidden in Illuminations

Occasionally we come across a manuscript with illuminations that alone may offer an indication as to the time when the manuscript was written. In the illuminations, the name of the scribe may also have been hidden as in the example below. The name Sawab(?) has been concealed in the right petal of the orchid on the right.





ILL. 457 *Sĕrat Wirid (Manual on Mysticism)*. Javanese, Yogyakarta, undated but first half of the twentieth century. PC, 19.7 × 14.6 cm., 181 inscribed pages. Typical early twentieth century European-inspired decoration surrounding the title.

### Pre-Printed Paper

Pre-printed paper was in use in Central Java. The papers were made with a variety of borders between which the texts was to be written. Occasionally the paper was made for a particular individual whose printed name would feature on all the paper used in the manuscript. Apparently, this kind of paper was popular in Yogyakarta around 1905–1915.<sup>56</sup> For instance:



ILL. 458 *Babad Dĕmak III (Chronicle of Demak, part III)*. Javanese, Yogyakarta from the 1910s. BBY 2706, 34 × 25.5 cm. Paper with the name of the owner printed in Javanese script. The pre-printed name reads: *Buminata. Major with the General Staff, Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat*.<sup>57</sup>

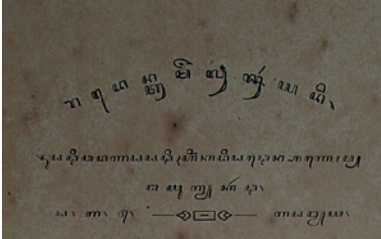
- <sup>56</sup> Behrend and Pudjiastuti 1997: 125. The University of Indonesia Library has a copy of the *Pustakaraĝa* (Books of Kings by Ronggawarsita) (CT 16) and *Lakad* (Poem of the King of Lakad. An Episode of Muhammad's Life) (NR 259, NR 260 in two volumes) written on similar paper dated 1905 and 1910 respectively, Behrend and Pudjiastuti 1997: 125, 173.
- <sup>57</sup> “g.p.h. buminata. mayor bei dhen genĕralĕn sĕtap. ngayogyakarta hadiningrat.”





ILL. 459

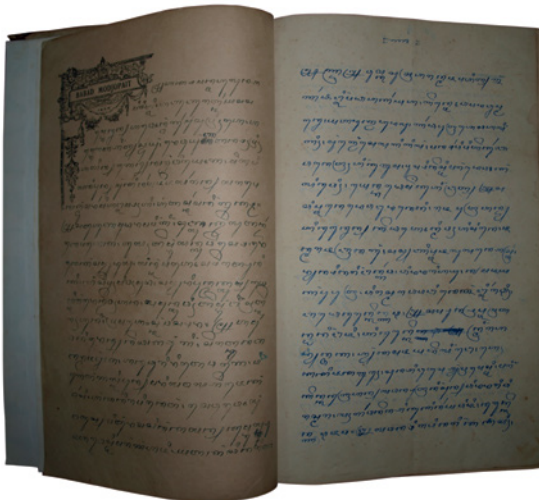
Babad Pacina (*Chronicle of China*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AD 1936. BBY no. 2768. Paper with the name of the owner printed in Javanese script. The text reads: Buminata. Major with the General Staff, Ngayogyakarta Hadiningrat.<sup>58</sup>



ILL. 460

Babad Kartasura VIII (*Chronicle of the Realm of Kartasura, part VIII*). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AD 1909. BBY No. 2773. Paper with the name of the owner printed in Javanese script. The text reads: Raden Tumenggung Suryadi. Bupati Wadana Papatih in the Kadipaten Anom, Yogyakarta, 8, 1, 5, 1839).<sup>59</sup>

Other paper includes paper where the title of the text is pre-printed or stamped on the first page, as in the example below. The title of the work is *Babad Majapahit*.



ILL. 461

Babad Majapahit (*Chronicle of the Realm of Majapahit*). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1870. PDS H.B. Jassin 899 221 091 J, 34 × 21.5 cm., 689 pages, opening pages.

58 "gusti pangeran harya: buminata. mayor jendralen setap. ngayogyakarta hadiningrat." Note that the name has been corrected.

59 "raden tumenggung suryadi. bupati wadana papatih ing kadipaten anom. ngayogyakarta. 8, 1, 5, 1839."



### Sandiasma from Java

To end this chapter I would like to point to various ways in which scribes indicated their names or the place they lived in a hidden way. Some Javanese authors and scribes used a *sandiasma* (acrostichon) to state their names.<sup>60</sup> It is a device where the name is indicated usually by the first syllables of verse lines, and most commonly at the start of a poem. However, other forms of *sandiasma* exist as well, for instance, where the name is hidden in the words of the last sentence of a stanza in a poem as, for example, in the *Sĕrat Kalatidha* (Moralistic Poem by Raden Ngabehi Ronggawarsita) where the name Ronggawarsita is hidden that way.<sup>61</sup>

Rarely is it the case that double *sandiasma* are used. For instance in the *Sĕrat Witaradya* (Poem written by Ronggawarsita), KS 308 in the collection of the Karaton Surakarta where the *sandiasma* for Raden Ngabehi Ronggawarsita is found both in the opening stanza in the first syllables of each verse line and in the first syllables of each stanza of the opening canto of the poem.<sup>62</sup> Other kinds include reversed *sandiasma* such as used by the scribe Mangunsuwirya whose *sandiasma* is *Yawirsungunma* = *Mangunsuwirya* in the historical romance *Sĕrat Ajipamasa* (Historical Romance of the Kings of Pengging),<sup>63</sup> *Sĕrat Karimataya* (Poem about the History of Java Starting with Adam),<sup>64</sup> *Pustaka Raja Buddhawaka*,<sup>65</sup> and in the *Lakad* (Poem of the King of Lakad. An Episode of Muhammad's Life) in the collection of the Pura Mangkunagaran.<sup>66</sup>

An example of the simplest form of *sandiasma* that only mentions the *jen-eng cilik/nama alit* (child name) is found in a manuscript of the *Sĕrat Babad PB VI (Nyah Kyi)* (Chronicle of Pakubuwana VI of Solo) in Museum Radya Pustaka in Solo RP 54.<sup>67</sup> The first syllables of the last three lines of the text are *su*, *mar*, and *di* and the scribe's name was thus Sumardi.<sup>68</sup>

60 For a short general introduction into *sandiasma* and examples in various texts see Slamet Riyadi 1988: 151–161. Also in West Java *sandi asma* were in use. The only example I have found is that of a text written by Nyi Raden Purwasari, indicated in the first syllables of the first word in a stanza in *asmarandana*, see <http://lokerpena.blogspot.co.id/2016/03/basa-suda-berkenalan-dengan-pupuh.html> (accessed 31 October 2016). Blogspot by Sadesa Fitri.

61 *Borong angga sawarga mesi martaya*. Slamet Riyadi 1988: 152.

62 Florida 1993: 170.

63 MN 22, Florida 2000: 42.

64 MN 130, Florida 2000: 91.

65 MN 494, Florida 2000: 331.

66 MN 519.2, Florida 2000: 345.

67 Florida 2012: 76–77.

68 Wieringa 1994 (vol. 1): 29–30.



*Hidden Personal and Place Names in Manuscripts from Bali*

Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen used an altogether different name when he copied *lontar* before he was ordained as a high priest. He used the names Wuruju Parjukan (Youngest Child Pajrukan), Wungsu Pajrukan (the last child Parjukan), Wuruju Sang Wṛdda Pajrukan (the youngest child of the Honorable Pajrukan Senior) and Ida Ketut Pajrukan (the fourth child Parjukan) because Pajrukan had been used as a nick-name in his family for generations.<sup>69</sup> The name points to a sour citrus fruit that was used for enhancing the patterns on traditional (ceremonial) daggers (*keris*) which was the work of one of the *pedanda*'s ancestors. Moreover, his family name is Aseman which means 'sour' which also points to the activity of highlighting (souring) these *keris* patterns. After ordination he used the name Sang Gede Made Sidemen quite consistently in his colophons next to the name Sang Niraksara, which he only used in one manuscript.<sup>70</sup>

If this is not enough of a puzzle, more is to come. For his book about Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen of 1994, Ida Bagus Gede Agastia was forced to solve the problem of whether or not some texts had really been written by Ida Bagus Made Sidemen from Intaran, Sanur. The manuscripts he consulted did not contain the name of the famous priest. However, rethinking the information he did manage to find in the manuscripts revealed that the priest had indeed given his name, the place where he lived and the years he wrote his texts, but in a hidden way.<sup>71</sup>

Two examples that Ida Bagus Gede Agastia had explained earlier were also among the colophons which Raechelle Rubinstein discussed two years later. In the final stanza of the *Kakawin Candrabhairawa* (Candrabhairawa's Teachings) is mentioned: "*telas ing dwijati ya ta kancana madha ya taman sukeng hati.*" The puzzle of his name was solved as follows: *Madha ya* refers to 'Made,' an indication that the scribe was the second child of his parents. *Taman sukeng hati* (don't like) points to *si(ng) demen* (don't like) the sound of which points to Sidemen. *Dwijati* (twice-born) refers to 'ordained priest,' and *kancana* to *mas* (gold), the name of the group of Brahmin descent to which Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen belonged.<sup>72</sup> That the practice is old and apparently more widespread is attested by the fact that a lady scribe, Ni Pangkajawati, copied the *Kakawin Sumanasāntaka* (Death by Sumanasa Flower) in Lombok, between 1 October 1800 and 28 January 1801. Before that she had made a copy of the longest of

69 Rubinstein 1996b: 178.

70 Rubinstein 1996b: 178.

71 Agastia 1994: 4–10.

72 Agastia 1994: 5; Rubinstein 1996: 179.



all the *kakawin* of the East Javanese period, the *Kakawin Bhomāntaka*, under the name Nini Kumudawati. Since Pangkaja and Kumudā both mean ‘lotus,’ both names are considered to point to the same person.<sup>73</sup>

Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen lived and worked in Intaran, Sanur in Bali. However, most of his manuscripts state that he lived in Mimba. In Balinese, *mimba* means the Intaran tree (*Azadirachta indica*) which solves the problem as the priest came from Intaran in Sanur. Apparently, Ida Pedanda Made Sidemen was not the only person to use this alternative name for Sanur. Sang Gede Toka from Griya Toko in Intaran, Sanur did the same in 1922 as we have seen above.<sup>74</sup>

Place names in Balinese manuscripts more often differ from the ones usually used. For instance, Icchānagara is Gelgel and Swechāpura is Klungkung,<sup>75</sup> Paśuprabhu is Singaraja,<sup>76</sup> Smarapura is Klungkung<sup>77</sup> and Amlaraja is Karangasem<sup>78</sup> as is Amladīrajā.<sup>79</sup> Other names that are not yet conclusively identified include Harsawati which is probably another name for Sukawati near Ubud (*Kakawin Smaradahana* Private collection) and Tryanggapura<sup>80</sup> for which I have not yet found the solution as to what place it is.

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73 Worsley, Supomo, Hunter and Fletcher 2013: 31.

74 See also the sub-section entitled “Colophons added to colophons” in Chapter Seven of this book.

75 Prijohoetomo 1934: 21, 139.

76 Worsley, Supomo, Hunter and Fletcher 2013: 526.

77 Berg 1928: 33.

78 Pigeaud 1975: 138, Creese 1998: 15.

79 Information kindly provided by Peter Worsley.

80 Pigeaud 1975: 111.







## *Candra Sangkala* in Manuscripts<sup>1</sup>

1. Form, body, self, belly button, belly, heart, anus, tail, human being, child, sun, moon, month, star, earth, land, total, round, God, king, ruler, lord, benefit, prosperity, life, truth, concentration, courage, to dare, (leaf, pigeon, bird).

abdi, adi, aji, Allah, alip, amurwani, anak, angambara, anunggal, anunggil, anyipta, anyondra, aprabu, arja, arupa, ati, atiku, atma, atmaja, awor, ayu(?), bantala, basuki, bathara, batos, bawana, brata, buda, budaya, buddha, budi, budaya, budya, bumi, buntut, bupati, buwana, buwanane, cakranira, candra, candrama, candraning, cethi, cipta, ciptaning, condra, dadi, danu, dara, dhewe, di, dipati, driya(?), dumadi, (du) dunya, eka, gade, gëgana, *gong*, *gumuling*, gusti, harja, hawa, hyang, hyang agung, hyang odipati, hyang suksma, hyang widdhi, iku, indra, iswarasiwi, iyeka, jagad, jagat, jalma, jalmi, jana, janma, janmi, jati, jatine, ji, jilma, juga, jumbuh, kalbu, kanang, kandha, kapti, karaton, karsa, katëmënan(?), katong, kawruh, kayun, kërni, kisma, kula, kumpuling, langgëng, lëbu, lokagung, maha, mahaprabu, manëkung, manon, mantri, manungsa, marni, medi, miji, mor, muja, muji, mulku, mulya, mung, nabi, nagara, nagareng, nagari, nagri, ngrat, nalendra, naranata, narapati, narendra, narendradi, narpati, narya, nata, nerpati, ngaji, ngatunggal, ngrat, ngurip, ningrat, nrapati, nrepati, nung, nunggil, nyandra, nyata, pambodyarja, pambudya, panggalih, pati, patra, prabu, praja, prana, pratiwi, puja, punggawa, pura, purun, putra, putri, *putus*, rading, raja, rajeng, rama, rat, rate, ratu, ratune, rawi, rëg, rësëp, ron, rupa, rupane, rupaning, rupeku, sadu, sami, samoha, sang, sangkala, sarupaning, *sasi*, sasra, satria, satriya, satuhuning, satunggal, satunggil, satyaning, sawiyos, sawujud, sawyos, sëmadi, sëmedi, sësmita(?), sidhi, siji, siki, sinuta, sirata, siswa, sitarësmi, siwi, sliraji, songka, sudarmi, sudira,

1 The English expressions are translations of the Dutch explanations in Pigeaud 1938: XI–XII. Sources include the catalogues by Florida 1993, 2000 and 2012, Lindsay R.M. Soetanto and Alan Feinstein 1994, Wieringa 1994, Behrend and Pudjiastuti 1997 and Behrend 1998 and Saktimulya 2005, apart from a variety of other sources in which one or two *candra sangkala* were found. In any cases of doubt because of confusion in the sources, a question mark has been added between parentheses. In this appendix, *candra sangkala* have been italicized when they were found in the catalogue of the Merapi-Merbabu collection (Setyawati, Wiryamartana and Van der Molen 2002) but not in my database of more than 1000 *candra sangkalas* derived from the other sources of more modern manuscripts. The spelling of those words have been modernized. When a word is categorized under more than one numeral or its numerical value is unclear or contested, a [?] has been added before the translation of the word.



sujalma, sujalmi, sujanma, suksma, sunu, sura, suta, sutaningrat, tama, tanayeng, inggih(?), tēdah(?), tēmbung, tengsu, tiyang, tondha, tua, tuhu, tunggal, tunggal, turut, tutunggal, tyas, wadi, wadu, wahaningrat, wak, wana, wanda, wani, wanodya, warna(?), widi, wiji, wong, wran, wujud, *wulan*, wwang, yakti, yang, yekti, ywang odipati, yyang.

2. Couple, married couple, twins, meeting point between two things, connection, eyelid, hearing, ear, cheek, temple, eyebrow, hand, arm, make an obeisance with both hands, respect, wing, fly, foot, claw, horn, (plague, lock of hair, adornment).

anēmbah, aningali, asta, babahu, boja, bojo, buja, cahyaning, caksuh, caraning, cundhuk, dara, dhesta, dhi, dwi, duwi, jumbuh, kadi(?), kalih, kapēksa, karna, karni, karngeng, kauninga, kawi, kawuryan, kēkalih, kēlawan, kēmba, kēni, krungu, kuping, kuren, lakon, lar, loro, makripattu yakin, mandeng, manēmbah, *metra*, manyura, mardī(?), matya, mēndhung(?), miyarsakna, mulat(?), myarsa, myat, myating, naya, *nayapati*, nēmbah, netra, netranira, ngalih, ngēmba, nungkēm, nurun, paksa, panēmbah, pēgsa, pēksa, pinaka, ro, rong, roro, samya, sēmbah, *sikara*, sinēmbah, sribit, *sukuning*, tingal, tingalin, tiningal, umiyat, wisik(?), wrin, wruh(?).

3. Fire, warmth, burn, battle, fighting, take, deal with, ingenuity, knowledge, woman, princess, equal, (scorpion, eal, worm, tusk).

agni, amiguna, bahneng, bahni, brama, dahan, damar, duta(?), gēni, guna, gunane, gunaning, guneng, kadya, kagunan, katon, kauninga, kukus, lintah, lir, mantri, mercu, mulat, ngayuda, ngrēdu, ngrungu (2?), pawaka, pawakeng, pēksi, sikaraning(?), sik, *siki*, siking, tēlu, tiga, tlu, tri, trining, urub, *uttiya*, wruh, wruhing.

4. Sea, water, river, pure, point of the compass, color, world eras, make (fruit, vehicle).

angengeblat, anyatur, bahrika, catur, caturira, dadēken, dadi, dik, dumadi, hēr, ginēm, jaladri, jalaniddhi, jēladri, kacatur, kapat, karta, karti, kartining, karya, kasucenipun, keblat, kondha, krēti, *magawe*, marta, mawarni, milēt, milir, misik(?), nadi, ngrasa, ninging, nyatur, pakartyeng, papat, pat, rupa, sagara, samudra, srēngkara, suci, sucining, sukci, tasik, *tatakērti*, tirta, toya, tur, warna, waudadi, winarna, windu, yoga, yoganing.

5. Wind, storm, (world) order, order, arrow, weapon, sharp, tool, means, road, path, Pandawa, demon, anger, wrath, whispering, announcement, sleep, bed, (forest).

agati, anata(?), astra, bayu, buta, capa, danawa, ditya, driya(?), *gana*, gati, gatining, *guli*, guling, gumiling, *gumuling*, hru, indri, mahastra, *manca*, marga, *marganing*, *marutani*, misik, murwa(?), panca, pandhawa, ponca, praginadhing, pranataning, rana, saking,



*samana, samir, sarah*, tata, tataning, tinata, traping, wigatining, wiku, wil, wisaning, wisaya, wisayaning, wisik, *wisika*, wisiking, wuwus(?), yaksa, yěksa.

6. Taste, feeling, feel, strong of taste, sour, bitter, salt, salty, sweet, confusion, movement, sadness, care, contain, stop, arrest, tree (trunk), season, wayang, bee, wasp, (as, like, if, lightning).

*Agas, angasin*, anggang, angoyag, angrasa, bėdhaya, boga(?), brėksa, ciptaning(?), ěbah, ěmbaling, *gana*, gangsir, jati, kadhawuhan, karasa, kawayang, kėrasa, mamanising, manis, mayang, mėmanise, nami, nėnėm, mong, mongsa, mosik, nayana, nėm, ngarasa, ngobakhėn, ngayog, ngoyag, ngraras, ngrasa, obah, obahing, *oreg*, osik, osiking, oyag, *oyagi, oyėg, oyėgi*, rahsa, rasa, rasane, rasaning, *rėgi*, rėteng, rėtu, rėtuning, rinasa, rumasa, sad, sat, sėdya, sindu, suraseng, tikta, wayang, winayang, wrėksa.

7. Mountain, big, horse, ride, sit on, wise sage, holy man, sound, word, instruction, joy, delight, (goose).

ajaring, amulang, anata, angucap, anunggang, ardi, ardining, arga, arseng, asi, cariteng, dwijastha, dwijawara, ěmpu, *garwa*, gėdėr, giri, gora, goraning, goreng, gunging, gunung, haswa, indra, jaran, jumėnėng, kanugrahan, kasapta, kaswareng, katitihing, katunggangan, krėta, kuda, mahamuni, mahapandhita, maharsi, maharsining, mandhaleng, mandhiteng, mangastaweng, maweng, muja, muji, mujining, mulang, mumulang, muni, munya, ngarga, ngucap, nitih, numpang, nunggang, pandhita, pandhiteng, pandhitaneng, pangandika, pangandikaning, pinandhita, pinudyeng, pitu, pitung, prawata, puja, puji, pujing, rame, rėksi, rėsi, rėsing, rėsining, sabda, sabdaning, sabdeng, saboleng, sabta, sapara, sapda, sapta, saptaning, saptarsi, sapteng, sėbdane, sėbdaning, sėpdaning, sėsanti, sindhen, sipteng, sogata, suka, sukaning, suwara, suwargi, swara, swaraning, swaranya, swareng, syara, syaraning, tapeng, tinitihan, titihan, titihaning, titiyaning, turangga, turongga, tuturing, ujaring, unining, waha(?), warga, wiku, wikuning, winata, winayang(?), winėling, winulang, winulangėn, winuruk, wiyat, wukir, wuruk.

8. Snake, crocodile, iguana, danger, elephant, wish, desire, (chameleon, lizard, monkey, brahmin, excellent).

ananta, angėrti, angesthi, ardawalika, astha, astheng, babayeng, badan, basu, bėrmana, bhiksu, bramana, brahmana, bramara, bhujangga, brahmanastha, brėmana, budayeng, bujangganira, bujangganireng, bujangganing, bujongga, dik(?), dipangga, dipanggane, dipaning, dirada, esthi, esthinira, *gajah*, *ghana*, hėr(?), jilma, karkutakeng, kesthi, liman, madya, madyaning, madyeng, mangesthi, manggala, manggalane, manggaleng,



manggalanira, mardi(?), mastha, matěngga, matengteng, miring, mretinireng, murti, murteng, murtining, murtinira, murtya, musthi, naga, nata,<sup>2</sup> nayaka, nayakeng, ngesthi, nyalirani, nyarira, pangesthining, pujangga, pujangganing, raharjanireng, roga, sadadyanireng, saesthining, salira, saliraning, saliranta, samadyaning, samadyanireng, sambune, sangastha, sarira, sariranta, sarireng, sarpa, sasi, sasonga, sěngkala(?), slira, slireng, sri, srira, sthi, suwita, tanu, teteking, wadyeng(?), walu, wolu.

9. Hole, door, gate, grotto, through and through, divinity, comfort, contentment, (face, smell).

anglěng, anrus, babahan, bolong, dewa, dheku, diwara, dwara, gapura, gatra, *gopura*, guwa, gyaning, ilang, kalanipun, kasanga, lawang, leng, lur, manrus, marga(?), mijil, muka, nawa, ngleng, raga, rong(?), sanga, sangang, sasanga, sipta, song, těrus, tres, trus, trusan, trusing, trustha, trusthaning, trustheng, wadana, waktra, wawenganipun, wadana, wědona, wiwaha(?), wiwara, wiwaragung.

o Empty, dead, broken, away, disappeared, without, sky, heaven, high, ascend, between, (far away, spark, contemporary).

akumbul, amědharkěn, aněnga, aněngata, aněngota, boma, dasa, dedel, doh, ěnir, ilang, kombul, kombuling, kumbuling, lena, langit, lěngit, luhur, luhura, luhuring, *mati*, mider, midik, mindra, miyat, muksa, muluk, muluking, murti, musna, něnga, ngambara, ngěmbara, nglangut(?), nir, niring, nis, padaning(?), purna, sah, sampurna, sampurnaning, sěpi, sih, sirna, sirnanya, sirneng, siwah, sonya, suh, taka, tan, tanpa, tar, tara, tiněbihna, wiyat, wuk.

10. dasa

1000. sasra

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<sup>2</sup> *Nata* not as 'king' but as the nasalized form of *tata*.



## Alternative Names for *Macapat* Meters

### Java and Madura

<i>asmarandana</i>	<i>asmara, asmaradana, asmaradona, anjasmara, brongta pawestri, puskasmaranadha, salobog, sēmara, sēmaradona, tirta ing marga</i>
<i>dhandhanggula</i>	<i>artadarya, artate, artati, dadang, dadang manis, dhandha madu, dhandha manis, dhandhang gēndhis, dhandhang manis, dhadhangmulya, gēndis, gula, gula dhadhang, gula drawa, gula manis, madu gēndhis, madu kelang, madu kilang, madurisa, manis dhadhanggula, nyata kelangan rasa, pēksi krēsna, pēksi nyaut asung warti, pēksi sēngara, sadanacita, sadayapraya, sadanawrēdaya, srēnggara suka, pemaliye kilang, talutur, wrēs paksi bantala, wukir, wuluh rēmēk, wukir gramya</i>
<i>durma</i>	<i>aja mundur ing yuda, duri, luku kacandhol tunggak, mudur, mundura miranti, panggitik maesa, puduri, sima</i>
<i>girisa</i>	<i>gurisah</i>
<i>kinanthi</i>	<i>kang sami kanthi asta, kang sami kekanthen asta, kanyaran, kēmanten kenante, kēnanthi, kathi, mesa langit, mesa wiyat, rewang cangkriman, salangēt, salangit</i>
<i>maskumambang</i>	<i>mas kēmambang, maskēntar, maskēntir, masrimambang, timbuling warih</i>
<i>mēgatrūh</i>	<i>dudukwuluh, kukila ngēntar, magattro</i>
<i>mijil</i>	<i>cahya, diwangkara kawahya, lambang sari, manggalang, mējil, mēnggalang, pamijil, paseban dhalēm</i>
<i>pangkur</i>	<i>bilulungan, kang sami ungkur-ungkuran, mungkur, pangko, pangkurēna, pangkur rētna, patra-mēnggala, ratu mungkur kewala, pēngkur, yudakēnaka</i>
<i>pucung</i>	<i>ladrang?, pocong</i>
<i>sinom</i>	<i>kinonoman, maksih noman, mantri anom, rikma munggang pilingan, roningkamal, sēnom, saminonoman, sēkar asēm, sri nata, wening arsa</i>
<i>wirangrong</i>	<i>kuswa wirangrong</i>



Lombok<sup>1</sup>

<i>asmarandana</i>	<i>asmara dahana, asmaran, asmarana, asmarang, dana smara, ditu disěma, kasmaran, kasmaran dana, kasmaran kingkit, kasmaraning ati, kubur bali (also kobur bali), kubur cara bali, kubur cara bali semaya mati, sěma, sěmaran, sěmarandana, sěmarang girang, sěmarang girang bagending, sěmarang girang bagentiq, sěmarang girang dapada mamisen, sěmarang girang memaca, sěmarang girang měraos, sěmarang kayu, sěmarang kayuna, simarang girang mamawos, smara gěnding, smara girang, smaran, smeran, papu' sěmaran, suku-suku</i>
<i>dangdanggula</i>	<i>astagpirul, bares denda julu', dadara bais ebok, dandang, dang, dangah, dangdang, dangdang gendis, dangdang gula derawa, dangdang pengiling-iling dasan kopong, dangdang pětak, dangsikul, dědara lenek dagang gula, dědara meleng, gědang masak, gěndang dina, guladaya, nasi dang, parsigula</i>
<i>durma</i>	<i>atas cara bali, ayi' dalem, damar dilah jarak jawa, darma, dur, durbik, durma i le' sida pada mamawos, durma perang, durma yuda, durmě, durmita, dusun reban, karang gědur, kědur, lamun dě' suka sila' mundur, pada mundur, puniki babalukan dur susu</i>
<i>maskumambang</i>	<i>babalu mas kuning, kapal mate angina, kudedda, kumambang, mas, mas kawin, mas kimba, mas mirah, mas sědih, masin, masin děrudaru, masku, masku denda, masku dendang, maskumambang iroq ate tebilin maskumirah, massayu, měrak ěmas, rupia kuning, rupya kuning, poma-poma mas kumambang, sair/sahir</i>
<i>měgatruih</i>	<i>měgar roh</i>

1 It may be that the reader feels that the interpretation of a name is faulty, for instance *semarang bengkeng* which would logically point to *asmarandana* rather than *sinom*, but these are the names given for the verse meters at the start of cantos. Perhaps the wrong names were given intentionally to confuse the reader, as discussed above. Sometimes a name is encountered but it proved impossible to establish the verse form as in the case of the name *lelakaq* (*sinom*??) as the second canto of the *Rěngganis* (Romance of Rěngganis, Princess of Jamintoran, part of the Menak Amir Hamza Cycle) (Mustirin, Suparman and Margig 1979: 16) or *kapal kelepi* in *Dajal* (Story of the Devil) (Suparman 1981/1982: 29).



<i>pangkur</i>	<i>klok manuk, lamun dè' suka sila' mundur, muri, ngyong si ngyong, pada mundur, pang, pangan, panggěnti yang nulis bapa', pangklék manuk pangkor, pangkuran, pangundang sanjata mamaq, pangundang sata, pangundang satwa, papuq pangkur dasan lekong, pengundang manuk, pungkuran, sangkur, sinkorn, sinosiq sangkur paya</i>
<i>pucung</i>	<i>pacung.</i>
<i>sinom</i>	<i>bajang, bajang solah, bebalu si sinoman cara bali, da' simo', denda sesinoman cara jawa, kapi, kundang méyong, lelakaq, lengkoq laki balen sinom, nika cara sasak, panglek méyong lih babosang, pengepong meyong li'sapara kakena'si', pangundang godek (nyuk-nyuk), pěsenom, sadar asin kuwat nyakélat, sěri nata, semarang bengken, sěri naranata, sida dowang ariq jari buwaq mata, sido ariq, silaq sēměton sida si bajang, simo' ate sikol, simo lalaq sida, simota nulis, sino sida pada andang sibe' ya' kuduna, sinom bao daya, sinom payu mélé, sinom payu nani, sinoman, sri déwanom, sri nata, truna</i>

## Bali

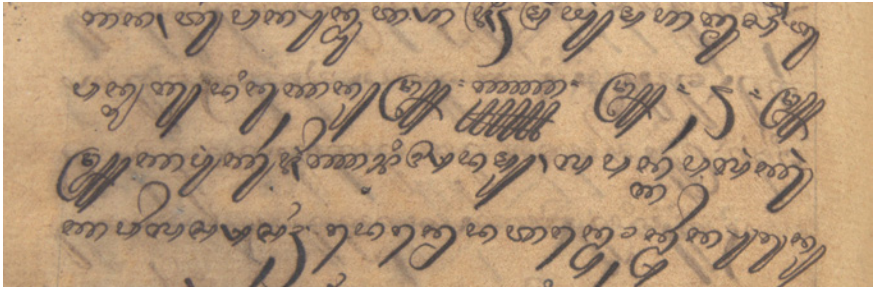
<i>dangdanggula</i>	<i>dangdang, dangdang ngegos</i>
<i>maskumambang</i>	<i>kumambang</i>
<i>mijil</i>	<i>wijil</i>
<i>pangkur</i>	<i>nyote</i>



## *Pada* Marks in Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese Manuscripts

### Javanese Manuscripts from Java

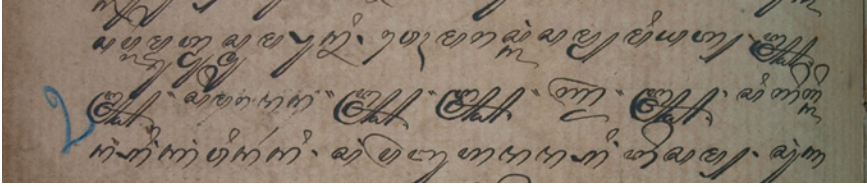
1. The *madyapada* introduces the new meter *pangkur* as indicated in the *sasmita wiwiting tēmbang* of the first word of the new canto, *kapungkur*. Note that the cluster between the *pada* mark is /nca/ rather than /ñca/ and the /n/ is written with the *aksara murda* ('capital') /n/ and *pasangan murda* /ca/.



ILL. 462 Sērat Anbiya (*Song of the Prophets*). Javanese, Bantul, Yogyakarta, dated AH 1314 = AD 1896. PC, 32.2 × 19.7 cm., 486 double pages, page 21 left.  
PHOTOGRAPHED BY DANKER PEEMAN

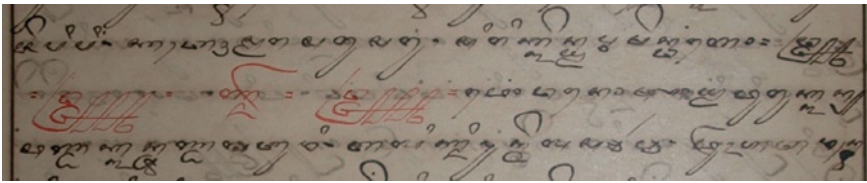
2. Canto change to *asmarandana* (here called *sēmaradana*). The *madyapada* consists of two stepped *pada* marks before the indication of the meter followed by two stepped *pada* marks, the /ndra/ cluster, and one stepped *pada* mark. The number 2 of the canto in blue in the margin was added later. Although the name has been provided, *aksara* clusters have been added between the multiple *pada* marks.





ILL. 463 Sĕrat Asmarasupi (*Romance of Asmarasupi*). Javanese, Central Java, dated AD 1898. PNRI KBG 543, 20 × 17 cm., 363 pages, page 7.<sup>1</sup>

3. Only the *madyapada* have been written in red. The double stepped *pada* at the end of the last line of the preceding canto was executed in black and is used to fill up the line. The *madyapada* has triple stepped *pada* marks. Note that the /r/ of the /ndra/ cluster starts after the /d/ and continues generously beyond the cluster itself. The new canto is in *sinom* as indicated in the *sasmita wiwitaning tĕmbang*, 'wong anom' in the first line.

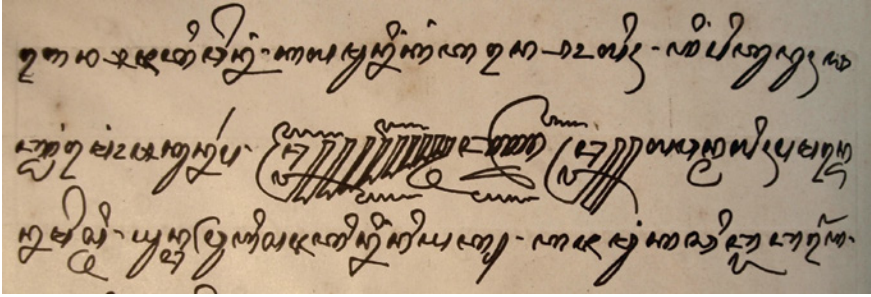


ILL. 464 Kitab Makdur Idayat. Javanese, Ngawen, Central Java, dated AD 191. Owned and probably written by Raden Kusumadarsana. PDS H.B. Jassin 899.222.091 Koe M, 21 × 27 cm., 68 pages, page 60.

4. In the *madyapada*, the /ndra/ cluster is preceded by a long stepped *pada* mark while followed by a *pada luhur*. Note the curl at the end of the /r/ of the cluster. The name of the new canto is *dhandhanggula* as indicated in the *sasmita salining tĕmbang* in the last line of the preceding canto.

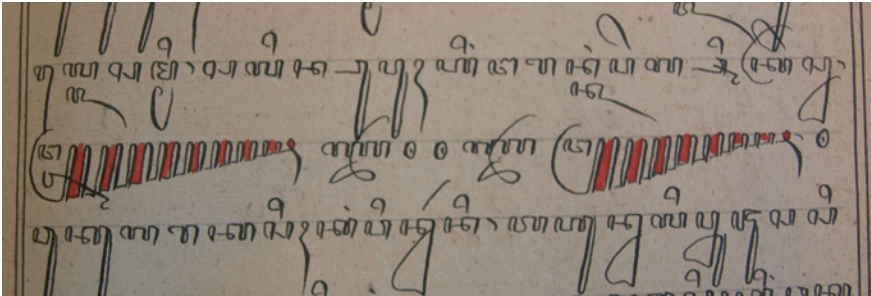
<sup>1</sup> Behrend 1998: 224.





ILL. 465 Seh Maulana Ibrahim (*Tale of Seh Maulana Ibrahim*). Javanese, Karaton Surakarta, dated AJ 1844 = AD 1913. PC, 34 × 22 cm., 257 pages, page 83.

5. The last line of the preceding canto reads: *salin pupuh ingaran kang pèksi krēsna* (change to the meter named *pèksi krēsna* [black bird] = *dhandhanggula*). The two /ndra/ clusters in the *madhyapada* are divided by two /o/ signs. No lines cross the stepped *pada* marks.

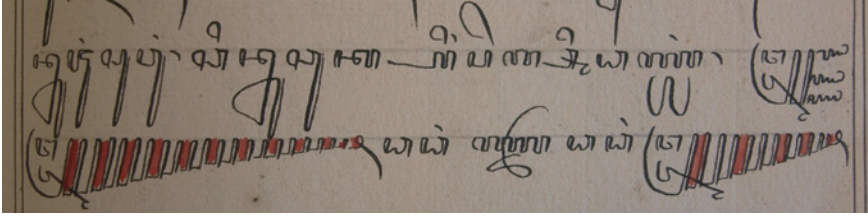


ILL. 466 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*). Javanese, Central Java, undated but around the middle of the nineteenth century. UBL Cod.Or. 12.332, 34 × 21 cm., 192 pages.<sup>2</sup>

6. In the same manuscript as in the illustration above, the change to *dhandhanggula* has been indicated in the last line of the preceding canto by the *sasmita salining tēmbang, pèksi dhandhang*. The name has moreover been provided twice between the two stepped *pada* marks of the *madhyapada* by the words *dhadhang* separated by the /ndra/ cluster.

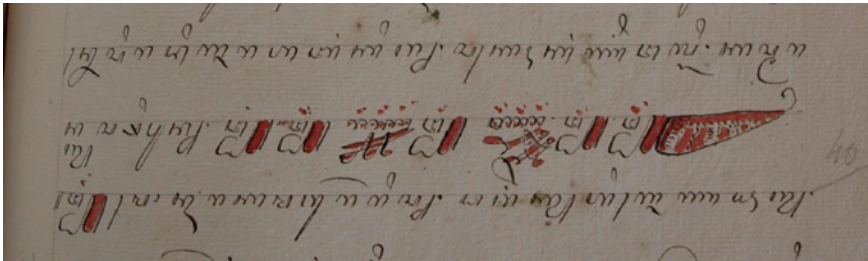
<sup>2</sup> Pigeaud 1980: 52.





ILL. 467 Pawukon (*Almanac on Chronology and Divination*). Javanese, Central Java, undated but around the middle of the nineteenth century. UBL Cod.Or. 12.332, 34 × 21 cm., 192 pages.<sup>3</sup>

7. Elaborate *madyapada* with double /nca/ clusters at the start of the meter *asma-randana* as indicated by the word *kasmaran* in *sasmita salining tẽmbang* in the last line of the preceding canto. The number of the canto in the margin (no. 40) is written in international numerals in pencil and added later.



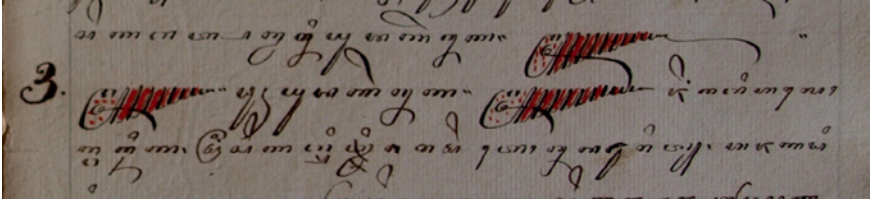
ILL. 468 Babad Kaṇḍa (*Historical Chronicle*). Javanese, Central Pasisir (North Coast Java) script, dated AD 1860. UBL KITLV D Or. 11, 33 × 20.5 cm., 226 double pages,<sup>4</sup> page 215 right.

8. The name of the new meter is indicated in the last line of the previous canto and between the stepped multiple *pada*: *puh yuda kẽnaka* = *pangkur*, which are also the last words in the last line of the preceding canto that act as *sasmita salining tẽmbang*. A stepped *pada* mark is used to fill the line before the canto change. The number of the canto in the margin (no. 3) is written in an international numeral and may have been added later. As the name is provided in the *madyapada* between single stepped *pada* mark, no *aksara* cluster has been added.

<sup>3</sup> Pigeaud 1980: 52.

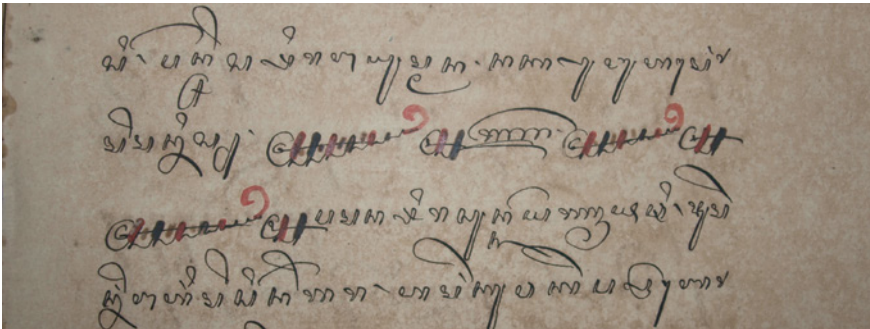
<sup>4</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 824.





ILL. 469 Lakad (*Poem of the King of Lakad. An Episode of Muhammad's Life*). Javanese, Central Java, dated 1866. UBL Cod.Or. 5771, 22 × 19 cm., 60 pages,<sup>5</sup> page 13.

9. Canto change to *dhandhanggula* as indicated in the *sasmita salining tĕmbang* in the last word of the preceding canto *mĕmanis*. The *madyapada* uses stepped *pada* marks that end in upward curls. The /r/ of the /ndra/ cluster does not start under the /n/ but rather precedes it. A stepped multiple *pada* is used to start the line that follows the *madyapada*.

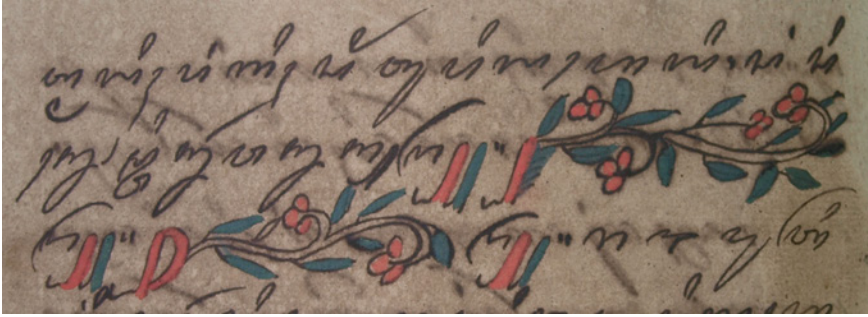


ILL. 470 Sérat Menak Namer (*Romance of Menak, episode of Namer*). Part III. Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AD 1894. PDS H.B. Jassin, 32.5 × 20.5 cm., 300 double pages, page 20 right.

10. Elaborate *pada* mark in red and blue. The name of the next canto is indicated by the *sasmita salining tĕmbang* in the word *sinom* in the last line of the preceding canto.

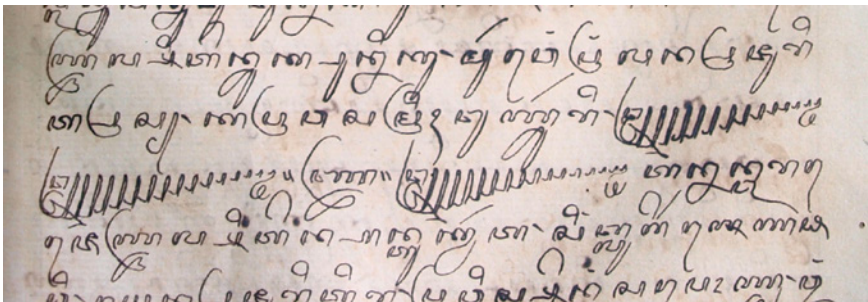
<sup>5</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 340.





ILL. 471 Sĕrat Menak Cina (*The Teachings of the King of China to his Daughter*). Javanese, Sekayu, Semarang, Central Java, dated AD 1862. PNRI KBG 18, 200 double pages, page 89 left.<sup>6</sup>

11. Stepped *pada* marks are used to fill the line before the *madyapada* is put to indicate the change in canto. The new canto is in *durma* as indicated in the *sasmita salining tĕmbang* with the last word in the preceding canto, *ngunduri*. Note that the *aksara* cluster between the stepped *pada* is /ñdra/ rather than /ndra/. The /dra/ of the /ndra/ cluster is executed in one uninterrupted line. The number of the canto in the margin (no. 5) is written in an international numeral in pencil and added later, probably by a scholar. Also note that the way the /d/ of the /ndra/ cluster is executed is different from the way it is inscribed in the text, for instance in the /d/ of the /dra/ cluster with which the illustration starts and in the line after the *pada* marks. The /d/ of that cluster has a little loop that is lacking in the /d/ of the *pada* mark cluster.



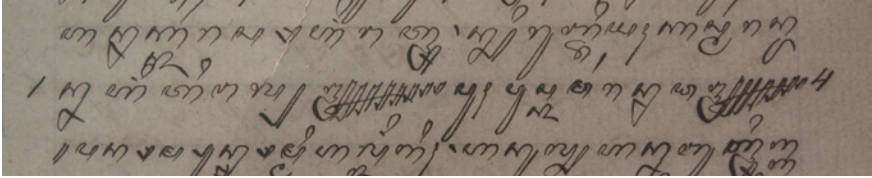
ILL. 472 Sĕrat Napoleon (*Poem of Napoleon Bonaparte*). Javanese rendering of a Dutch text on the Napoleonic Wars, Central Java, undated. PNRI KBG 227, 30 × 20 cm., 117 pages,<sup>7</sup> page 29.

<sup>6</sup> Behrend 1998: 171.

<sup>7</sup> Behrend 1998: 205.

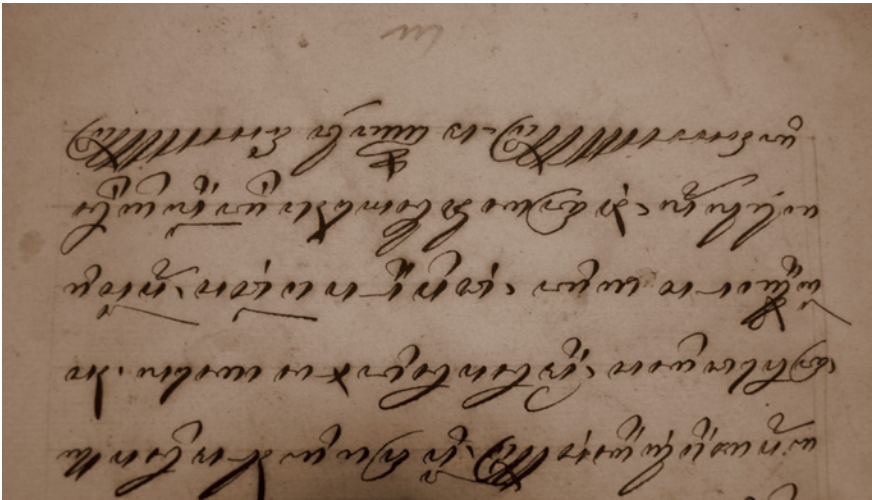


12. The following meter is called *puh puskamaranadha* which is *asmarandana* as indicated in the *sasmita salining tēmbang* in the last sentence of the preceding canto with *kasmarandana*. The top loops of the stepped *pada* marks are not rounded but have a dent while the bottom loops are angled. As the name is provided between single stepped *pada* marks, no *aksara* cluster has been added in the *madypada*. The international numeral to indicate the number of the new canto (4) has been added later, probably by a scholar.



ILL. 473 Madujaya (Poem of Madu Jaya, the Wandering Muslim Student). Javanese manuscript from the end of the 19th century made for J.L.A. Brandes. PNRI Br 49, 20,6 × 16 cm., 80 pages, page 12.<sup>8</sup>

13. The book starts with a *purwapada* at the beginning of the poem. The name of the verse *durma* is indicated by its two syllables *dur* and *ma* flanking the standard / *ñca*/ cluster in the middle of the *pada* marks.

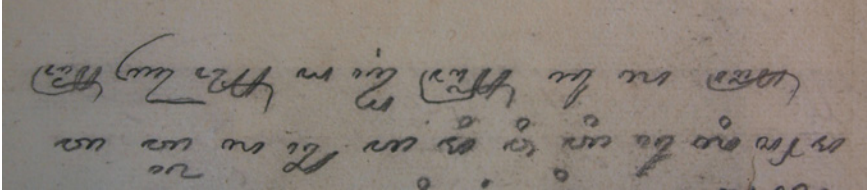


ILL. 474 Lakad (Poem of the King of Lakad. An Episode of Muhammad's Life). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1799 = AD 1870. PC, 32 × 19.4 cm., 280 inscribed pages, opening page.

<sup>8</sup> Behrend 1998: 58.

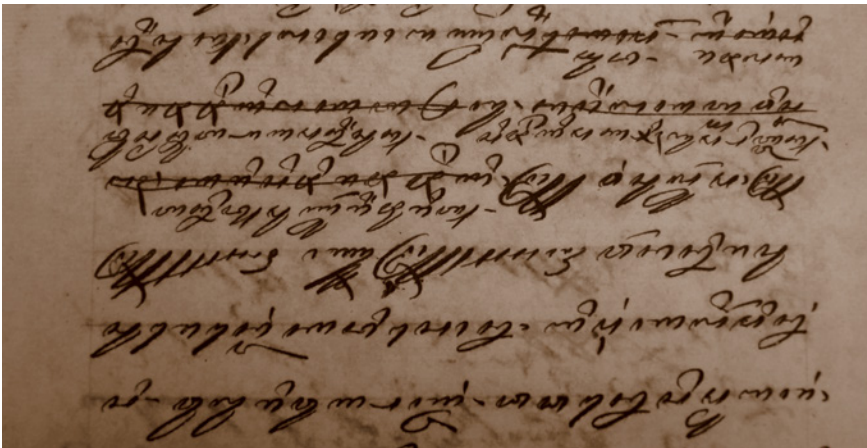


14. The name of the meter *dhandhanggula* is indicated by *dhandang* and *gula* flanking the *pada* marks in the *purwapada* in the middle of the canto indication. Note the simple /*ndra*/ cluster at the start of the *pada* mark.



- ILL. 475 *History of the Javanese kingdoms of Demak, Pajang and Mataram. Javanese, Central Java, copy dated AJ 1812 = AD 1882 of a manuscript dated AH 1199 = AD 1784. UBL Cod. Or. 6377, 33.5 × 20.5 cm., 509 pages,<sup>9</sup> opening page.*

15. The words before the *madyapada* read 'wangsul durma' and indicate that a return is made to *durma* the same meter as the preceding canto after a brief intermezzo of four stanzas in *pangkur*. That the meter is 'Durma' is moreover indicated in the last line of the preceding canto by the *sasmita salining tēmbang 'dur'* (*tan nēdya munduring jurit*).

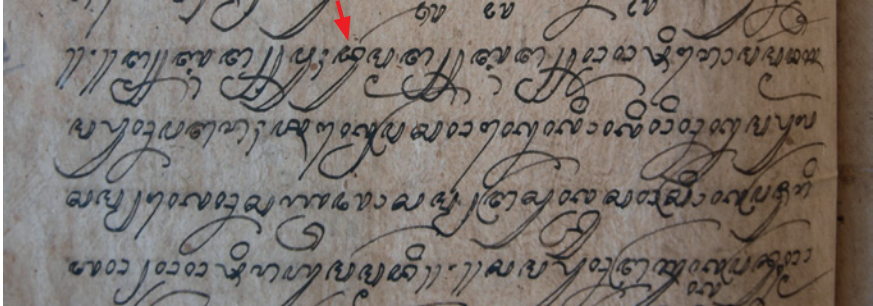


- ILL. 476 *Lakad (Poem of the King of Lakad. An Episode of Muhammad's Life). Javanese, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1799 = AD 1870. PC, 32 × 19.4 cm., 280 inscribed pages, page 51.*

<sup>9</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 355.

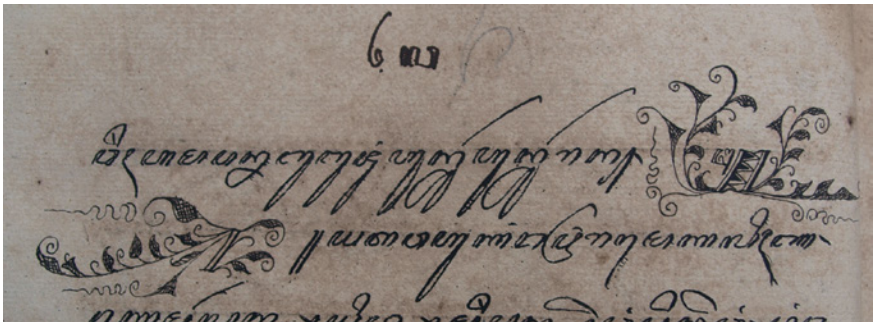


16. *Madyapada* to indicate the new canto *Durma* as indicated between the *pada* marks in the first line. Note that between the *pada* marks no cluster has been added but the *aksara swara* /i/.



ILL. 477 *Sérat Menak Lare* (Episode from the *Menak Amir Hamza* Cycle). Javanese, East Java (?) written on dluwang, undated but before AD 1897. UBL Cod.Or. 4869, 29.5 × 20 cm., 116 pages, page 67.<sup>10</sup>

17. *Pada* marks in a manuscript from the Pura Mangkunagaran in Surakarta. No stepped *pada* at all and no cluster. The name of the following meter (*durma*) is indicated in the last line of the ending canto 'undur-unduran' 'dismissed.'



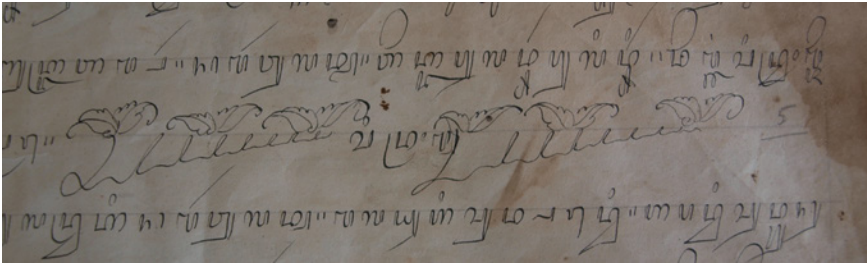
ILL. 478 *Sérat Menak Cina* (*The Teachings of the King of China to his Daughter*). Javanese, Mangkunagaran, Yogyakarta, dated AJ 1778 = AD 1847. Collection Museum Pustaka Tionghoa Peranakan, no number.

<sup>10</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 245.



### *Pada* Marks in Sundanese and Javanese Manuscripts from West Java

1. An elaborate stepped *madyapada* with foliage decorations with the name of the meter, *sinom*, written in between. The name of the meter is also indicated in the *sasmita salining tĕmbang* in the last sentence of the preceding meter by the words *tĕmbang sinom jĕsmara*. The number of the canto in the right margin (no. 5) is written in international numerals in pencil and added later, probably by a scholar. As the name is provided between single stepped *pada* mark, no *aksara* cluster has been added.

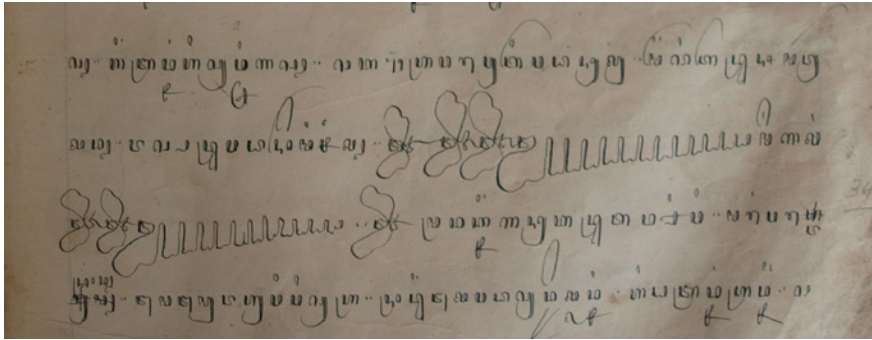


ILL. 479      Damar Wulan (*Romance of Damar Wulan, from Cirebon*). Javanese manuscript in West Pasisir (Cirebon) script, dated before AD 1861. UBL KITLV D Or. 18, 30 × 17.5 cm., 101 double pages, page 11.<sup>11</sup>

2. Elaborate *madyapada* with the name of the meter, *mĕnggalang*, an alternative name for *mijil*, written in between. The name of the meter is also indicated in the *sasmita salining tĕmbang* in the last sentence of the preceding meter by the word *mijil*. The number of the canto in the margin (no. 34) is written in international numerals in pencil and added later, probably by a scholar. As the name is provided between single stepped *pada* marks, no *aksara* cluster has been added.

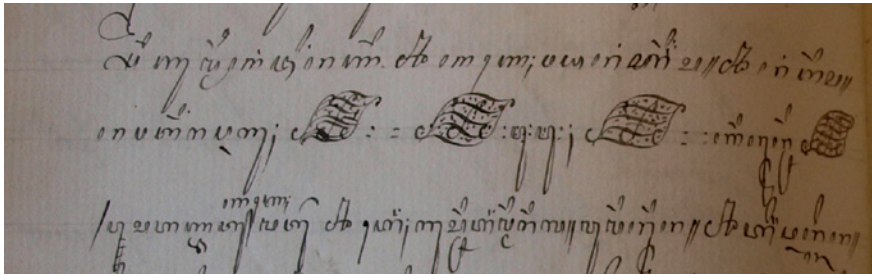
11      Pigeaud 1968: 826.





ILL. 480 Damar Wulan (*Romance of Damar Wulan, from Cirebon*). Javanese manuscript in West Pasisir (Cirebon) script, dated before AD 1861. UBL KITLV D Or. 18, 30 × 17.5 cm., 101 double pages,<sup>12</sup> page 77.

3. *Madyapada* canto divide to *kinanti* as mentioned the end of the canto dividing marks.



ILL. 481 Abdul Samad (*History of Abdul Samad, the Son of Omar*). Sundanese, West Java, dated AD 1865 and written by Sastrareja. UBL NBG 281, 20.5 × 16.5 cm., 42 pages, page 36.<sup>13</sup>

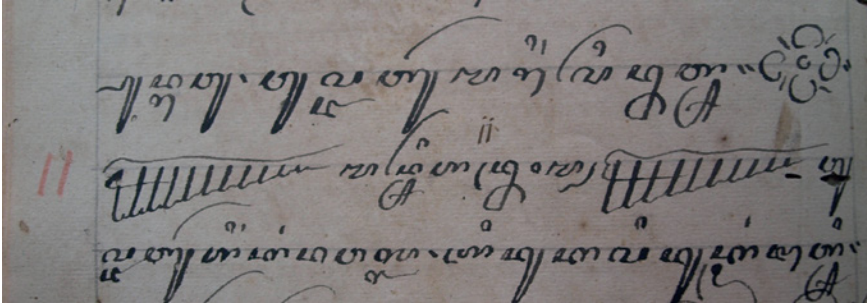
4. The loops of the *madyapada* are closed and they have a line above them. Note that the number of the canto has been indicated above the name of the meter between the *pada* marks by /ii/ a way of ensuring that it is read as eleven. It has also been indicated in the margin (no. 11) in red pencil which has been added later, probably by a scholar. The name of the meter of the new canto is indicated in the *sasmita salining tēmbang, sri nata*, in the last sentence of the preceding

<sup>12</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 826.

<sup>13</sup> Juynboll 1912: 8.

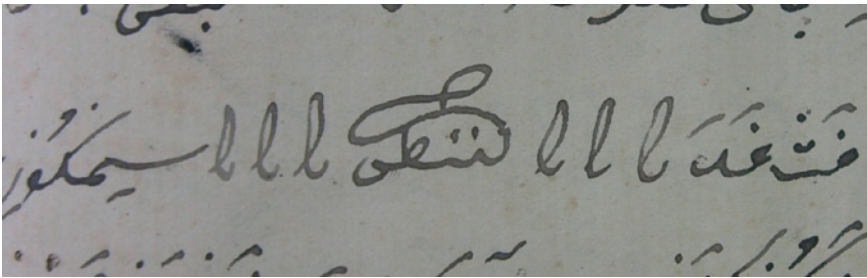


canto. As the name is provided between single stepped *pada* marks, no *aksara* cluster has been added.



ILL. 482 Babad Pajajaran (*Chronicle of the West Javanese Realm of Pajajaran*). Javanese, Sumedang, West Java, nineteenth century. Collection PNRI KBG 469, 33.5 × 21 cm., 177 pages, page 77.<sup>14</sup>

5. Manuscript in Sundanese in *pegon* script. The *madyapada* canto divide to *kinanti* is simple with three /l/ shaped *pada* marks before and after the name of the meter.



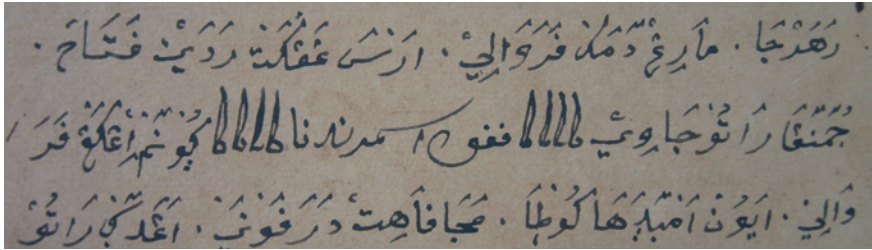
ILL. 483 Siung Wanara (*Poem of Siung Wanara*). Sundanese, Sunda, West Java, undated. PNRI Br. 38, 31 x 17 cm., 95 pages, page 35–36.<sup>15</sup>

6. Manuscript in Sundanese in *pegon* script. The *madyapada* canto divide is indicated by *pada* marks consisting of four elongated upward lobes with the name of the new meter *puh asmarandana* in between.

<sup>14</sup> Behrend 1986: 221.

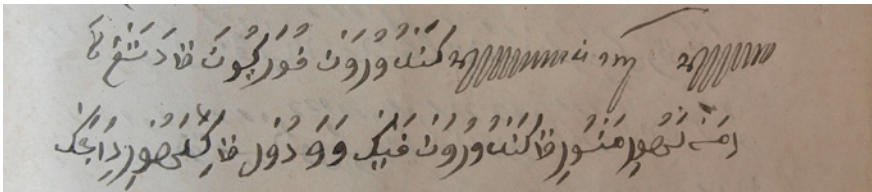
<sup>15</sup> Behrend 1998: 57.





ILL. 484 Babad Cirebon (*Chronicle of Cirebon*). Sundanese, Sunda, West Java, dated AD 1889. PNRI Br. 36, 30.5 × 19.6 cm., 85 pages,<sup>16</sup> page 50.

7. The text below is written in *pegon* script whereas many of the indications of the new meters are indicated in Javanese script such as *pangkur* in illustration 484. The stepped *pada* marks of the *madhyapada* consist only of the aksara /na/ with upward and downward continuous strokes diminishing in length.



ILL. 485 Lahuri (*Song of Prince Lahuri*). Sundanese, West Java, undated. UBL NBG 251, 21.5 × 17.5 cm., 75 pages, page 10.<sup>17</sup>

8. The text is written in *pegon* script as is the name of the meter. The canto change is to *mijil* as indicated in the mark: *pupuh mijil*. A very generous second letter *waw* to indicate the canto change so that the name covers the entire width of the page. The vowel signs for the name *mijil* have been provided in red.

<sup>16</sup> Behrend 1998: 55.

<sup>17</sup> Juynboll 1912: 4–5.

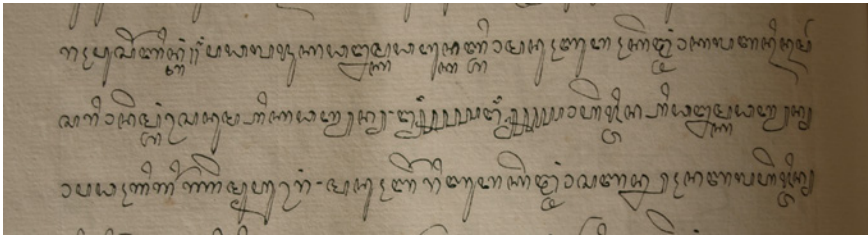




ILL. 486      Kitab Rawḍat = Anbiya (*History of the Prophets*). Sundanese, West Java, dated AH 1270 = AD 1853. UBL NBG 270, 35 × 21 cm., 59 pages, page 45.<sup>18</sup>

### *Pada* Marks in Madurese and Javanese Manuscripts from Madura

1. In the next *madyapada*, the cluster between the stepped *pada* marks has been omitted. Note the dots above the *pada* marks. No indication of the new meter has been offered.



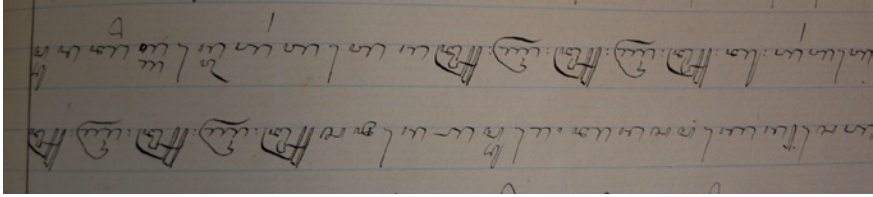
ILL. 487      Cĕrita Randa Kaseyan (*Song of the Widow Kaseyan*). Madurese, Madura, dated AJ 1786 = AD 1857. UBL Cod.Or. 2039, 33.1 × 20,5 cm., page 61.<sup>19</sup>

2. Rather elaborate *madyapada* introducing the meter *artate* = *dhandhanggula*. The *sasmita salining tĕmbang* in the last line of the previous canto is *artaten*, pointing to *artati*, the name under which *dhandhanggula* is known in Madura.

<sup>18</sup> Pigeaud 1968: 753.

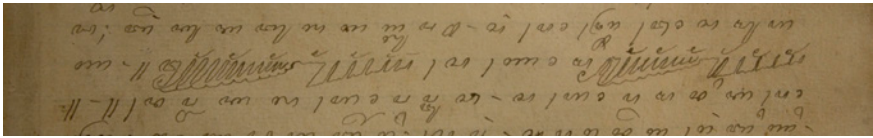
<sup>19</sup> Vreede 1892: 411.





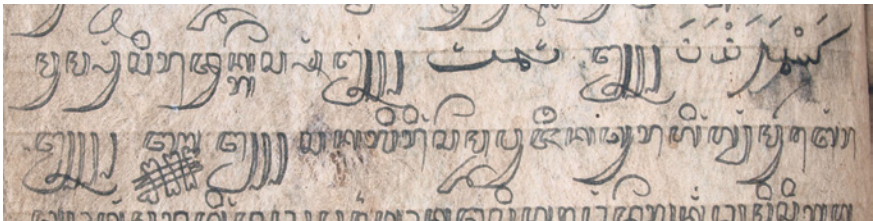
ILL. 488 Rancang Kancana (*Story from the Menak Amir Hamza Cyclis*). Madurese, Madura, undated but before AD 1903. UBL Cod.Or. 4956 (1), 24.5 × 21 cm., 112 pages, page 88.<sup>20</sup>

3. Two sets of elongated double stepped *pada* in the *madyapada* of which the first differs from the second. Note the comma-like signs above the *pada* marks. The name of the new meter, *senom* (= *sinom*) is indicated between the two sets of *pada* marks. As the name of the meter has been provided, no cluster is added.



ILL. 489 Bayan Ullah (*Tale of Bayan Ullah*). Madurese, Madura, undated but before AD 1897. UBL Cod.Or. 4922, 32.5 × 21 cm., 70 inscribed double pages; this is page 5 on the right side.<sup>21</sup>

4. In the *madyapada*, the change in canto is indicated in *pegon* script (in this case to *kasmarandana*). The word 'tamāt' (end) has been put between two simple pada marks whereas the name of the new meter is between the second simple pada mark above and followed on the next line with a /ñca/ cluster between two pada marks.



ILL. 490 Hikayat Nabi Yusup (*Poem of the Prophet Joseph, from Madura*). Madurese, Madura, dated AH 1259? = AD 1843? Collection Bayt al-Qur'an and Museum Istiqlal, Jakarta BQMI 4.22, 25 × 17 cm.

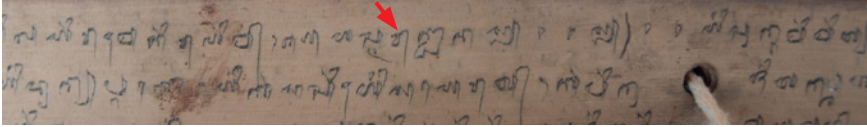
20 Juynboll 1907: 20.

21 Juynboll 1907: 41.



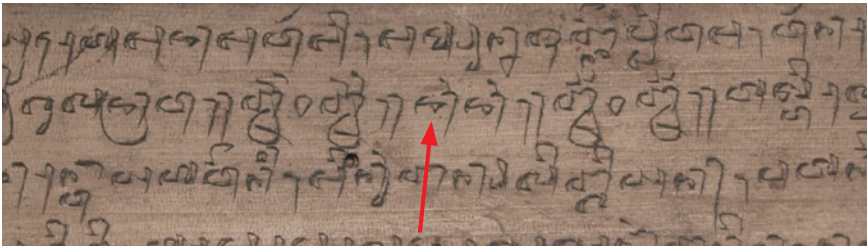
### *Pada* Marks in Manuscripts from Lombok

1. The canto change to *asmarandana* in the first line is indicated by a simple *madyapada*. The name is provided between simple *pada* marks at the start and more elaborate *pada* marks after the name.



ILL. 491 Cupak (*Romance of Cupak*). Sasak, Lombok, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod. Or. 3673, 3 × 30 cm., 218 leaves.<sup>22</sup>

2. The canto change to *dangdanggula* in the second line is indicated by a *madyapada* with, for Lombok, rather elaborate *pada* marks between and after the designation *dangdang* after the *sasmita salining tēmbang* in the last line of the previous canto *guladrawa*.

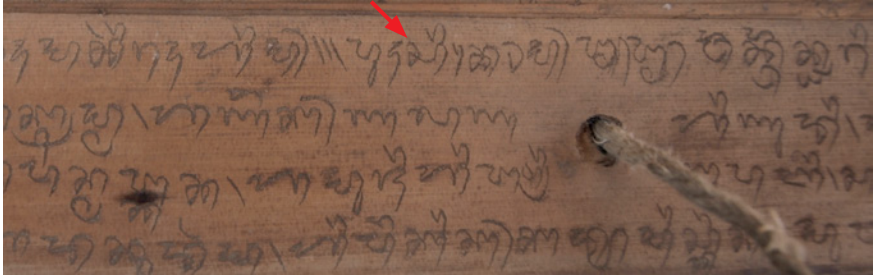


ILL. 492 Joharsah (*Tale of Joharsah*). Javanese from the Sasak community in Karangasem, Bali, dated Śaka 1823 = AD 1901. PC, 3 × 38.5 cm., 54 inscribed leaves. leaf 8b.

3. In the center of the first line the change in canto to *simon* has been indicated in the *madyapada* by its full name *puh sinom*. It is preceded by three little upward strokes to the left and ends in two *pada* marks.

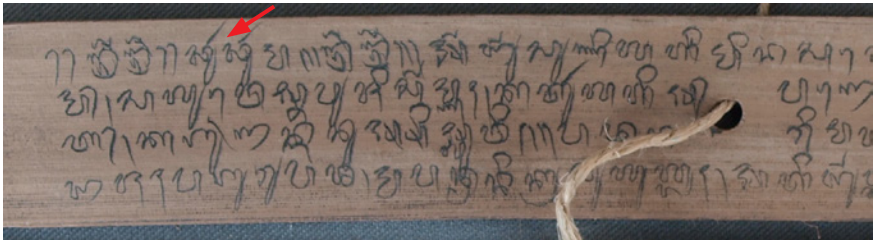
<sup>22</sup> Juynboll 1912: 201.





ILL. 493 Puspakrama (*Romance of the Prince of Puspakrama*). Javanese, Lombok, undated. UBL Cod.Or. 22.469, 3 × 29.5 cm., 97 leaves.

4. Start of the text with the verse meter indicated as *curcurma* between elaborate pada marks in the *purwapada*. I have been unable to identify what *těmbang macapat* meter it is.



ILL. 494 Kabar Kiamat (*Notes on Islamic Eschatology*). Sasak, Lombok, undated but before AD 1896. UBL Cod.Or. 3691, 3 × 30.5 cm., 94 leaves.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>23</sup> Juynboll 1912: 198.



## Sasmita Salining Těmbang from Java, Lombok, Bali and Sunda

### Javanese Texts from Java<sup>1</sup>

<i>asmarandana:</i>	<i>abrangti, angasmarani, asmana, asmara, asmara kingkin, asmaradan, asmaraning, asmareng, brangta, brangti, branta, brongta, brongta kinking, dana, dandana, dhanasmara, jiněm rum, kasmaran, kěkasihnya antya, kěsmaran, kingkin, lalis, lara brongta, moyang, ngasmareng, sědhih, sih, sinangudana, subrangtanira, sukeng ati, wasisasmara, yungyun</i>
<i>dhandhanggula:</i>	<i>andhandhang, anggula drawa, artati, dhandhang, dhandhang gěndis, dhadha, dhandhang milir, dhandhangan, dhandhanggula, dhinadhang, dhinadhang gěndis, dhinandhanggula, gagak, gula, guladrawa, guladrawya, gula kentar, kaga tresna, kědhandhangan kěmanisan, kudhandhang, kudhandhangan, madu, madu brongta, madu gendis, madu juruh, madu kentar, madu rana, madu ron, madu srěkara, madu srěngkara, mamanis, manis, manising, manuk, mēmanis, nandhang, pandhandhange, putoningong, sari bremana, sarkara, sěrkara, srěngkara, sundha, paksi tom, pěksi, pěksi glar ngara-ara, pěksi kitiran, pěksi srěngkara</i>
<i>durma:</i> <sup>2</sup>	<i>amundura, andurma, dinurma, darma, dur, duraka, durmangga, durmanggala, durmeng barna, durmita, durmiteng, durcara, durcidra, durmuka, galak, gumingsir, kadurmanggala, kondur, modur, mundur, mundura, ngunduran, ngunduri, pandurmaning, sirna, sudarmaningsun, undur, unduri, těluken</i>

- 
- 1 These sasmita were direved from many different text while additions were still found in the website <https://jendelailmubasajawi.wordpress.com/2014/01/13/sasmitaning-lan-wataking-tembang-macapat/> (accessed 31 October 2016).
  - 2 Pigeaud (1967: 22) states that words like *mundur* would point to the following meter *pangkur* because it reminds one of going backwards. However, the material shows that expressions that contain ‘*dur*’ point to *durma*.



<i>gambuh:</i>	<i>agambuh, anggambuh, buh, gambuh, gambuhing, gambuhěna, ginambuh, jumbuh, jumbuha, nambuh, ngimbui, panggambuhing, pitambuh, tambuh</i>
<i>girisa:</i>	<i>giris, girisa, gigirisi</i>
<i>kinanthi:</i>	<i>andulur, anganthi, gandeng, kakanthěning, kanthěning, kanthěta, kanthi, kanthine, kanthiněn kanthinipun, kanthinya, kěkanthen, kanti, kanthil, kinanthi, kěkanthěn, kěkanthěnan, kěkanthi, nganthi, nganthi brongta</i>
<i>maskumambang:</i>	<i>ėmas, ėmas kėmambang, kambang, kampul, kentir, kisma, kumambang, mas, maskentir, maskumambang, mastimbul, tumimbul</i>
<i>mėgatruh:</i>	<i>amėgat, anduduk manah, duduk, duduk wuluh, luh, magatruh, mėgat karsa, mėgat trėsna, mėgatruh, mėgatruhi, mėgatruhnya, panggayuh, pėgat, pėgat truhing, pamėgatruh, pupuh, saguh, truh, wuluh</i>
<i>mijil:</i>	<i>amiyosi, kawijil, mėdal, mėdala, mėdalkěn, mijil, mijila, mijilkěn, pamijil, raras, rarasati, raras driya, sulastri, wijil, wijilé, wijilira, wiyos, umijil</i>
<i>pangkur:</i>	<i>amungkur, amungkura, bilulungan, kapungkur, kapungkura, kawingking, kawuntat, kawuri, kori, kur, kur-ungkuran, likur, mungkur, mungkur yuda, mungkura, mungkurkěn, ngungkuraken, ngungkurkěn, noli, pangkur, pangkurnya, pawingkingan, pėpungkuran, pungkur, pungkuran, sapungkur, sapungkurira, unkur, ungkuran, wiwikingan, wuntat, wuri, yuda, yudakěna, yudakěnaka</i>
<i>pucung:</i>	<i>amucung, cung, den-pucungi, kulawak, mocung, mucung, mucunga, ngacungi, ngancing, ngucungi, pamucungira, pocung, wanda cung</i>
<i>sinom:</i>	<i>adipati, akatong, anak katong, anak ratu, anom, anom-anom, anoming ėmas, asinom, bupati, dipatya, dyah, ėnom, kamal, kasinoman, logondhang, mantri anom, mudha, nata, nom, nom-anom, nomnoman, nonoman, pangeran muda dipati, pangrawit, prajurit anom, prawan, putranom, putra nomnoman, raden, radyan, rema, ron kamal, roning ati, roning kamal, sang anom, satriya anom, sėksinomira, sinatata, sinom, sinom jėsmara, sinoman, sinome, sinomneki, sisinom, sisinomneki, sinwan, sri nata, sri nateng don, sunu, taruna, taruni, wěni, wong anom</i>
<i>wirangrong:</i>	<i>wirangrong</i>
<i>salobok</i>	<i>sėlobogan</i>



### Javanese and Sasak Texts from Lombok

<i>asmarandana:</i>	<i>asmaradana, brangta kasmaran, kasamaran, kasmaran, kasukan, kinasihing, remen, wulang</i>
<i>dandanggula:</i>	<i>amanis, dangdang, gula, gula drĕwa, manise lwir madu drawa, muncang, nginang, nginang dangdang</i>
<i>durma:</i>	<i>andurma, durma, durmagala, durmanggala, durméki, poma</i>
<i>ginanti:</i>	<i>ginanti</i>
<i>maskumambang:</i>	<i>kumbang, ngumbang</i>
<i>pangkur:</i>	<i>atĕmbang jaran sakit ring untat, atĕmbang pangkur ing untat, ing pungkure ginanti tĕmbang lainan, kapungkur, lebur, ngutat, pangundang kucing neng untat, pangundang sanjata mamaq, pangundang sata, pungkuran</i>
<i>sinom:</i>	<i>aji, anom, atĕmbang sinom ing untat, putri, si bodok, sri narapati, sri nanta, sri nata</i>

### Balinese Texts from Bali

<i>dandanggula:</i>	<i>dangdang gendis, dangdang gula, dangdang gula jawa, dangdang gula surakarta</i>
<i>asmarandana:</i>	<i>kasmaran, kasmaran kingking, ngasmaraning, samara dahana, sĕmaranala, s(ĕ)marandana</i>
<i>durma:</i>	<i>durma, durmanggala, durmanggalang, durmanggalaning, durmanggaleng, durmiteng gati, durmiteng prang</i>
<i>ginanthi:</i>	<i>ginanti, kanti</i>
<i>mijil:</i>	<i>pamijil</i>
<i>pangkur:</i>	<i>kapungkura, kapungkuring, mungkur, pangkur, pangkureng, pungkuran, pupungkur, sapungkuring</i>
<i>pucung:</i>	<i>pucung</i>
<i>sinom:</i>	<i>kasinomareng, sinomaning, sinoming, sinomyaning, sisinom, sisinomning, sri nataning</i>



### Sundanese Texts from West Java<sup>3</sup>

<i>asmarandana</i>	<i>asmara, brangta, brangti, darana, kasamaran, kasemaran, kasmaran, kingkin</i>
<i>balabak</i>	<i>balak, balakbak, melak</i>
<i>dangdanggula</i>	<i>artati, dangdang gagak, digulaan, gula, gula batu, guladrawa, madu, manis, nu amis, sadap, sarkara</i>
<i>durma</i>	<i>duraka, durcara, duratmaka, kondur, mundur, undur</i>
<i>gurisa</i>	<i>karasa, ngarasa, gurisa, mariksa, nyiksa</i>
<i>gambuh</i>	<i>bubuhan, gambuh, kambuh, ngagambuh, tambuh</i>
<i>kinanti</i>	<i>kanti, kakanten, kinanti, manganti, ngantet, nganti, nganti-nganti, ngantian, ngantri-ngantri</i>
<i>ladrang</i>	<i>ladak, surti, taliti</i>
<i>lambang</i>	<i>lambang, perlambang</i>
<i>maskumambang</i>	<i>bingbang, kentir, kumambang, kumembeng, maskumambang, ngambang</i>
<i>megatruh</i>	<i>duduk, ketruk, megat, megat gusti, pegat, truk</i>
<i>mijil</i>	<i>barijil, bijil, kaluar, ingkah, jengkar, mijil, wijil, wijiling</i>
<i>pangkur</i>	<i>kapungkur, mungkur, pungkur, pungkureun, pupungkuran, singkur, sukur, tukang</i>
<i>pucung</i>	<i>jucung, kaluwak, kuncung, mancung, mucung, nyungcung</i>
<i>sinom</i>	<i>abdi-abdi, anom, nomnoman, budak nonoman, gambir sawit, kembang gambir, logondang, pangrawit, raja nonoman, roning kamal, sri nata, taruna, weni,</i>
<i>wirangrong</i>	<i>diwiwirang, era, kawiwirangan, ngawiwirang, wirang</i>

3 These *sasmita* were derived from various *wawacan* text and from the website <http://lokerpena.blogspot.co.id/2016/03/basa-suda-berkenalan-dengan-pupuh.html> (accessed 31 October 2016), made by Sadesa Fitri.



## ***Sasmita Wiwitaning Těmbang* in Javanese Texts from Java**

<i>asmarandana:</i>	<i>asmara, asmara dana, brangta, brangtaning, brangtyeng, brangti, brongta, bratengsun, dana, kasmaran, kawēlas asih, kingkin, macapat bratanireng, ngasmaran, panglipuring sėdhih, pangrėšmaning, pėksi kingkin, pyuhing ati, subrangtanira, subrangti, wiyadi, wlasasih, wor tangis</i>
<i>balabak:</i>	<i>balabak</i>
<i>dhandhanggula:</i>	<i>amanis, andhandhang gėndhis, anggula drawani, dhandhang, dhandhang gėndhis, dhandhang gėndhise, dhinandhang, dhugala, gandėk, gėndhis, gula, gula drawa, gula milir, kėmanisėn, kelang drawa kudhandhang, madu, madu branta, madu mėmanis, madu rėtna, manis, manisira, manising, manise, nyarkara, pėksi dhandhang, pėksi sarkara, sarkara, sarkarane, sinarkara, srangkara, srėng, srėnging, srėngkara</i>
<i>durma:</i>	<i>darma, darmane, darmanira, darmi, durmaning, durmanira, durmitta, gumingsir, kondur, lidhinandhang, mundur, sindura</i>
<i>gambuh:</i>	<i>agambuh, gambuh, tambuh wimbuh gambuh</i>
<i>girisa:</i>	<i>giris, girisa, kagiriswa</i>
<i>jurudemung:</i>	<i>juru, jurudemung, mung</i>
<i>kinanthi:</i>	<i>gandhėng, kanthi, kanthinėn kinanthi, kėmanten kanyaran, nganthiya</i>
<i>maskumambang:</i>	<i>kambang-kambang kumambang</i>
<i>mėgatruh:</i>	<i>anduduk, katrahan, mėgat trėsna, truh</i>
<i>mijil:</i>	<i>keluar, mėdalken, mijil, mijiling, mityos, pamijil, rarasati, sakwijiling, wijiling, wiyosipun</i>
<i>pangkur:</i>	<i>ayudakėnaka kapungkur, kur, mungkur, ngungkurakėn, pangundang sata, papungkuraran, pinangkur, saungkurira, sakpungkurira, ukur, ungkuring, wuntat, wuri, wurining, yuda, yudakenaka</i>
<i>pocung:</i>	<i>cung, pinacung, pocung, pucung</i>
<i>sinom:</i>	<i>anom, mudha, mudhadama, nom, nonoman, rikma munggang pilingan, sinom, sinome, sisinom, sri nata, taruna, truna</i>
<i>wirangrong:</i>	<i>wirangrong</i>



## Verse Schemes of the Most Encountered Verse Meters in Bali According to I Gusti Putu Jlantik<sup>1</sup>

1. <i>adri</i>	10u, 6a, 8i, 8u, 8u, 8a, 8u, 9a, 8a
2. <i>Alis-alis ijo</i>	8u, 6a, 7e, 8u, 8u, 6i, 7u, 8a, 7e, 8i, 8o, 8o, 8u, 11o, 8i, 4o
3. <i>anta-adri</i>	8e, 7a, 10o, 9a, 8e
4. <i>balabak</i>	12a, 3e, 12a, 3e, 12a, 3e
5. <i>dangdang</i>	10i, 4a, 6a, 8e, 7u, 9i, 7a, 6u, 8a, 4a, 8i, 7a
6. <i>dingdang</i>	8u, 8i, 11u, 7a, 6i, 7o, 8u, 11i, 7a, 8u
7. <i>jinada</i>	8a, 8i, 8a, 8u, 8a, 4i, 8a
8. <i>jumbang</i>	8u, 7e, 4e, 8i, 7e, 8e
9. <i>jumog</i>	8i, 8i, 8i, 6a, 8i, 8i
10. <i>juragan-danu</i>	8i, 8o, 6a, 9i, 9a, 8a
11. <i>dmung i</i>	12a, 7u, 6u, 8i, 6a, 8u, 6a, 7i, 8a, 9u
12. <i>dmung ii</i>	12a, 6a, 12i, 9a, 8u, 7a, 7i, 10u, 7u
13. <i>durma</i>	12a, 7i, 6a, 7a, 8i, 5a, 7i
14. <i>gambuh</i>	7u, 10u, 14i, 8u, 8o
15. <i>ginanti</i>	8u, 8i, 8a, 8i, 8a, 8i
16. <i>girisa</i>	8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 8a, 8a
17. <i>kidangaturu</i>	9i, 6o, 8i, 6a, 8i, 6a, 6i, 6a, 8i, 6u, 8o, 6u, 8i
18. <i>kumambang</i>	12i, 8a, 8i, 8a
19. <i>kundangasih</i>	8i, 8i, 8a, 6u, 8i, 8i, 8a, 6u, 6e, 4i, 8a
20. <i>manukaba</i>	12u, 6o, 7u, 6o, 8a, 8a, 6a, 9u
21. <i>mijil</i>	10i, 6o, 10e, 10i, 6i, 6u
22. <i>mgatruh</i>	12u, 8i, 8u, 8i, 8o
23. <i>palugangsa</i>	8a, 6a, 5e, 6i, 5i, 9u, 8i, 8i
24. <i>panji-prekasa</i>	8u, 8i, 8e, 8u, 8a, 8i, 7u, 8i
25. <i>panggalang</i>	8a, 8u, 7o, 8u, 6u, 10a, 8a, 7o
26. <i>panggalang-bawak</i>	7i, 6u, 8i, 8u, 8i, 8o
27. <i>panggalang-panjang</i>	12u, 6i, 8a, 5i, 8a, 8a, 6a, 9u
28. <i>pangkur</i>	8a, 11i, 8u, 7a, 12u, 8a, 8i
29. <i>pangkur-dingdang</i>	7i, 12i, 8u, 7a, 6i, 6u, 9i, 7i
30. <i>panglipur</i>	8i, 8a, 8u, 8a, 8i, 8u, 4a, 8a
31. <i>pawagal</i>	8u, 8i, 7o, 8a, 8i, 8o

1 Added as an appendix in Kunst and Kunst-van Wely's *De Toonkunst van Bali*, 1925.



32. <i>puh jagulanom</i>	7u, 5u, 5a, 8u, 8a, 8i, 8a, 6u, 6u, 6i, 6i, 6u, 6i, 15u, 8e, 7u, 8a
33. <i>puh juru-dmung</i>	8a, 8u, 8u, 8a, 8u, 8a, 8u
34. <i>puh rara-kadiri</i>	7i, 8i, 9a, 7a, 7i, 10i, 8i, 6a, 7a, 11a
35. <i>pucung</i>	4u, 8u, 6a, 8i, 4u, 8a
36. <i>rangga-noja</i>	12i, 8a, 9a, 12u, 6u, 6i
37. <i>rangga siliyasih</i>	11u, 14o, 11a, 7o, 7u, 11o, 8o, 7u, 7u, 6i, 8o, 6o, 9e
38. <i>rare canggu</i>	5o, 5o, 6a, 8u, 6i, 4o, 8i
39. <i>sidda-paksa</i>	8i, 8a, 8a, 6o, 6i, 8a
40. <i>sinom</i>	8a, 8i, 8o, 8i, 7i, 7u, 7a, 8i, 4u, 8a
41. <i>sinom-dingdang</i>	8a, 8i, 8o, 8i, 7i, 8u, 8a, 6i, 12a
42. <i>smarandana</i>	8i, 8a, 8o, 8a, 7a, 8u, 8a
43. <i>tanda-soswan</i>	8u, 7e, 8i, 7o, 6u, 6i
44. <i>cinangreni</i>	as no. 30.
45. <i>walingi</i>	7a, 6o, 8a, 8o, 4a, 8a
46. <i>wanda</i>	8a, 8a, 8u, 8u, 12i
47. <i>wasih</i>	as no. 24
48. <i>wisnatmanyura</i>	12u, 8o, 8u, 7u, 9o



## *Kakawin* Verse Meters

The chart below gives all *kakawin* verse meters that I have found in various sources, together with their names. The most important source is Zoetmulder's *Kalangwan*. His information is provided first and is followed by information from I Nengah Tinggen: *Dasar-Dasar Pelajaran Kekawin* which has been reprinted many times. The next source is a photocopy on file with the author of the *Kakawin Canda Kāraṇa* by I Wayan Pamit, handwritten in 1997 in Balinese script. Subsequent sources are I Wayan Sregeg's *Kakawin Karṇāntaka* (Death of Karṇa) of 2000 and *Kakawin Ananda Bhuwana* (The Bliss of the World) of 2004 (both in Balinese script), I Made Degung's *Kakawin Nilacandra* as published in 2006 and Helen Creese's edition of the *Kakawin Pārthāyaṇa* of 1998. The last source is I Wayan Dhanu Aryana's *Panuntun Pangawit Mawirama Kakawin*, published by Bharata Bookstore Agency in Denpasar in Balinese script. It is undated but I bought my copy in April 2004. Thus, in the chart, C stand for Creese, D for Degung, Dh. For Dhanu Aryana, P for Pamit, S for Sregeg, T for Tinggen and Z for Zoetmulder. In the chart minor differences in spelling have been ignored as spellings in Balinese sources do not abide by any strict rule. When no name is added to a verse meter it means that Zoetmulder mentioned it in his list without a name and the other sources did not mention them at all.

The first column is the running numbering of the meters in Zoetmulder's *Kalangwan*. In case meters are included that Zoetmulder did not mention they are added as A, B, C, and so on. The second column shows the number of the meter within a group. The third column gives the metrical structure of the meters while the last column provides the name or names as found in the sources. The table wishes to show what is at present available in the *kakawin* meter sources I have at my disposal. A dash '–' stands for a long vowel while '◌' stands for a short one. It is clear from the table that the *kakawin* reality in Bali is much more complicated than initially envisaged.

An asterisk '\*' indicates, as it does in *Kalangwan*, that the meter is unknown from Sanskrit sources. I have not been able to check this for meters that were not in Zoetmulder. A hash '#' is added when the information is incomplete or otherwise has to be used with caution. Note that I have not checked whether Sanskrit versions exist of the *kakawin* verse meters that I found in the various sources which were not mentioned by Zoetmulder.

For easier reference, the presentation of the meters below follows that of Zoetmulder in the sense that a divide has been added after a sequence of three *guru* (◌, short vowel)/ *lagu* (–, long vowel) whereas this is not a way of presentation that the Balinese follow.



I. Ukta		
1.	1.	◡ Z.P. Nanda
II. Atyukta		
2.	1.	– ◡ Z.P. Bhadra, Śrī
III. Madhyama		
3.	1.	– – ◡ Z.P. Nārī
IV. Pratiṣṭha		
4.	1.	◡ ◡ ◡ ◡   ◡ Z.P. Wanamrgī
V. Supratiṣṭha		
5.	1.	– ◡ ◡   – ◡ Z.P. Wijayanti
VI. Gāyatrī		
6.	1.	◡ ◡ ◡ ◡   ◡ ◡ Z.P. Kusumitajanma, T. Kusumaganda
7.	2.	– – ◡   ◡ – ◡ Z.T.P. Tanumadhya P. Kanyātanumādhya
VII. Uṣṇih		
8.	1.	◡ ◡ ◡   ◡ ◡ ◡   ◡ Z.T.P. Madhukaralalita, Skt. Madhumatī, Drutagatī, Capalā
9.	2.	◡ – ◡   ◡ ◡ –   ◡ Z.P. Kumāralalita
10.	3.	– – –   ◡ ◡ –   ◡ Z.T.P. Madalekha
VIII. Anuṣṭubh		
11.	1.	◡ ◡ ◡ ◡   ◡ – ◡   ◡ ◡ Z.T.P. Bhramarawilambita
12.	2.*	◡ ◡ ◡ ◡   ◡ – –   – ◡ P. Makārawipula
13.	3.*	◡ ◡ –   – ◡ ◡   – ◡ P. Paribhūta
14.	4.	◡ ◡ –   – ◡ –   – ◡ Z. Wipula, Skt. Suwilāsā
15.	5.*	◡ ◡ –   – – ◡   ◡ ◡ Z.T.P. Bhakārawipula, T. Sarwawipula
16.	6.	◡ – ◡   – ◡ –   ◡ ◡ Z.T.P. Rūpinī
17.	7.	◡ – –   – ◡ –   ◡ ◡ Z.T.P. Pathya
18.	8.	– ◡ ◡   – ◡ ◡   – ◡ Z.P. Witāna
19.	9.	– ◡ ◡   – – ◡   ◡ ◡ Z. Mānawakakṛīḍita, T.P. Mānawakṛīdhita
20.	10.	– ◡ –   ◡ ◡ –   ◡ ◡ Z.P. Sarwawipula
21.	11.	– ◡ –   ◡ ◡ –   – ◡ Z.T.P. Waktra
22.	12.	– ◡ –   ◡ – ◡   – ◡ Z. Samanī
23.	13.	– ◡ –   – ◡ ◡   ◡ ◡ Z.T.P. Nakārawipula
24.	14.	– ◡ –   – ◡ –   – ◡ Skt. Witānā, Citrapada
25.	15.	– – ◡   – ◡ ◡   ◡ ◡ Z.P. Śāpantika
26.	16.	– – ◡   – – –   ◡ ◡ Z.T.P. Takārawipula
27.	17.*	– – –   ◡ ◡ ◡   ◡ ◡ T.P. Wātapatya
28.	18.*	– – –   – ◡ ◡   ◡ ◡



(cont.)

29.	19.*	--- --- ---	T. Rakārawipula
30.	20.	--- --- ---	Z.P. Rakārawipula
31.	21.	--- --- ---	Z.T.P. Widyutmālā
32.	A.	--- --- ---	T. Kumara Lalita
33.	B.	--- --- ---	T.P. Witāna
34.	C.	--- --- ---	T. Samānika
35.	D.	--- --- ---	T.P.D. Wiparītapatya
36.	E.	--- --- ---	T. Śāpantika
37.	F.	--- --- ---	P. Samāni
38.	G.	--- --- ---	T. Padānustup
IX. Wṛhati			
39.	1.	--- --- ---	Z. Bhujagaśiśusṛta, P. Bhujagaśisukṛta, T. Bhujagaśisubhṛta
40.	2.	--- --- ---	Z.P. Tatigurwi T. Tatigarwi
41.	3.	--- --- ---	Skt. Sundaralekhā
42.	4.	--- --- ---	Z. Halamukhī, T. Ayamuka, P. Alayamuki
43.	5.*	--- --- ---	T. Madamedā, P. Udhāni
44.	6.	--- --- ---	Skt. Pawitrā, P. Kusumasāra, Pawitra
45.	7.	--- --- ---	(Sundaralekhā), P. Maṇamadhya
46.	A.	--- --- ---	T.P. Bhujagasangata
47.	B.	--- --- ---	T. Manimadhya
X. Pangkti (P. Pangti)			
48.	1.	--- --- ---	Z.P. Twaritagati, T. Turidagati
49.	2.	--- --- ---	Skt. Meghawitānā
50.	3.	--- --- ---	Z.P. Campakamālā, T. Rukmawati
51.	4.	--- --- ---	Z. Panawa, T.P. Pawanagati
52.	5.	--- --- ---	Skt. Uddhatā P. Samaradāhana
53.	6.	--- --- ---	Z. Śuddhawirāt, T.P. Śuddhacitta
54.	7.	--- --- ---	Skt. Mattā, T.P. Mattā
55.	8.*	--- --- ---	
56.	A.	--- --- ---	P. Lañjita
XI. Triṣṭubh			
57.	1.	--- --- ---	Z. Wṛtta, Skt. Wṛntā, T. Madhugutāmṛta, D.P. Madhugulāwṛtta
58.	2.*	--- --- ---	P. Guṇoṣadhi



59.	3.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   - υ -   υ υ	Z.T.P. Bhadrīka
60.	4.*	υ υ υ   υ - υ   - υ υ   υ υ	
61.	5.	υ υ υ   - - υ   υ - υ   - υ	P. Tarkkantinata
62.	6.	υ υ υ   - υ υ   - υ -   υ υ	Skt. Aparāntikā, P. Śrayagati
63.	7.	υ - υ   υ υ -   υ - -   υ υ	Skt. Sariṣi
64.	8.*	υ - υ   υ - υ   υ - υ   - υ	P. Durnayata
65.	9.	υ - υ   - - υ   υ - υ   - υ	Z.T.P. Upendrabajra
66.	10.	- υ υ   - υ υ   - υ υ   - υ	Z. Dodhakawṛtta, T. Dhodhaka, P. Kāmukadarppa
67.	11.	- υ -   υ υ υ   - υ υ   - υ	Z.T.P. Swāgata, P. Sanggata (Sarisi)
68.	12.	- υ -   υ υ υ   - υ -   υ υ	Z.T. Ratodhata, T. Bhikṣu, P. Ratondata
69.	13.	- υ -   υ - υ   - υ -   υ υ	Z.T.P. Śyeni
70.	14.*	- - υ   - υ υ   υ - υ   - υ	
71.	15.	- - υ   - - υ   υ - υ   - υ	Z.T.P.Dh. Indrabajra, T.Dh. Upasthita, Upajāti
72.	16.*	- - -   υ υ -   υ υ υ   υ υ	Z.P. Mṛtatodaka, P. Mṛttodaka
73.	17.	- - -   υ υ -   υ υ υ   υ υ	Skt. Ekarūpā, Maṇi
74.	18.	- - -   - υ υ   υ υ υ   υ υ	Z.T.P. Bhramarawilasita
75.	19.*	- - -   - υ υ   - υ υ   - υ	
76.	20.	- - -   - υ υ   - - υ   - υ	Z. Wātormimālā, T. Wimāla, P. Wimala, Tormmimālā, Z.D. Watormi, Dh. Wātomimala
77.	21.*	- - -   - υ -   - υ υ   - υ	
78.	22.	- - -   - - υ   - - υ   - υ	Z.T.P. Śālini, P. Salisu, Marttosa
79.	A.	υ υ -   υ υ -   υ - υ   - υ	P. Anggitaguna, Upandasika <sup>a</sup>
80.	B.	υ - υ   υ υ -   υ υ υ   υ υ	T.P. Turagagati
81.	C.	υ - υ   - - υ   - - υ   - υ	P. Upasthita

## XII. Jagatī

82.	1.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   - υ -   υ - υ	Skt. Kāmadattā, P. Bhūmirāmya
83.	2.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   - υ -   - υ υ	Z.P. Dwitala, Skt. Gaurī et cetera, T.P. Prabha
84.	3.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   - - -   υ - υ	Z.P. Śrīpuṭa, T. Śrīputaśa
85.	4.	υ υ υ   υ - υ   υ - υ   υ - υ	Z.P. Swādamālīni Skt. Tāmarasā, Lalitapadā, T.P. Tāmarasa
86.	5.	υ υ υ   υ - υ   - υ υ   υ - υ	Z.T. Nawamālīni, P. Dwiradamata
87.	6.	υ υ υ   υ - -   υ υ υ   υ - υ	Z.T.P. Kusumawicitra, T. Kusumasada
88.	7.	υ υ υ   υ - -   - υ υ   υ υ υ	Z.P. Candrawilasita
89.	8.	υ υ υ   - υ υ   - υ υ   - υ υ	Z.T.P.Dh. Drutawilambita



(cont.)

90.	9.	υ υ –   υ υ –   υ υ –   υ υ ◡	Z.P. Toṭaka, T. Ratākṛata, P. Rasomatra, Ratikṛata
91.	10.*	υ υ –   υ υ –   υ υ –   υ – ◡	P. Indrasō
92.	11.	υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ υ ◡	Z.P. Bramitākṣara, Skt. Pramitākṣarā, T. Brahmitakṣa
93.	12.*	υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ – ◡	P. Gatitatwa
94.	13.	υ – υ   υ υ –   υ υ –   υ – ◡	Skt. Kolā
95.	14.	υ – υ   υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ ◡	Z.T. Jaloddhatagati, P. Jaladaragati, Jaloddhata
96.	15.	υ – υ   – – υ   υ – υ   – υ ◡	Z.T. Wangśastha, P. Sucyandewi, S. Swandewi, Dh. Wangsāta
97.	16.*	υ – –   υ υ –   υ – –   υ υ ◡	
98.	17.*	υ – –   υ – –   υ – –   υ υ ◡	
99.	18.	υ – –   υ – –   υ – –   υ – ◡	Z.T. Bhujanggaprayāta, P. Bhujagaprayāta
100.	19.*	– υ υ   υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ – ◡	
101.	20.*	– υ υ   – – υ   υ – υ   – υ ◡	
102.	21.	– υ –   υ υ υ   – υ υ   υ υ ◡	Z. Turagagati, Skt. Candrawartma
103.	22.*	– υ –   υ υ υ   – υ –   υ – ◡	
104.	23.	– – υ   – – υ   υ – υ   – υ ◡	Z.P.Dh. Indrawangśa, Bal. Swandewi, P. Citrasmara
105.	24.*	– – –   υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ ◡	
106.	25.	– – –   – υ υ   υ υ –   – – ◡	Z.P. Jaladharamālā
107.	26.	– – –   – – –   υ – –   υ – ◡	Z.T.P. Waiśwadewi, Dh. Śaliṇī
108.	A.	– υ –   υ υ υ   – υ υ   υ υ ◡	T. Candrawartta(na)
109.	B.	υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   υ – ◡	T.P. Tāmarasa
110.	C.	υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ υ υ   υ υ ◡	T. Kusumayuddha, <sup>b</sup> Kusuniayudha
111.	D.	– – υ   υ – –   – – υ   υ – ◡	T. Maṇimālā
112.	E.	υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   – υ ◡	T. Malati Yamuna
113.	F.	– υ –   – υ –   – υ –   – υ ◡	T. Pragwini
114.	G.	– – –   – υ υ   – υ –   – – ◡	T. Jaladharamālā
115.	H.	υ υ –   – υ υ   – υ –   υ – ◡	P. Upandasika
116.	I.	– υ –   υ υ υ   – υ υ   υ υ ◡	P. Kalana, Candrawarttaka, Turagagati
XIII. Atijagati			
117.	1.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   υ υ –   υ υ –   ◡	Skt. Kamalākṣī, Caṇḍī, P. Kusumanāśasara
118.	2.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – υ υ   – υ –   ◡	Skt. Candrikā



119.	3.*	υ υ –   υ υ –   υ υ υ   υ υ υ   ◡	Z. Bali. Citrālaya
120.	4.	υ υ –   υ υ –   υ υ υ –   υ υ –   ◡	Z.T.P. Punarmada, (Sudhīradhāraka?), Skt. Mañjubhāṣiṇī, Kanakaprabhā, Sunandīnī et cetera, T. Sanjubhasigī
121.	5.	υ – υ   – υ υ   υ υ –   υ – υ   ◡	Z.T.P. Rucirā
122.	6.*	υ – υ   – υ υ   υ – υ   υ υ υ   ◡	
123.	7.*	υ – υ   – υ υ   – υ –   υ – υ   ◡	
124.	8.*	υ – υ   – υ –   υ – υ   – υ –   ◡	
125.	9.	– – υ   – υ υ   υ υ –   υ – υ   ◡	Z.P. Lakṣmīwatī, Skt. Lakṣmī, Prabhāwatī
126.	10.*	– – υ   – υ υ   υ – υ   – υ –   ◡	
127.	11.*	– – υ   – υ υ   υ – –   υ υ –   ◡	
128.	12.	– – –   υ υ υ   υ – υ   – υ –   ◡	Z.T.P.Dh. Praharsīṇī
129.	13.*	– – –   – υ υ   υ υ υ   – – –   ◡	
130.	14.	– – –   – υ υ   υ υ –   υ υ –   ◡	Z.T.P. Ambudhiwicī
131.	15.	– – –   – – υ   υ – –   υ υ –   ◡	Z.T.P. Mattamayūra
132.	16.*	– – –   – – υ   υ – –   υ – –   ◡	P. Porawangśa
133.	A.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – – υ   – – υ   ◡	T. Kṣama
134.	B.	υ υ –   υ υ –   υ υ υ   υ υ υ   ◡	P. Kusumayuddha, Citralaya
135.	C.	υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ υ –   ◡	T. Kalahangsa

## XIV. Śakwarī

136.	1.*	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   – ◡	
137.	2.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – υ υ   υ υ υ   υ ◡	Z.T.P. Praharaṇakalika, Dh. Praharakalika
138.	3.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – υ –   υ υ –   υ ◡	Z.T. Aparājita, P. Apurajita
139.	4.*	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – υ –   – – –   υ ◡	
140.	5.*	υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ – υ   – ◡	
141.	6.	– – υ   – υ υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   – ◡	Z. Basantatilaka, T.P.D.Dh. Wasantatilaka
142.	7.*	– – υ   – υ υ   υ – υ   – υ υ   υ ◡	Z. Meghawaṛṣa
143.	8.*	– – –   υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ υ –   – ◡	
144.	9.	– – –   – υ υ   υ υ υ   υ – –   – ◡	Z.T.P. Kuwalayakusuma, Skt. Madyakṣāmā, Kuṭiḷa, T. Madhyaksama, Dh. Kulawakusuma
145.	10.	– – –   – – υ   υ υ υ   υ υ –   – ◡	Z.T. Asambādha, P. Asambāwa, T. Asamwadha, Dh. Asēmwadha
146.	A.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   υ υ υ   υ υ υ   υ ◡	T. Maṇiḡuṇanikāra
147.	B.	– – –   – – υ   υ υ υ   – – –   – ◡	Wāsanti

## XV. Aṭiṣakwarī

148.	1.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   υ υ υ   υ υ υ   υ υ ◡	Z.P. Maṇiḡuṇanikāra, T. Śaśikāla
149.	2.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – – –   – – –   υ – ◡	Z.P.Dh. Mālīni



(cont.)

150.	3.*	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   ---   - υ υ   - υ υ	
151.	4.*	υ υ -   υ - υ   υ υ -   υ υ -   υ υ υ	
152.	5.*	υ υ -   υ - υ   υ υ -   υ - υ   υ υ υ	Z. Wiśasmara, P. Dharmestātitha
153.	6.*	- υ υ   υ υ υ   ---   - υ υ   υ υ υ	P. Warṇamalini, Śewanagiriśa
154.	7.*	- υ υ   υ υ -   ---   - υ υ   υ υ υ	T.C.Dh. Nāgata, Dh. Girisālpa
155.	8.*	- - υ   - υ υ   υ - υ   υ υ υ   υ υ υ	Z. Kumudaśara
156.	A.	---   - υ υ   υ υ υ   υ - -   - - υ	T. Madhukāralalita
157.	B.	- - υ   - υ υ   υ υ υ   υ - -   - - υ	T.D. Kumalayakusuma
158.	C.	- υ -   υ - υ   - υ -   υ - υ   - υ υ	T. Sūṇaka
159.	D.	- υ υ   ---   ---   ---   - - υ	T. Lilakela
XVI. Aṣṭi			
160.	1.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   ---   - - υ   υ υ υ   υ	Z.T.P.Dh. Girisa, P. Sewana girisa
161.	2.*	υ υ -   υ - υ   υ υ -   υ υ υ   υ υ υ   υ	Z. Ratodhani
162.	3.	- υ υ   - υ -   υ υ υ   υ υ υ   υ υ υ   υ	Z.T. Wṛṣabhagatiwilasita, P. Wreṣabhagatita, Laśiwa
163.	4.	- υ υ   - υ -   υ υ υ   - υ -   υ υ υ   υ	Z. Jagatpramudita Z.Dh. Wīralalita, T.S. Prawīralalita, T. Jagatparamudita, P. Jagatpramudita, Adiwr̥ṭṭhi, D. Wilalita, Dh. Jagatpramedita
164.	5.*	- - υ   - υ υ   υ υ υ   - υ -   υ υ υ   υ	
165.	6.	---   - υ υ   υ υ υ   ---   υ υ υ   υ	Z.P. Sāgaralangō, Skt. Madanalalitā, Dh. Citrālpa
166.	A.	- υ -   υ - υ   - υ -   υ - υ   - υ -   υ	T. Citra
167.	B.	υ - υ   - υ -   υ - υ   - υ -   υ - υ   υ	T. Pañcacāmara
XVII. Atyaṣṭi			
168.	1.	υ υ υ   υ υ -   ---   - υ -   υ υ -   υ υ	Z.P. Hariṇīdhvani, Skt. Hariṇī, Rṣabhacarita, T.D. Harinīpluta
169.	2.	υ υ υ   υ - υ   - υ υ   υ - υ   υ - υ   υ υ	Z.T.P.Dh. Rajanī, Bal. Mandamalon, Skt. Awitatha, Narkuṭaka, Nardaṭaka, T.Dh. Mandamalon, Awitana
170.	3.	υ υ υ   υ - υ   - υ υ   υ - υ   - υ υ   υ υ	Z. Wiśwalalita, Skt. Wilāsini, P. Nayatawīra, Marddhataka, Dh. Sardulalalita
171.	4.*	υ - υ   υ υ -   υ - υ   υ υ -   υ υ -   υ υ	P. Pṛthiwitala, Smimāraṇa, Dh. Pṛthitalā
173.	5.	υ - υ   υ υ -   υ - υ   υ υ -   υ - -   υ υ	Z. Pṛthwitala, Skr. Pṛthwī, T.D. Pṛthiwitala
174.	6.*	υ - υ   - υ -   υ - υ   υ υ -   υ - -   υ υ	
175.	7.	υ - -   ---   υ υ υ   υ υ -   - υ υ   υ υ	Z.T.P.Dh. Śikhariṇī
176.	8.	- υ υ   - υ -   υ υ υ   - υ υ   υ υ υ   υ υ	Z.T.P.Dh. Wangśapatrapatita, Dh. Wṛṣadāwilaṣita



177.	9.*	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	
178.	10.	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z.T.P.Dh. Mandākrānta, T. Citraleka
179.	A.	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	T.D. Kusumitalata
XVIII. Dhṛti			
180.	1.	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z. Madahaṛṣa, Mandapa, Wanamālā, Skt. Mahāmālika, Nārāca, Siṃhawikṛiḍita, T.P.D. Nārāca, P. Aruṣāwirama
181.	2.	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z.T.Dh. Suwangśapattrā
182.	3.	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Skt. Surabhi
183.	4.*	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	P. Bahribāp
184.	5.*	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	P. Sabhāmisata, Dhṛtiya, Dh. Jayasēmāra
185.	6.	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z.T.P.Dh. Mṛdukumala (KBW s.v. Girisa), P. Dhṛti
186.	7.*	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z. Mandahaṛṣa
187.	8.	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z. Citralekhā, Dh. Catraleka
188.	9.*	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	P. Muhartta
189.	A.	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	T.D.S. Nandana
190.	B.	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	P. Citraleka
191.	C.	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	T. Śarddhulalita
192.	D.	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	T. Singharūpa
XIX. Atidhṛti (P. Adidreti)			
193.	1.*	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z. Nawahaṛṣa, T.P.Dh. Kendragati
194.	2.*	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z. Windhyakāra
195.	3.*	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	
196.	4.*	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	
197.	5.	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z.T.P. Meghawīṣphūrjita, P. Mattaraga
198.	6.*	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	
199.	7.*	vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z. Bajraketaka
200.	8.	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z.T.P.Dh. Mṛgāngśa, Bal. Mṛdangga, Gandhamadana, Wijayagati, P. Gaṇḍhamadana, Atidhṛti, Wijayagati
201.	9.	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z.T.P.Dh. Śārdūlawikṛiḍita
202.	10.	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	Z.P. Citraraśmi, Skt. Puṣpadama, P. Bhaṣabhaṣita, Dh. Śragdharāmatra
203.	A.	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	T.D. Sumadhura
204.	B.	--- vvv vvv vvv vvv vvv	T. Surasa



(cont.)

XX. Kṛti		
205.	1.* υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ υ υ   υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ υ	Z. Wirat tēbu sol, Kalēnglēngan, <sup>c</sup> T.P.D. Kamamala, P.S.Dh. Tēbusol
206.	2.* υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ – –   υ υ	Z. Wibhrama
207.	3.* – υ υ   – υ υ   – υ υ   υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   υ υ	Z. Wisarjitta, Dh. Widaragumulung
208.	4. – υ –   υ – υ   – υ –   υ – υ   – υ –   υ – υ   – υ	Z. Gēli, Skt. Wṛtta, Gaṇḍakā, T.P. Gelisosyan
209.	5.* – υ υ   υ υ υ   υ – υ   – υ υ   υ – υ   – υ υ   υ υ	
210.	6.* – υ –   υ υ υ   – υ –   υ υ υ   – υ –   υ υ υ   – υ	Z.P. Citraturida, P. Ananarāga
211.	7. – υ –   – υ υ   υ – υ   – υ υ   υ – υ   – υ υ   υ υ	Z.T.Dh. Mattarāga, Z.T. Mṛgangśa (κBW s.v.Skt. Mṛgāngkaracita), T. Mrgangśa rajani, P. Anilapracāṇḍa, Mrgangśa, Dh. Wṛtyhayaṇā, Aśwalalitālpa
212.	8.* – – –   υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   – υ –   – υ –   – υ	Z. Puṣpacāpa
213.	9. – – –   – υ –   – υ υ   υ υ υ   υ – –   – υ υ   υ υ	Z.T.P.Dh. Suwadanā
214.	A. υ – υ   υ – υ   υ υ –   – – –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ υ	T.D. Gitika
215.	B. – υ υ   – υ υ   – υ υ   υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   υ υ	P. Wirada gumulung, Kusumarābhasa, Ragaśaṇa, T.S. Widara gumulung
XXI. Prakṛti		
216.	1.* υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – υ –   – υ –   – υ –   – υ –   – υ υ	Z.P. Indrāyudha, P. Naṇḍha, T. Danda
217.	2.* υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   υ υ υ   υ υ –   υ υ –   υ υ υ	Z.P. Citrawilāpa, P. Giriṣadṛśa
218.	3.* υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ υ	Z. Bhadrālalita, P. Citasabhaya, T.P. Prakṛti, Dh. Susilasādhara, Cittasādaya
219.	4.* υ – –   – υ –   – υ υ   υ υ υ   υ – –   υ – –   υ – υ	



220.	5.*	- u u   u u u   u - u   - u u   u - u   u u u   u u u	P.S. Gēlungmure
221.	6.*	- u u   - u -   u u u   - u u   u u u   u - u   - u u	Z. Kusumawilasita, T. Prakṛti-prakṛti, P. Dwiradhagumulung, Wisarjita, Mandraka, Cittasabhaya, Bhadrālita, P.Dh. Prakṛti
222.	7.	- u u   - u -   u u u   - u -   u u u   - u -   - u u	Z. Citralakṣmi, Skt. Lalitawikramā
223.	8.*	- - u   u u u   u u -   u - u   u u -   u - u   u u u	
224.	9.*	- - u   - u u   u - u   u u u   u u -   u - u   u u u	
225.	10.*	- - u   - u u   u - u   - u u   u - u   u u u   u u u	Z. Haristhira
226.	11.	- - -   - u -   - u u   u u u   u - -   u - -   u - u	Z.T.P.Dh. Sragdhara, T.P. Mandarādi
227.	A.	- u -   u - u   u u -   u - u   u u -   u - u   u u u	T. Mandraka
228.	B.	u u u   u - u   - u u   u - u   u - u   u - u   - u u	T. Pancakawali

## XXII. Akṛti

229.	1.*	u u u   u - u   - u u   u - u   u u u   u u -   u - u   u	Z. Turidagati?, T. Panca Sottha, P. Turidagati, Pañcasokta, Dh. Ugarata, Turidagati, Akṛti
230.	2.*	u u u   u - u   - u u   u - u   - u u   u - u   - - u   u	Z.P. Sandhyakāra, P. Ugarata, Dh. Aśwalitāmātra
231.	3.*	u u -   u u -   u u -   u u u   u u u   - u u   - u u   u	Z. Citrawati
232.	4.*	u u -   u - u   u u -   u u u   u u u   - u -   u u u   u	C. Wirat Tēbu Sol, P. Tēbusol, Bhikṛti, Giriśabhaya
233.	5.*	u u -   u - u   u u -   u - u   u u -   u u u   u u u   u	Z. Puṣṭabajra
234.	6.	- u u   - u -   u u u   - u -   u u u   u - u   u u u   u	Z.P.Dh. Madraka
235.	7.*	- - u   u u u   u u -   u - u   u u -   u u u   u u u   u	Z. Kilayu anēdēng, P.S.Dh. Kilayumanēdēng
236.	8.*	- - -   u u u   u u u   u u u   u u u   u u u   u - -   u	Z.P. Garirangsi



(cont.)

237.	A.	--- --- --- uuu uuu uuu	T. Mattākṛida
		uuu	
238.	B.	--- --- --- uuu uuu uuu	T. Angsi
		---	
XXIII. Wikṛti			
239.	1.	uuu u-u --- u-u --- u-u	Z.T.P.Dh. Aśwalalita
		--- u	
240.	2.*	u-u uuu uuu u- uuu ---	
		u- u	
241.	3.*	u-u u-u u-u uuu uuu	Z. Wirat tēbu sol, Z.P. Jagadnātha, Kalēngēnan, Z.P.Dh. Padmakeśara, P.Dh. Dwiyaṇa, D. Wirat Nēgēp
		u- u	
242.	4.*	u- u-u u-u uuu uuu ---	
		u- u	
243.	5.*	--- --- --- --- --- ---	Z.P. Puṣpaśāñcaya, T.D. Wikṛtiwikāra
		--- u	
244.	6.*	--- u- uuu --- uuu u-u	P. Dwirada gumulung, Dh. Aprakṛti
		--- u	
245.	7.*	--- u- uuu u- uuu ---	Z. Śarapuṣṭa
		uuu u	
246.	8.*	--- u-u u-u uuu uuu	Z.P.Dh. Jagaddhita, Z.P. Rāgakusuma, Z. Wahirat, Wawirat, Wahwawirat, Wohingrat, Wwayirat Kośala (?), T.D. Bhāwacakra <sup>d</sup>
		u- u	
247.	9.	--- --- --- uuu uuu uuu	Z.T.P. Mattakṛiḍa
		uuu u	
248.	A.	u- uuu uuu u- uuu ---	T. Bhujagawilasita
		uuu u	
249.	B.	--- --- u- --- uuu uuu	T. Kroñcapāta
		---	
250.	C.	u- uuu uuu u- uuu ---	S. Bujagawilacitta
		uuu u	
251.	D.	u- u- u-u uuu uuu uuu	D. Purantara
		u- u	

## XXIV. Sangskṛti

252.	1.*	uuu u-u --- u-u uuu u-	Z. Soktamargana, P. Sugaṇḍhakusuma, Pañcasoktabhikṛti
		u- u	
253.	2.*	uuu u-u --- u-u --- u-	Z. Puṣpacalita
		uuu u	



254.	3.*	u - u   u o -   u - u   u o -   u - u   u o -   u - u   u o u	Z.S. Madhulinda, P. Praharacalita, S.Dh. Gandakusuma, Dh. Adyaśwalalita
255.	4.	- u u   - u o   - u o   - u o   - u o   - u o   - u o   - u u	Skt. Kirīṭa, Subhadra
256.	5.	- u u   - u o   u o u   u o -   - u o   - u o   u o u   u - u	Z. Tanwī
257.	6.*	- - -   u o -   u - u   u o -   u - u   u o -   u - u   u o u	Z. Meghapuṣpa
258.	A.	- u u   - - -   u o u   u o -   - u o   - u o   u o u   u - u	P. Tanwi
259.	B.	- u u   - - -   u o -   - u o   u o u   u o u   u o u   u - u	T.P. Glis Kendran
XXV. Abhikṛti			
260.	1.*	u - u   u o -   u - u   u o -   u o u   u o u   - u -   u o u   u	C. Wirat Nētēg, P. Kalēngēnanabhikṛti, Dh. Kalēngēnan
261.	2.*	u - u   u o -   u - u   u o -   u - u   u o -   u o u   u o u   u	Z. Puṣpalañcana
262.	3.*	- u u   u o -   - u o   u o -   - u o   u o -   - u o   u o -   u	Z.P. Amarawatī, P. Giriṣakusuma
263.	4.	- u u   - - -   u o -   - u o   u o u   u o u   u o u   u o u   u	Z.T.P. Wikasitakusuma, Kroñcapada, P. Lumimbakalalita
264.	5.*	- - -   u o -   u - u   u o -   u o u   u o u   - u -   u o u   u	Z. Widyutkara, P. Jagatnatabhikṛti, Jagatdhitabhikṛti, Dh. Wikṛti
265.	6.*	- - -   u o -   u - u   u o -   u - u   u o -   u o u   u o u   u	Z. Citraketaka
266.	A.	- - -   - - -   - - -   u o u   u o u   u o -   u - u   u - u   u	T. Bhujanggawijrambitha
XXVI. Wyutṛti			
267.	1.*	u o u   u - u   u o u   u o -   u o u   u o u   - u o   u o u   u u	P. Dandakahala
268.	2.*	- - -   u o u   u o u   u o u   u o u   u o u   u o u   u o -   - u	Z.P. Apawāha
269.	3.*	- - -   u o u   - - -   u o u   - - -   u o u   - - -   u o u   - u	Z. Erawati, P. Kusumasari, Harunaragi
270.	4.	- - -   - - -   - - -   u o u   u o u   u o u   - u -   u o -   u u	Z. Bhujanggawijrmbhita, P. Bhujanggajrmbhita
271.	A.	- u u   - - -   u o -   - u o   u o u   u o u   u o u   u o u   u u	T. Pada Wicaha
272.	B.	- - -   u o u   u o u   u o u   u o u   u o u   u o u   u o u   u u	T. Apawāha



(cont.)

273.	C.	--- uuu uuu uuu uuu uuu	T. Wahirāt
		uuu uuu —	
274.	D.	--- --- —u uuu uuu —u	T. Bhujangga Wijrambita
		uuu uuu u	
XXVII.			
275.	1.*	uuu uuu uuu uuu uuu uuu	P. Dhaṇḍhaka, Kusumasurabhi,
		uuu uuu uuu	Malatimadawa
276.	2.*	uuu uuu uuu uuu uuu uuu	Z.P. Mālāwādi, P. Jaladalumimak
		uuu uuu uuu	
277.	A.	uuu uuu —u —u —u —u	P. Dhandhaka
		—u —u —u	
278.	B.#	uuu uuu —u uuu uuu uuu	P. Kusumasarasādhara
		uuu uuu uuu	
XXVIII.			
279.	1.*	uuu uuu —u uuu uuu uuu	
		uuu uuu uuu	
280.	2.*	—u uuu uuu uuu uuu —u	
		uuu uuu uuu	
XXIX.			
281.	1.	uuu uuu —u uuu uuu uuu	Z. Daṇḍasagala, Skt. Maṇikiraṇa,
		uuu uuu uuu	P. Kusumasarasadhara
282.	2.*	uuu uuu —u uuu uuu uuu	Z. Gadyakāra, P. Pratidwani,
		—u uuu —u uuu	Gaṇḍhagumuruh, Dh. Kusumasādhara,
			Dhaṇḍha
XXXIII.			
283.	1.*	uuu uuu uuu uuu uuu uuu	
		uuu uuu u	

- a Pamit uses the same name twice for Triṣṭubh EE and Jagatī BB.  
b See below Atijagatī BB where Pamit uses the same name.  
c See Zoetmulder 1974: 559, note 10.  
d According to Wallis (1980: 137) the alternative name of this meter is Cakrabawa.



## Daṇḍaka

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡[:◡◡◡:]

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡[:◡◡◡:]

## Arddhasamacatuṣpadī

(8-8)

1    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

Z. Capala, T. Arddha sama mātra

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

2    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

Z. Wiparītapathya

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

A.    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

T. Wipula

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

T.P. Arddha sama mātra

B    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

P. Capala

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

C.    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

T. Wātapatyana

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

T. Arddha sama mātra

D.    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

P. Rarebinal

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

P. Anuṣṭubh

(10-10)

A.    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

T. Wegawati

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

T. Arddha sama mātra

(10-11)

1.    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

Skt Wegawatī, P. Wegawati

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

2.    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

Skt Prabodhitā, P. Wiyogini, Swakṛttiśntika,

T.P. Wiyogini

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

P. Arddha sama mātra, T. Arddha sama wṛtta

(10-12)

1.\*    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

(11-11)

1.\*    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

P. Candaśika

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

2.    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

A.    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

T. Upacitra

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

T. Arddha samā mātra

(11-12)

1.\*    ◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

T.P. Aparawaktra

◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡◡◡|◡◡

T.P. Arddha sama wṛtta



(cont.)

2.	υ υ –   υ υ –   – υ –   υ ◡ υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   – υ ◡	
A.	υ υ –   υ υ –   υ – υ   – ◡ υ υ –   – υ υ   – υ –   υ – ◡	T. Praharsa, P. Praharṣa Upacandaśika T. Arddha sama wṛtta
B.	υ υ –   υ υ –   υ υ –   υ ◡ υ υ υ   – υ υ   – υ υ   – υ ◡	T. Arinapluta T. Arddha sama wṛtta
C.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – υ –   υ – ◡ υ – υ   – – υ   υ – υ   – υ ◡	C. Puspitāgra T. Ardda sama mātra
(11-13)		
1.*	– υ υ   υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ ◡ υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ – υ   ◡	
(12-12)		
1.*	– – υ   – – υ   υ – υ   – υ ◡ υ – υ   – – υ   υ – υ   – υ ◡	T.C.D. Indrawangśa, C.D. Wangśastha T.D. Ardhha sama matra
A.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – υ –   υ υ ◡ υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   – υ ◡	P. Śirṇnaratha
B.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – υ –   υ – ◡ υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   – υ ◡	T. Puspitagrā T. Ardha sama wṛtta
C.	– – υ   – – υ   υ – υ   – υ ◡ – υ –   – – υ   υ – υ   – υ ◡	D. Indra Wangsa D. Ardha sama matra
(12-13)		
1.*	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – υ υ   – υ ◡ υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   ◡	
2.	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – υ –   υ – ◡ υ υ υ   υ – υ   υ – υ   – υ –   ◡	Z. Puṣpitāgra
35		
	– υ υ   – υ υ   – υ υ   – υ υ   – υ υ   – υ υ   – υ υ   – υ υ   – υ υ   – υ υ   – υ –   υ ◡	T. Dandaka
39		
	υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – υ –   – υ –   – υ –   – υ –   – υ –   – υ –   – υ –   – υ –   – υ –   – υ –   – υ ◡	P. Jaladhasumarasah, D. Dhaṇḍaka
Wisama		
(20-10-13)		
1.	υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ υ υ   υ υ υ   – υ –   υ ◡ – υ –   υ υ υ   – υ υ   ◡ υ υ –   υ – υ   υ υ –   υ – υ   ◡	Z. Sorabhawisama



(20-11-13)

1.    ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | – ʋ – | ʋ ʋ      Z.T.P. Udgatawisama, P. Udgatawisamatri  
       – ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ        
       ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ     

A    ʋ ʋ – | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | – ʋ – | ʋ ʋ      T. Wisamatri  
       – ʋ – | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ        
       ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ     

B    ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | – ʋ – | ʋ ʋ      T. Payonidhi  
       – ʋ – | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ        
       ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ     

C    ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | – ʋ – | ʋ ʋ      T. Mirangrwang  
       – ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ        
       ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | – ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ     

D    ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | – ʋ – | ʋ ʋ      T. Soraba Wisama  
       – ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | – ʋ ʋ | – ʋ ʋ        
       ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ     

E    ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | – ʋ – | ʋ ʋ      P. Lalitawisama  
       ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ        
       ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ     

(20-12-13)

1.    ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | – ʋ – | ʋ ʋ      Z. Lalitawisama  
       ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ ʋ ʋ        
       ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ – | ʋ – ʋ | ʋ     

48 (42?)

ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | – ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ |      T. Lalu  
   ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | – ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ |  
   ʋ – ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ | ʋ ʋ ʋ     

Āryā

Śloka



Table to Calibrate the Javanese and Arabic Years to the Gregorian Calendar According to Djidwal 1932<sup>1</sup>

1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
1 Muharram						
1 January						
Adi						
1035	Alip	1547	1625	Friday	Lëgi	3 October
+ 1036	+ Ĕhe	1548	1626	Tuesday	Kliwon	22 September
1037	Jimawal	1549	1627	Sunday	Kliwon	12 September
+ 1038	Je	1550	+ 1628	Thursday	Wage	31 August
1039	+ Dal	1551	1629	Monday	Pon	21 August
1040	Be	1552	1630	Saturday	Pon	Tuesday
+ 1041	Wawu	1553	1631	Wednesday	Paing	10 August
1042	+ Jimakir	1554	+ 1632	Sunday	Lëgi	30 July
						19 July
						Monday
						Wednesday
						+ Thursday

<sup>1</sup> A + sign indicates a leap year in all calendars. Note that the years AD 1700, 1800 and 1900 are not leap years. The names of the four windu cycles (Adi, Kunthara, Sangara and Sancaya) have been added. They were not in the original table but in the copy of the table I received from Merle Ricklefs.



1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar 1 Muharram 1 January
Kunthara						
1043 + 1044	Alip + Ėhe	1555 1556	1633 1634	Friday Monday	Lëgi Kliwon	8 July 27 June
1045 + 1046	Jimawal Je	1557 1558	1635 + 1636	Sunday Thursday	Kliwon Wage	17 June 5 June
1047	+ Dal	1559	1637	Monday	Pon	26 May Tuesday
1048 + 1049	Be Wawu	1560 1561	1638 1639	Saturday Wednesday	Pon Pon	15 May 4 May
1050	+ Jimakir	1562	+ 1640	Sunday	Lëgi	23 April Monday Friday Saturday + Sunday
Sangara						
1051 + 1052	Alip + Ėhe	1563 1564	1641 1642	Friday Tuesday	Lëgi Kliwon	12 April 1 April
1053 + 1054	Jimawal Je	1565 1566	1643 + 1644	Sunday Thursday	Kliwon Wage	22 March 10 March Tuesday Wednesday Thursday + Friday



(cont.)						
1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
						1 Muharram
						1 January
+ 1055	+ Dal	1567	1645	Monday	Pon	27 February
1056	Be	1568	1646	Saturday	Pon	17 February
+ 1057	Wawu	1569	1647	Wednesday	Paing	6 February
1058	+ Jimakir	1570	+ 1648	Sunday	Lëgi	27 January
						Monday
						Sunday
						Monday
						Tuesday
						+ Wednesday
Sancaya						
1059	Alip	1571	1649	Friday	Lëgi	15 January
+ 1060	+ Ėhe	1572	1650	Tuesday	Kliwon	4 January
1061	Jimawal	1573	1650	Sunday	Kliwon	25 December
1062	Je	1574	1651	Thursday	Wage	14 December
+ 1063	+ Dal	1575	+ 1652	Monday	Pon	2 December
1064	Be	1576	1653	Saturday	Pon	22 November
1065	Wawu	1577	1654	Wednesday	Paing	11 November
+ 1066	+ Jimakir	1578	1655	Sunday	Lëgi	31 October
						Friday



1 Sura in								
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram	1 January
Adi								
1067	Alip	1579	+ 1656	Friday	Légi	20 October	20 October	+ Saturday
+ 1068	+ Èhe	1580	1657	Tuesday	Kliwon	9 October	9 October	Monday
1069	Jimawal	1581	1658	Sunday	Kliwon	29 September	29 September	Tuesday
1070	Je	1582	1659	Thursday	Wage	18 September	18 September	Wednesday
+ 1071	+ Dal	1583	+ 1660	Monday	Pon	6 September	6 September	+ Thursday
1072	Be	1584	1661	Saturday	Pon	27 August	27 August	Saturday
1073	Wawu	1585	1662	Wednesday	Paing	16 August	16 August	Sunday
+ 1074	+ Jimakir	1586	1663	Sunday	Légi	5 August	5 August	Monday
Kunthara								
1075	Alip	1587	+ 1664	Friday	Légi	25 July	25 July	+ Tuesday
+ 1076	+ Èhe	1588	1665	Tuesday	Kliwon	14 July	14 July	Thursday
1077	Jimawal	1589	1666	Sunday	Kliwon	4 July	4 July	Friday
1078	Je	1590	1667	Thursday	Wage	23 June	23 June	Saturday



(cont.)

1 Sura in							
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram 1 January
+ 1079	+ Dal	1591	+ 1668	Monday	Pon	11 June	+ Sunday
1080	Be	1592	1669	Saturday	Pon	1 June	Tuesday
1081	Wawu	1593	1670	Wednesday	Paing	21 May	Wednesday
+ 1082	+ Jimakir	1594	1671	Sunday	Lëgi	10 May	Thursday
Sangara							
1083	Alip	1595	+ 1672	Friday	Lëgi	29 April	+ Friday
1084	+ Ėhe	1596	1673	Tuesday	Kliwon	18 April	Sunday
+ 1085	Jimawal	1597	1674	Sunday	Kliwon	8 April	Monday
1086	Je	1598	1675	Thursday	Wage	28 March	Tuesday
+ 1087	+ Dal	1599	+ 1676	Monday	Pon	16 March	+ Wednesday
1088	Be	1600	1677	Saturday	Pon	6 March	Friday
1089	Wawu	1601	1678	Wednesday	Paing	23 February	Saturday
+ 1090	+ Jimakir	1602	1679	Sunday	Lëgi	12 February	Sunday



1 Sura in								
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram	1 January
Sancaya								
1091	Alip	1603	+ 1680	Friday	Lëgi	2 February	2 February	Monday
1092	+ Èhe	1604	1681	Tuesday	Kliwon	21 January	21 January	Wednesday
+ 1093	Jimawal	1605	1682	Sunday	Kliwon	11 January	10 January Saturday	Thursday
1094	Je	1606	1682	Thursday	Wage	31 December	31 December	Thursday
1095	+ Dal	1607	1683	Monday	Pon	20 December	20 December	Friday
+ 1096	Be	1608	+ 1684	Saturday	Pon	9 December	8 December Friday	+ Saturday
1097	Wawu	1609	1685	Wednesday	Paing	28 November	28 November	Monday
+ 1098	+ Jimakir	1610	1686	Sunday	Lëgi	17 November	17 November	Tuesday
Adi								
1099	Alip	1611	1687	Friday	Lëgi	7 November	7 November	Wednesday
1100	+ Èhe	1612	+ 1688	Tuesday	Kliwon	26 October	26 October	+ Thursday
+ 1101	Jimawal	1613	1689	Sunday	Kliwon	16 October	15 October. Saturday	Saturday



(cont.)

1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
						1 Muharram
						1 January
1102	Je	1614	1690	Thursday	Wage	5 October
1103	+ Dal	1615	1691	Monday	Pon	24 September
+ 1104	Be	1616	+ 1692	Saturday	Pon	12 September + Tuesday Friday
1105	Wawu	1617	1693	Wednesday	Paing	2 September
+ 1106	+ Jimakir	1618	1694	Sunday	Lëgi	22 August Thursday Friday
Kunthara						
1107	Alip	1619	1695	Friday	Lëgi	12 August
1108	+ Èhe	1620	+ 1696	Tuesday	Kliwon	31 July
+ 1109	Jimawal	1621	1697	Sunday	Kliwon	20 July
1110	Je	1622	1698	Thursday	Wage	Saturday
1111	+ Dal	1623	1699	Monday	Pon	10 July
+ 1112	Be	1624	1700	Saturday	Pon	29 June
						18 June Friday
						22 August Friday



1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
						1 Muharram
						1 January
1113	Wawu	1625	1701	Wednesday	Paing	8 June
1114	+ Jimakir	1626	1702	Sunday	Lëgi	28 May
Sangara						
+ 1115	Alip	1627	1703	Friday	Lëgi	18 May
1116	+ Èhe	1628	+ 1704	Monday	Kliwon	6 May
+ 1117	Jimawal	1629	1705	Sunday	Kliwon	26 April
1118	Je	1630	1706	Thursday	Wage	15 April
1119	Dal	1531	1707	Monday	Pon	4 April
+ 1120	Be	1632	+ 1708	Saturday	Pon	24 March
1121	Wawu	1633	1709	Wednesday	Paing	13 March
1122	+ Jimakir	1634	1710	Sunday	Lëgi	2 March
						17 May
						Thursday
						6 May
						25 April
						Saturday
						15 April
						4 April
						23 March
						Friday
						13 March
						2 March
						Monday
						+ Tuesday
						Thursday
						Friday
						Saturday
						+ Sunday
						Tuesday
						Wednesday







1 Sura in								
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram	1 January
Adi								
+ 1131	Alip	1643	1718	Friday	Lëgi	25 November	24 November Thursday	Saturday
1132	+ Ĕhe	1644	1719	Tuesday	Kliwon	14 November	14 November	Sunday
1133	Jimawal	1645	+ 1720	Sunday	Kliwon	3 November	2 November Saturday	+ mon
+ 1134	Je	1646	1721	Thursday	Wage	23 October	22 October Wednesday	Wednesday
1135	+ Dal	1647	1722	Monday	Pon	12 October	12 October	Thursday
+ 1136	Be	1648	1723	Saturday	Pon	2 October	1 October Friday	Friday
1137	Wawu	1649	+ 1724	Wednesday	Paing	20 September	20 September	+ Saturday
1138	+ Jimakir	1650	1725	Sunday	Lëgi	9 September	9 September	Monday



(cont.)

1 Sura in							
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram 1 January
Kunthara							
+ 1139	Alip	1651	1726	Friday	Légi	30 August	29 August Thursday Tuesday
1140	+ Ėhe	1652	1727	Tuesday	Kliwon	19 August	19 August Wednesday
1141	Jimawal	1653	+ 1728	Sunday	Kliwon	8 August	7 August Saturday + Thursday
+1142	Je	1654	1729	Thursday	Wage	28 July	27 July Saturday Saturday
1143	+ Dal	1655	1730	Monday	Pon	17 July	17 July Wednesday Sunday
1144	Be	1656	1731	Saturday	Pon	7 July	6 July Monday Friday
+ 1145	Wawu	1657	+ 1732	Wednesday	Paing	25 June	24 June Tuesday + Tuesday
1146	+ Jimakir	1658	1733	Sunday	Légi	14 June	14 June Thursday



1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
1 January						
1 Muharram						
Date in Gregorian Calendar						
1 January						
Sangara						
+ 1147	Alip	1659	1734	Friday	Lëgi	4 June
1148	+ Ĕhe	1660	1735	Tuesday	Kliwon	24 May
1149	Jimawal	1661	+ 1736	Sunday	Kliwon	13 May
+ 1150	Je	1662	1737	Thursday	Wage	2 May
1151	+ Dal	1663	1738	Monday	Pon	21 April
1152	Be	1664	1739	Saturday	Pon	11 April
+ 1153	Wawu	1665	+ 1740	Wednesday	Paing	30 March
1154	+ Jimakir	1666	1741	Sunday	Lëgi	19 March



(cont.)

1 Sura in								
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram 1 January	
Sancaya								
1155	Alip	1667	1742	Friday	Lëgi	9 March	8 March Thursday Monday	Monday Tuesday + Wednesday
+ 1156	+ Ĕhe	1668	1743	Tuesday	Kliwon	26 February	25 February Monday	
1157	Jimawal	1669	+ 1744	Sunday	Kliwon	16 February	15 February Saturday	
+ 1158	Je	1670	1745	Thursday	Wage	4 February	3 February Wednesday	Friday
1159	+ Dal	1671	1746	Monday	Pon	24 January	24 January	Saturday
1160	Be	1672	1747	Saturday	Pon	14 January	13 January Friday	Sunday
+ 1161	Wawu	1673	+ 1748	Wednesday	Paing	3 January	2 January Tuesday	+ Monday
1162	Jimakir	1664	+ 1748	Sunday	Lëgi	22 December	22 December	+ Monday



1 Sura in					
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran
				Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram
1 January					
From this year on the calendar is called Churup Kamsiah or Tuesday Almanac					
Adi					
1163	Alip	1675	1749	Thursday	Kliwon
+ 1164	+ Èhe	1676	1750	Monday	Wage
1165	Jimawal	1677	1751	Saturday	Wage
+ 1166	(+) Je	1678	+ 1752	Wednesday	On.
1167	+ Dal	1679	1753	Sunday	Paing
				(Monday)	(Pon)
1168	Be	1680	1754	Friday	Paing
+ 1169	Wawu	1681	1755	Tuesday	Légi
1170	+ Jimakir	1682	+ 1756	Saturday	Kliwon
Kunthara					
1171	Alip	1683	1757	Thursday	Kliwon
+ 1172	+ Èhe	1684	1758	Monday	Wage
1173	Jimawal	1685	1759	Saturday	Wage
				15 September	15 September
				4 September	4 September
				25 August	25 August
				26 September	26 September
				Sunday	Sunday
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November
				20 November	20 November
				30 November	30 November
				11 December	11 December
				28 (29) October	28 (29) October
				18 October	18 October
				7 October	7 October
				25 September	25 September
				Monday	Monday
				29 October	29 October
				8 November	8 November



(cont.)

1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
						1 Muharram
						1 January
1174	(+) Je	1686	+ 1760	Wednesday	Pon	13 August
+ 1175	+ Dal	1687	1761	Sunday	Paing	2 (3) August
				(Monday)	(Pon)	Sunday
1176	Be	1688	1762	Friday	Paing	23 July
+ 1177	Wawu	1689	1763	Tuesday	Lëgi	12 July
1178	+ Jimakir	1690	+ 1764	Saturday	Kliwon	1 July
						Sunday
Sangara						
1179	Alip	1691	1765	Thursday	Kliwon	20 June
+ 1180	+ Èhe	1692	1766	Monday	Wage	9 June
1181	Jimawal	1693	1767	Saturday	Wage	30 May
1182	(+) Je	1694	+ 1768	Wednesday	Pon	18 May
+ 1183	+ Dal	1695	1769	Sunday	Paing	7 (8) May
				(Monday)	(Pon)	Sunday
1184	Be	1696	1770	Friday	Paing	27 April
1185	Wawu	1697	1771	Tuesday	Lëgi	16 April
+ 1186	+ Jimakir	1698	+ 1772	Saturday	Kliwon	4 April
						Monday
						Tuesday
						+ Wednesday



1 Sura in								
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram	1 January
Sancaya								
1187	Alip	1699	1773	Thursday	Kliwon	25 March	25 March	Friday
+ 1188	+ Èhe	1700	1774	Monday	Wage	14 March	14 March	Saturday
1189	Jimawal	1701	1775	Saturday	Wage	4 March	4 March	Sunday
1190	(+) Je	1702	+ 1776	Wednesday	Pon	21 February	21 February	+ Monday
+ 1191	+ Dal	1703	1777	Sunday	Paing	9 (10) February	9 February	Wednesday
				(Monday)	(Pon)		Sunday	
1192	Be	1704	1778	Friday	Paing	30 January	30 January	Thursday
1193	Wawu	1705	1779	Tuesday	Lègi	19 January	19 January	Friday
+ 1194	+ Jimakir	1706	+ 1780	Saturday	Kliwon	8 January	8 January	+ Saturday
Adi								
1195	Alip	1707	+ 1780	Thursday	Kliwon	28 December	28 December	+ Saturday
+ 1196	+ Èhe	1708	1781	Monday	Wage	17 December	17 December	Monday
1197	Jimawal	1709	1782	Saturday	Wage	7 December	7 December	Tuesday
1198	(+) Je	1710	1783	Wednesday	Pon	26 November	26 November	Wednesday
+ 1199	+ Dal	1711	+ 1784	Sunday	Paing	14 (15) November	14 November	+ Thursday
				(Monday)	(Pon)		Sunday	



(cont.)	1 Sura in						
	AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
							1 Muharram
							1 January
1200	Be	1712	1785	Friday	Paing	4 November	Saturday
1201	Wawu	1713	1786	Tuesday	Lègi	24 October	Sunday
+ 1202	+ Jimakir	1714	1787	Saturday	Kliwon	13 October	Monday
Kunthara							
1203	Alip	1715	+ 1788	Thursday	Kliwon	2 October	+ Tuesday
1204	+ Èhe	1716	1789	Monday	Wage	21 September	Thursday
+ 1205	Jimawal	1717	1790	Saturday	Wage	11 September	Friday
1206	(+) Je	1718	1791	Wednesday	Pon	31 August	Saturday
+ 1207	+ Dal	1719	+ 1792	Sunday	Paing	19 (20) August	+ Sunday
				(Monday)	(Pon)	Sunday	
1208	Be	1720	1793	Friday	Paing	9 August	Tuesday
1209	Wawu	1721	1794	Tuesday	Lègi	29 July	Wednesday
+ 1210	+ Jimakir	1722	1795	Saturday	Kliwon	18 July	Thursday



1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
Sangara						
1211	Alip	1723	+ 1796	Thursday	Kliwon	7 July
1212	+ Èhe	1724	1797	Monday	Wage	26 June
+ 1213	Jimawal	1725	1798	Saturday	Wage	16 June
1214	(+)Je	1726	1799	Wednesday	Pon	5 June
1215	+ Dal	1727	1800	Sunday (Monday)	Paing (Pon)	25 (26) May
+ 1216	Be	1728	1801	Friday	Paing	15 May
1217	Wawu	1729	1802	Tuesday	Lègi	4 May
+ 1218	+ Jimakir	1730	1803	Saturday	Kliwon	23 April
Sancaya						
1219	Alip	1731	+ 1804	Thursday	Kliwon	12 April
1220	+ Èhe	1732	1805	Monday	Wage	1 April
+ 1221	Jimawal	1733	1806	Saturday	Wage	22 March
						12 April
						1 April
						21 March
						Friday
						+ Sunday
						Tuesday
						Wednesday



(cont.)

1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
						1 Muharram
						1 January
1222	(+) Je	1734	1807	Wednesday	Pon	11 March
1223	+ Dal	1735	+ 1808	Sunday (Monday)	Paing (Pon)	28 (29) February
+ 1224	Be	1736	1809	Friday	Paing	17 February
1225	Wawu	1737	1810	Tuesday	Légi	6 February
+ 1226	+ Jimakir	1738	1811	Saturday	Kliwon	26 January
Adi						
1227	Alip	1739	+ 1812	Thursday	Kliwon	16 January
1228	+ Èhe	1740	1813	Monday	Wage	4 January
+ 1229	Jimawal	1741	1813	Saturday	Wage	25 December
1230	(+) Je	1742	1814	Wednesday	Pon	14 December
1231	+ Dal	1743	1815	Sunday (Monday)	Paing (Pon)	3 (4) December
						16 January
						4 January
						24 December
						Friday
						14 December
						3 December
						Sunday
						+ Wednesday
						Friday
						Friday
						Saturday
						Sunday



1 Sura in								
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram	1 January
+ 1232	Be	1744	+ 1816	Friday	Paing	22 November	21 November Thursday	+ Monday
1233	Wawu	1745	1817	Tuesday	Lëgi	11 November	11 November	Wednesday
1234	+ Jimakir	1746	1818	Saturday	Kliwon	31 October	31 October	Thursday
Kunthara								
+ 1235	Alip	1747	1819	Thursday	Kliwon	21 October	20 October Wednesday	Friday
1236	+ Ėhe	1748	+ 1820	Monday	Wage	9 October	9 October	+ Saturday
The year Ėhe above is called Churup arbangiah, or Wednesday Almanac								
+ 1237	Jimawal	1749	1821	Friday	Pon	28 September	28 September	Monday
1238	(+) Je	1750	1822	Tuesday	Paing	17 September	18 September Wednesday	Tuesday
1239	+ Dal	1751	1823	Saturday (Sunday)	Lëgi (Paing)	6 (7) September	7 September Sunday	Wednesday
+ 1240	Be	1752	+ 1824	Thursday	Lëgi	26 August	26 August	+ Thursday



(cont.)		1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram	1 January
1241	Wawu	1753	1825	Monday	Kliwon	15 August	16 August Tuesday	Saturday
1242	+ Jimakir	1754	1826	Friday	Wage	4 August	5 August Saturday	Sunday
Sangara								
+ 1243	Alip	1755	1827	Wednesday	Wage	25 July	25 July	Monday
1244	+ Ēhe	1756	+ 1828	Sunday	Pon	13 July	14 July Monday	+ Tuesday
1245	Jimawal	1757	1829	Friday	Pon	3 July	3 July	Thursday
+ 1246	(+) Je	1758	1830	Tuesday	Paing	22 June	22 June	Friday
1247	+ Dal	1759	1831	Saturday (Sunday)	Lēgi (Paing)	11 (12) June	12 June Sunday	Saturday
+ 1248	Be	1760	+ 1832	Thursday	Lēgi	31 May	31 May	+ Sunday
1249	Wawu	1761	1833	Monday	Kliwon	20 May	21 May Tuesday	Tuesday
1250	+ Jimakir	1762	1834	Friday	Wage	9 May	10 May Saturday	Wednesday



1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
1 Muharram						
1 January						
Sancaya						
+ 1251	Alip	1763	1835	Wednesday	Wage	29 April
1252	+ Ēhe	1764	+ 1836	Sunday	Pon	17 April
1253	Jimawal	1765	1837	Friday	Pon	7 April
+ 1254	(+) Je	1766	1838	Tuesday	Paing	27 March
1255	+ Dal	1767	1839	Saturday	Lëgi	16 (17) March
+ 1256	Be	1768	+ 1840	(Sunday)	(Paing)	5 March
1257	Wawu	1769	1841	Thursday	Lëgi	23 February
				Monday	Kliwon	Tuesday
1258	+ Jimakir	1770	1842	Friday	Wage	12 February
						Saturday
						17 March
						7 April
						27 March
						Sunday
						17 March
						5 March
						23 February
						Tuesday
						12 February
						Saturday
						17 March
						7 April
						27 March
						Sunday
						17 March
						5 March
						23 February
						Tuesday
						12 February
						Saturday
						17 March
						7 April
						27 March
						Sunday
						17 March
						5 March
						23 February
						Tuesday
						12 February
						Saturday



(cont.)

1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
1 Muharram						
1 January						
Adi						
+ 1259	Alip	1771	1843	Wednesday	Wage	1 February
1260	+ Ēhe	1772	+ 1844	Sunday	Pon	21 January
1261	Jimawal	1773	1845	Friday	Pon	10 January
+ 1262	(+) Je	1774	1845	Tuesday	Paing	30 December
1263	+ Dal	1775	1846	Saturday	Lēgi	19 (20) December
				(Sunday)	(Paing)	Sunday
1264	Be	1776	1847	Thursday	Lēgi	9 December
+ 1265	Wawu	1777	+ 1848	Monday	Kliwon	27 November
1266	+ Jimakir	1778	1849	Friday	Wage	16 November
Kunthara						
+ 1267	Alip	1779	1850	Wednesday	Wage	6 November
1268	+ Ēhe	1780	1851	Sunday	Pon	26 October
						27 October
						Monday
						Tuesday
						Wednesday



1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
						1 Muharram
						1 January
1269	Jimawal	1781	+ 1852	Friday	Pon	15 October
+ 1270	(+) Je	1782	1853	Tuesday	Paing	4 October
1271	+ Dal	1783	1854	Saturday	Lègi	23 (24) September
				(Sunday)	(Paing)	Sunday
1272	Be	1784	1855	Thursday	Lègi	13 September
+ 1273	Wawu	1785	+ 1856	Monday	Kliwon	1 September
1274	(+) Jimakir	1786	1857	Friday	Wage	22 August
						Saturday
Sangara						
1275	Alip	1787	1858	Wednesday	Wage	11 August
+ 1276	+ Èhe	1788	1859	Sunday	Pon	31 July
1277	Jimawal	1789	+ 1860	Friday	Pon	20 July
+ 1278	+ Je	1790	1861	Tuesday	Paing	9 July
1279	(+) Dal	1791	1862	Saturday	Lègi	28 (29) June
				(Sunday)	(Paing)	son
1280	Be	1792	1863	Thursday	Lègi	18 June
						Thursday



(cont.)							
1 Sura in							
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram
							1 January
+ 1281	Wawu	1793	+ 1864	Monday	Kliwon	6 June	+ Friday
1282	+ Jimakir	1794	1865	Friday	Wage	26 May	Sunday
Sancaya							
1283	Alip	1795	1866	Wednesday	Wage	16 May	Monday
+ 1284	+ Ėhe	1796	1867	Sunday	Pon	5 May	Tuesday
1285	Jimawal	1797	+ 1868	Friday	Pon	24 April	+ Wednesday
+ 1286	+ Je	1798	1869	Tuesday	Paing	13 April	Friday
1287	(+) Dal	1799	1870	Saturday	Lëgi	2 (3) April	Saturday
				(Sunday)	(Paing)		
1288	Be	1800	1871	Thursday	Lëgi	23 March	Sunday
+ 1289	Wawu	1801	+ 1872	Monday	Kliwon	11 March	+ Monday
1290	+ Jimakir	1802	1873	Friday	Wage	28 February	Wednesday



1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar 1 Muharram 1 January
Adi						
1291 + 1292	Alip + Ėhe	1803 1804	1874 1875	Wednesday Sunday	Wage Pon	18 February 7 February
1293	Jimawal	1805	+ 1876	Friday	Pon	28 January + Saturday
1294	+ Je	1806	1877	Tuesday	Paing	16 January Monday
+ 1295	(+) Dal	1807	1878	Saturday (Sunday)	Lëgi (Paing)	5 (6) January Saturday Tuesday
1296	Be	1808	1878	Thursday	Lëgi	26 December Tuesday
+ 1297	Wawu	1809	1879	Monday	Kliwon	15 December Wednesday
1298	+ Jimakir	1810	+ 1880	Friday	Wage	4 December + Thursday Saturday
Kunthara						
1299	Alip	1811	1881	Wednesday	Wage	23 November Saturday
+ 1300	+ Ėhe	1812	1882	Sunday	Pon	12 November Sunday
1301	Jimawal	1813	1883	Friday	Pon	2 November Monday
1302	+ Je	1814	+ 1884	Tuesday	Paing	21 October + Tuesday



(cont.)

1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
						1 Muharram
						1 January
+ 1303	(+) Dal	1815	1885	Saturday (Sunday)	Lëgi (Paing)	10 October Saturday
1304	Be	1816	1886	Thursday	Lëgi	30 September Friday
1305	Wawu	1817	1887	Monday	Kliwon	19 September Saturday
+ 1306	+ Jimakir	1818	+ 1888	Friday	Wage	7 September + Sunday
Sangara						
1307	Alip	1819	1889	Wednesday	Wage	28 August Tuesday
+ 1308	+ Èhe	1820	1890	Sunday	Pon	17 August Wednesday
1309	Jimawal	1821	1891	Friday	Pon	7 August Thursday
1310	+ Je	1822	+ 1892	Tuesday	Paing	26 July + Friday
+ 1311	(+) Dal	1823	1893	Saturday (Sunday)	Lëgi (Paing)	15 July Sunday
1312	Be	1824	1894	Thursday	Lëgi	5 July Saturday
1313	Wawu	1825	1895	Monday	Kliwon	24 June Monday
+ 1314	+ Jimakir	1826	+ 1896	Friday	Wage	12 June Tuesday + Wednesday



1 Sura in								
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram	1 January
Sancaya								
1315	Alip	1827	1897	Wednesday	Wage	2 June	2 June	Friday
+ 1316	+ Èhe	1828	1898	Sunday	Pon	22 May	22 May	Saturday
1317	Jimawal	1829	1899	Friday	Pon	12 May	12 May	Sunday
1318	+ Je	1830	1900	Tuesday	Paing	1 May	1 May	Monday
+ 1319	(+) Dal	1831	1901	Saturday	Lègi	20 (21) April	20 April	Tuesday
				(Sunday)	(Paing)		Saturday	
1320	Be	1832	1902	Thursday	Lègi	10 April	10 April	Wednesday
1321	Wawu	1833	1903	Monday	Kliwon	20 March	30 March	Thursday
+ 1322	+ Jimakir	1834	+ 1904	Friday	Wage	18 March	18 March	+ Friday
Adi								
1323	Alip	1835	1905	Wednesday	Wage	8 March	8 March	Sunday
1324	+ Èhe	1836	1906	Sunday	Pon	25 February	25 February	Monday
+ 1325	Jimawal	1837	1907	Friday	Pon	15 February	14 February Thursday	Tuesday
1326	+ Je	1838	+ 1908	Tuesday	Paing	4 February	4 February	+ Wednesday







1 Sura in								
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram	1 January
1337 + 1338	Wawu + Jimakir	1849 1850	1918 1919	Monday Friday	Kliwon Wage	7 October 26 September	7 October 26 September	Tuesday Wednesday
Sangara								
1339 1340 + 1341	Alip + Ėhe Jimawal	1851 1852 1853	+ 1920 1921 1922	Wednesday Sunday Friday	Wage Pon Pon	15 September 4 September 25 August	15 September 4 September 25 August Thursday	+ Thursday Saturday Sunday
1342 1343 + 1344	+ Je (+) Dal Be	1854 1855 1856	1923 + 1924 1925	Tuesday Saturday (Sunday) Thursday	Paing Lëgi (Paing) Lëgi	14 August 2 (3) August 23 July	14 August 2 August Saturday 22 July Wednesday	Monday + Tuesday Thursday
1345 + 1346	Wawu + Jimakir	1857 1858	1926 1927	Monday Friday	Kliwon Wage	12 July 1 July	12 July 1 July	Friday Saturday



(cont.)

1 Sura in						
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar
1 Muharram						
1 January						
Sancaya						
1347	Alip	1859	+ 1928	Wednesday	Wage	20 June
1348	+ Ĕhe	1860	1929	Sunday	Pon	9 June
+ 1349	Jimawal	1861	1930	Friday	Pon	29 May
						Thursday
1350	+ Je	1862	1931	Tuesday	Paing	19 May
1351	(+) Dal	1863	+ 1932	Saturday	Lëgi	7 May
				(Sunday)	(Paing)	Saturday
1352	Be	1864	1933	Thursday	Lëgi	26 April
						Wednesday
1353	Wawu	1865	1934	Monday	Kliwon	16 April
1354	+ Jimakir	1866	1935	Friday	Wage	5 April
						Monday
						Tuesday



1 Sura in								
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram	1 January
This year is called Churup Salasiah or Tuesday Alamac								
Adi								
+ 1355 1356	Alip + Èhe	1867 1868	+ 1936 1937	Tuesday Saturday	Pon Paing	24 March 13 March	25 March 14 mach Sunday	+ Wednesday Friday
+ 1357 1358	Jimawal Je	1869 1870	1938 1939	Thursday Monday	Paing Légi	3 March 20 February	3 March 21 February Tuesday	Saturday Sunday
1359 + 1360 1361	+ Dal Be Wawu	1871 1872 1873	+ 1940 1941 1942	Saturday Wednesday Sunday	Légi Kliwon Wage	10 February 29 January 18 January	10 February 29 January 19 January Sunday	+ Monday Wednesday Thursday
1362	+ Jimakir	1874	1943	Thursday	Pon	7 January	8 January Friday	Friday



(cont.)

1 Sura in							
AH	Windu	AJ	AD	Sapta-wara	Pasaran	Date in Gregorian Calendar	1 Muharram 1 January
Kunthara							
+ 1363 1364	Alip + Ēhe	1875 1876	1943 + 1944	Tuesday Saturday	Pon Paing	28 December 16 December	28 December 17 December Sunday Friday + Saturday
1365 + 1366 1367 + 1368 1369	Jimawal + Je + Dal Be Wawu	1877 1878 1879 1880 1881	1945 1946 1947 + 1948 1949	Thursday Monday Saturday Wednesday Sunday	Paing Lëgi Lëgi Kliwon Wage	6 December 25 November 15 November 3 November 23 October	Monday Tuesday Wednesday + Thursday Saturday Monday 13 October Friday
1370	+ Jimakir	1882	1950	Thursday	Pon	12 October	Sunday



# Glossary

The various languages have been abbreviated as follows: Aceh = Acehnese, B. = Balinese, Bug. = Buginese, J. = Javanese, M. = Malay, Min. = Minangkabau, Old. J. = Old Javanese, S. = Sundanese, Sas. = Sasak.

<i>Adĕg-adĕg</i> (B.)	Comma in Balinese script
<i>Aksara</i> (B.J.)	Letter in the Javanese or Javanese-inspired alphabets
<i>Aksara Swara</i> (J.)	Letter to indicate a vowel in Javanese script
<i>Babad</i> (B.J.)	Chronicle, Book on History
<i>Balian</i> (B.)	Indigenous healer
<i>Brahmana</i> (B.)	Brahmin
<i>Candra sangkala</i> (J.)	Chronogram
<i>Cacarakan</i>	Javanese script as used in Sunda in West Java
<i>Carakan</i>	Javanese script as used in Madura
<i>Cĕraka</i>	Javanese script as used in Lombok
<i>Dayah</i> (Aceh.)	Islamic boarding school in Aceh
<i>Dalang</i> (B.J.)	Puppeteer of the Javanese and Balinese shadow theater
<i>Duwang</i> (J.)	Tree bark paper
<i>Ĕmbat-ĕmbatan</i> (B.)	<i>Lontar</i> manuscript with the spine in place
<i>Gaguritan, gaguritan</i> (B.)	Balinese poem in <i>macapat</i> meters
<i>Gĕbang</i> (J.S.)	Sundanese <i>nipah</i>
<i>Guguritan</i> (S.)	Sundanese poem in <i>macapat</i> meters
<i>Guru gatra</i> (J.)	Fixed number of lines per stanza in <i>macapat</i> meters
<i>Guru lagu</i> (J.)	Fixed final vowel in the last syllable of a verse line in <i>macapat</i> meters
<i>Guru wilangan</i> (J.)	Fixed number of syllables per verse line in <i>macapat</i> meters
<i>Hanacaraka</i>	Javanese script as used in Bali and in Java
<i>Hikayat</i> (M.)	Prose text in Malay
<i>Jaba</i> (B.)	Indication for Balinese who do not belong to the three castes
<i>Jarwa</i> (J.)	Texts in pseudo Old Javanese language and verse meters
<i>Jawi</i> (M.)	Adapted Arabic script for Malay, Acehnese, Minangkabau
<i>Jĕjawen</i> (Sas.)	Javanese script as in use in Lombok
<i>Kakawin</i> (B.)	Old Javanese poem in Sanskrit or Sanskrit-inspired verse meters
<i>Kawi miring</i> (J.)	Texts in pseudo Old Javanese language and verse meters



<i>Kidung</i> (B., J.)	Middle Javanese poem in Javanese verse meters
<i>Kropak</i> (B.)	Wooden box to store a <i>lontar</i> manuscript
<i>Lěmpir</i> (B.)	<i>Lontar</i> leaf
<i>Lěmpiran</i> (B.)	Manuscript that consists of any number of <i>lontar</i> leaves without protecting covers or a matching box
<i>Lontar</i> (B.)	Palm tree ( <i>Borassus flabellifer</i> or <i>flabelliformis</i> , or <i>Palmyra</i> ), or manuscript made from prepared leaves of this palm
<i>Maarti</i> (B.)	Text in Old Javanese with corresponding Balinese glosses
<i>Mabasan, maběbasan</i> (B.)	Event during which an Old Javanese verse is sung and explained
<i>Macapat</i> (J.)	Javanese verse meters and poems written in these verse meters
<i>Madyapada</i> (J.)	Mark to indicate the start of a canto within a poem
<i>Mushaf</i>	Handwritten <i>Qur'ān</i>
<i>Naskah</i> (M.)	Manuscript
<i>Naskah sabuk</i>	Belt manuscript
<i>Nipah</i>	Palm tree species and the leaves of these palm trees used for writing
<i>Pada</i> (J.) mark	Indication between cantos of a poem
<i>Pangaksama</i> (B.)	Excuse made by an author or scribe for his incapacity to produce quality manuscripts or texts
<i>Pasangan</i> (J.)	Set of letters in Javanese script to 'kill' the vowel of the preceding letter
<i>Pedanda</i> (B.)	Balinese high priest
<i>Pegon</i> (J.)	Adapted Arabic script for Javanese, Madurese and Sundanese
<i>Pěnakěp</i> (B.)	Wooden or bamboo protective cover for a <i>lontar</i> manuscript
<i>Pepaosan</i> (B.)	Event during which an Old Javanese verse is sung and explained
<i>Pesantren</i> (J.)	Islamic boarding school
<i>Pěshantian</i> (B.)	Event during which an Old Javanese verse is sung and explained
<i>Prasi</i> (B.)	Illustration in <i>lontar</i> manuscripts
<i>Puh/pupuh</i> (J.)	Canto and term for the verse meter used in a canto
<i>Purwapada</i> (J.)	Mark to indicate the start of a poem
<i>Pusaka</i> (J., Malay)	Heirloom
<i>Pustaha</i> (Batak)	Batak manuscript



<i>Rajahan</i> (B.)	Illustration in Balinese manuscript about magic and sorcery
<i>Rontal</i> (B.)	Alternative name for <i>lontar</i>
<i>Sarga</i> (Old J.)	Chapter in the Rāmāyaṇa
<i>Sasmita salining</i>	Verbal indication of the verse meter to follow in the next canto in the last or almost the last sentence of the canto
<i>těmbang</i> (J.)	Verbal indication of the verse meter to follow in the next canto in the first sentence of the new canto
<i>Sasmita wiwitaning</i>	see <i>Těmbang</i>
<i>Sěkar</i> (J.)	Adapted Arabic script for Buginese
<i>Serang</i> (Bug.)	Book
<i>Sěrat</i> (J.)	Balinese error indication made by adding superfluous vowels to the <i>aksara</i>
<i>Suku-ulu</i> (B.)	Mystical incantational poem
<i>Suluk</i> (J.)	Malay poem with the rhyme scheme aaaa, bbbb, cccc and so on.
<i>Syair</i> (M.)	Sundanese <i>lontar</i>
<i>Taal</i> (S.)	<i>Lontar</i> manuscript with protective covers
<i>Takěpan</i> (B.)	Poetry
<i>Těmbang</i> (J.)	Javanese poetry in <i>macapat</i> meters
<i>Těmbang macapat</i> (J.)	Javanese poetry in large verse meters
<i>Těmbang gědhe</i> (J.)	Javanese poetry in small verse meters
<i>Těmbang cilik/alit</i> (J.)	Javanese descent line, lineage
<i>Trah</i> (J.)	Totality of the three castes in Bali
<i>Triwangsa</i> (B.)	Mark to indicate the end of a poem
<i>Wasanapada</i> (J.)	Javanese indication for a verse meter of an Old Javanese text
<i>Wirama</i> (J.)	Thirty, seven-day weeks, each with its own name
<i>Wuku</i>	



# Manuscripts Quoted

## ADELAIDE

*Art Gallery of South Australia*

Arabic

*Qurʾān*

Madurese

*Pesantren manuscript depicting sufferings  
of hell*

## AMPENAN

*Museum Negeri Nusa Tenggara Barat*

Javanese from Lombok

T.215/v.11/91, *Kĕrtanah*

3392/NK/83, *Puspakrama*

Sasak

07.205, *Megantaka*

07.932, *Cilinaya*

## AMSTERDAM

*Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and  
Science in Amsterdam*

Javanese

Acad. 240, *Babad Surapati*

## BANDUNG

*Balai Pengelolaan Museum Negeri Sri  
Baduga Bandung*

Sundanese

07.141, *Sajarah Lampahing para Wali  
Kabeh*

## BERLIN

*Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin*

Javanese

Schoemann II 6, *Menak Amir Hamza*

Ms. or. Oct. 4033, *Sĕrat Asmarasupi*

## CAMBRIDGE

*Cambridge University Library*

Malay

Dd. 5. 37, *Hikayat Yusuf*

## CANBERRA

*National Gallery of Australia*

Old Javanese

1990.1775-20, *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa prasi*  
(on paper)

1994.1234.1.14, *Kakawin Smaradahana  
prasi*

1994.1235.1.8, *Ādiparwa prasi*

## CIREBON

*Keraton Kacirebonan*

Javanese

*Layang Sumĕraping Kangge Wangun  
Candrasĕngkala*

## COLOGNE

*Universität zu Köln*

Arabic

Cod. Malaialogie 001/2012, *Qurʾān*



## COPENHAGEN

Royal Library

Javanese

JAV 2 (Cod. Javan. 1), *Tingkah ing Iman*

Old Javanese

Jav (Bal) 3 (C. a. 96), *Tēgēs ing Bhuwana Jagat, Usana Bali, Usana Jawa, Aji Astakosali*

## DENPASAR

Balai Bahasa Provinsi Bali, Denpasar

Balinese

023/BBD/Vb/91, *Candakarana*  
064/BPB/Vc/91, *Gaguritan Uug Mengwi*  
No class-mark, *Pratitin Panak Iseni*

Javanese from Lombok

036/BPB/IVd/91, *Gaguritan Nurpiah*  
038/BPB/IVd/91, *Siti Fatimah*  
056//BPB/IVd/91, *Gaguritan Nur Nabi Muhammad*  
062/BPB/IVd/91, *Gaguritan Umarmaya*  
No class-mark, *Monyeh, Cilinaya, Amir Hamza*

Old Javanese

015/BBD/Iib/91, 018/BPB/Vb/91, *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha*  
020/BBD/Iia/91, *Bima Swarga*  
069/BPB/Vb/91, *Kakawin Arjuna Wiwāha*  
070/BPB/IIIb/91, *Kakawyan Lētusan Gunung Tolangkir*  
083/BPB/IIIb/91, *Kawisesaning Calonarang*  
072/BPB/Vb/91, *Kakawin Sutasoma*  
112/BPB/Vb/91, 113/BPB/Vb/91, *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*

114/BPB/Vb/91, *Kakawin Ratnawijaya*  
125/BPB/Vb/91, *Kakawin Sumanasāntaka*  
145/BPB/IIIb/91, *Tutur Sang Hyang*

*Tigajñana*

155/BPB/IIId/91, *Usada Jati*  
159/BPB/IIIb/91, *Kakawin Usana Bali Mayantaka Carita*  
164/BPB/IIIb/91, *Wrēhaspati Tatwa*

## DENPASAR

Parisada Hindu Indonesia

Old-Javanese

No. 4, *Tutur Bhamakrētih*

## DENPASAR

Pusat Dokumentasi Dinas Kebudayaan  
*Propinsi Bali*

Old Javanese

P/III/3/DISBUD, *Mosalaparwa*  
P/III/6/DISBUD, P/III/7/DISBUD,  
*Prastanika Parwa*  
P/IV/3/DISBUD, *Suarga Rohana Parwa*  
P/V/2/DISBUD, *Asrama Parwa*  
No number, *Cacaron Lindu Dewasa Paweton*  
No number, *Cuntaka Graha mwah Mantra*

## DENPASAR

Universitas Hindu Indonesia

Old Javanese

Lt. 19. *Brahmokta Widhi*

## DENPASAR

Pusat Kajian Lontar, Udayana University



## Balinese

Kropak No. 168, *Gaguritan Rusak Banjar*  
Keropak 235 No. Rt 240, *Kidung Dampati*  
*Lalangon*

## Old Javanese

Keropak 136 No. 135, *Kakawin Gajah*  
*Mada*

## DEPOK

*University of Indonesia Library*

## Javanese

A 4.02, *Sangkan Turunan*  
CT 16, *Pustakaraaja*  
NR 146, *Sĕrat Anbiya*  
NR 250, *Sĕrat Cabolek*  
NR 259, 260, *Lakad* (2 vols.)  
NR 346, *Babad Napoleon* (now lost)  
NR 536, *Sĕrat Menak Gandrung dumugi*  
*Menak Kandhabumi*

## Javanese from Lombok

NR 388, *Sĕrat Jatiswara*, [now lost]

## Old Javanese

LT 55, *Adipurāṇa*  
LT 156, *Nitipraja*  
LT 183, *Panawuran Sod*  
LT 209, *Dharmasrama maarti*  
LT 213, *Putru Kalepasan*  
LT 216, *Kakawin Ghaṭotkacaśraya*  
LT 221, *Kakawin Rāmaparaśuwijaya*  
LT 222, *Canda Pinggala*  
LT 223, *Kakawin Indrawijaya*  
LT 237, *Mantra Usada Tantri*

## JAKARTA

*Collection Toenggoel Siagian*

## Old-Javanese

*Kakawin Bhāratayuddha*  
*Kakawin Bhomāntaka*  
*Bayt al-Qur'an and Museum Istiqlal*

## Madurese

BQMI 4.22, *Hikayat Nabi Yusup* (?) from  
*Madura*

## JAKARTA

*National Library of Indonesia*

## Javanese

Br 49, *Madujaya*  
Br 149, *Babad Dipanĕgara*  
Br 298, *Hikayat Syekh Muḥammad*  
*Sammān*  
Br. 379, *Panji Angrongakung*  
KBG 18, *Menak Cina*  
KBG 19, *Panji Dewakusuma Kĕmbar*  
KBG 20, *Babad Mataram*  
KBG 63, *Babad Blambangan*  
KBG 185, *Panji Palembang*  
KBG 227, *Sĕrat Napoleon*  
KBG 332, *Sĕrat Salokadarma*  
KBG 469, *Babad Pajajaran*  
KBG 543, *Sĕrat Asmarasupi*  
KBG 616-h, *Kitāb Ṭarīkah*  
KBG 737, *Sĕrat Angling Darma*  
KBG 958, *Pakĕm Wirama*  
KBG 1010, *Sĕrat Yusup*  
81 E 18, *Jatiswara*  
83 E 55, *Damar Wulan*

## Malay

ML 394, *Hikayat Syekh Muḥammad*  
*Sammān*

## Old-Javanese

000 NB 9, *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama/*  
*Deśawarṇana* (ex Cod.Or. 5023)



- Br. 493, *Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarṇana*  
 Br. 522, *Āśramawāsaparwa*  
 Br. 523, *Mosalaparwa*  
 Br. 524, *Prasthānikaparwa*  
 Br. 525, *Swargārohanaparwa*  
 Br. 661, *Sārasamuccaya*  
 KBG 561, 41 L 841a–d, 55 L 856, 55 L 857, 55 L 984, 64 L 962, *Āśramawāsaparwa, Mosalaparwa, Prasthānikaparwa* and *Swargārohanaparwa*  
 1 L 53, *Kuñjarakarna*  
 16 L 638, *Sang Hyang Hayu*  
 53 L 845, *Kakawin Pārthayajña*  
 63 L 960, *Rāmāyaṇa Uttarakaṇḍa*  
 63 L 959b, *Wirāṭaparwa*  
 65 L 1023, *Mosalaparwa*
- Old sundanese  
 16 L 630, *Sang Hyang Siksa Kandang Karĕsian*
- Sundanese  
 Br. 36, *Babad Cirĕbon*  
 Br. 38, *Siung Wanara*  
 SD 38, *Rĕngganis*  
 SD 187, *Cĕrita Samun*
- JAKARTA  
*Pusat Dokumentasi Sastra H.B. Jassin*
- Javanese  
*Sĕrat Menak Namer*  
 899.222.091 Koe M, *Kitab Makdur Idayat*  
 899 221 091 Pra S, *Sĕrat Prataka, Jilid 3*
- KARLSRUHE  
 Badische Landesbibliothek
- Balinese  
 2769-B, Balinese *prasi*
- KUALA LUMPUR  
*Arkib Negara Malaysian*
- Malay  
 SP18, *Hikayat Hikamat*
- LEIDEN  
*Leiden University Library*
- Western manuscripts  
 Cod.Or. 11.075, L.C. Heyting survey report on manuscripts in Lombok of 1928
- Arabic  
 Cod.Or. 7247, *Kitāb Masā'il al-Muhtadī li-ikwān al-mubtadī*
- Arabic/Javanese  
 Cod.Or. 5716, 7736, *Muntahī*
- Balinese  
 Cod.Or. 3621 (4), *Kidung Tuung Kuning*  
 Cod.Or. 3916 (2), Notes on exorcism  
 Cod.Or. 5345, *Ender*  
 Cod.Or. 5427, Balinese translation of the *Kakawin Wrttasañcaya*  
 Cod.Or. 23.059, *Gita Yuddha* or *Kidung Nderet*  
 Cod.Or. 23.522, *Kidung Dampati Lalangon (prasi)*  
 KITLV D Or. 411, *Balisch notenschrift*  
 KITLV D Or. 546 *Kidung Dampati Lalangon (prasi)*  
 Cod.Or. 23.798, Catalogus Lontar Bali



## Batak

Cod.Or. 3554, Batak ritual *Pustaha* from the Dairi region

## Javanese

Cod.Or. 266, Notes on Islamic Mysticism

Cod.Or. 1795, *Suluk*

Cod.Or. 1804, *Bima Suci*

Cod.Or. 1828, Compilation of didactic and moralistic texts

Cod.Or. 1830, *Jaka Sulewah*

Cod.Or. 1928, *Primbon*

Cod.Or. 1853, 7 *Paniti Sastra* versions

Cod.Or. 1882, Pre-Islamic Notes on incantations, mantras, magic and divination in prose

Cod.Or. 2027, 4869, 4930, *Menak Lare*

Cod.Or. 2171, *Sĕrat Menak Amir Hamza*

Cod.Or. 2193, *Abiyasa*

Cod.Or. 2216, *Sĕrat Jatiswara*

Cod.Or. 2251, History of Javanese Kingdoms in verse

Cod.Or. 2268c, 6405, 11.650, 12.332, *Pawukon*

Cod.Or. 2295, History of Mecca and Turkey

Cod.Or. 3945, Compilation of 17 texts referring to Islam

Cod.Or. 4586, *Sĕrat Cĕnthini pegon*

Cod.Or. 5771, *Lakad*

Cod.Or. 5772, *Ĕmpu Sapa*

Cod.Or. 5817, *Damar Wulan*

Cod.Or. 6199, *Babad Pĕrang Dipo Nĕgoro*

Cod.Or. 6377, History (*Babad*) of the Javanese kingdoms of Dĕmak, Pajang and Mataram

Cod.Or. 6388, *Aṣṭabrata, Adidumastra*

Cod.Or. 6446, Notes of Raden Tirto Drono, patih of Purwarejo

Cod.Or. 6525, *Pangruwatan. Lakon Murwakala*

Cod.Or. 8577[1], *Candrarini* in *Sĕrat Warni-warni*, anthology of Surakarta literature in verse

Cod.Or. 8807, Genealogy of Javanese Kings

Cod.Or. 8934, *Sayid Anwar*

Cor.Or. 10.973, *Bab Ringgit Bĕbĕr Namung Salampahan*

Cod.Or. 11.004, *Ripangi*

Cod.Or. 12.295, *Babad Trunajaya*

Cod.Or. 12.289, *Ramayana Macapat*

Cod.Or. 12.319, *Primbon*

NBG 270, *Kitab Rawḍat*

NBG 234, *Wiwaha, Minta Raga, Niti Sruti and Niti Praja*

CB 29, Notes on Muslim prayers, mysticism and theology

REM 22-1, 4, *Sudamala*

KITLV D Or. 7, *Menak Amir Hamza romance*

KITLV D Or. 11, *Babad Kaṇḍa*

KITLV D Or. 13, *Babad Dipanagara*

KITLV D Or. 15, *Babad Paku Alaman*

KITLV D Or. 18, *Damar Wulan*

KITLV D Or. 20, *Palasara Krama*

KITLV D Or. 39, *Crisses and Lances*

KITLV D Or. 189, *Aṣṭa Brata, Adidumastra*

KITLV D Or. 259, *Babad Kartasura*

## Javanese from Lombok

Cod.Or. 3663, *Wilobang*

Cod.Or. 3683, 22.469, 22.472, 22.474, 22.475, *Puspakrama*

Cod.Or. 3780, *Ramayana Sasak*

Cod.Or. 5072, *Jatiswara*

Teeuw 12, *Jatiswara*



## Madurese

- Cod.Or. 2039, *Cerita Randa Kaseyan*  
 Cod.Or. 2299, *Ēntol Anom*  
 Cod.Or. 3154, *Jaya Lengcara Wulang*  
 Cod.Or. 3156, *Raden Kasim*  
 Cod.Or. 4828, *Barakay*  
 Cod.Or. 4856, *Ēntol Anom*  
 Cod.Or. 4896, *Barakay*  
 Cod.Or. 4922, *Bayan Ullah*  
 Cod.Or. 4941, 4956 (1), *Rancang Kancana*  
 Cod.Or. 4956 (7), *Ēntol Anom*

## Malay

- Cod.Or. 5448, *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*  
 Cod.Or. 6883, *Hikayat Hang Tuah*  
 Cod.Or. 6865A, *Buku Bintang Kemukus*  
 NBG Kl. 2, *Hikayat Indraputra*  
 NBG Kl. 4a, *Hikayat Hang Tuah*  
 NBG Kl. 5, *Sejarah Melayu*  
 NBG Kl. 33, *Hikayat Nabi Musa Munajat*  
     and *Hikayat Nabi (Muhammad)*  
     *mengajar anaknya Fatimah*  
 NBG Kl. 161, *Syair Raja Tedung dengan*  
     *Raja Katak*  
 KITLV D Or. 128, *Membuat Zendjata*

## Middle Javanese

- Cod.Or. 3585 *Malat*  
 Cod.Or. 3722, *Kidung Sumanasāntaka*  
 Cod.Or. 3801, 4499, *Sri Tañjung*  
 Cod.Or. 3715, *Kidung Wangbang Wideya*  
 Cod.Or. 4343, 5372, *Nawaruci*  
 Cod.Or. 4536, 4539, 4540, *Kidung Tantri*  
     *Kadiri*

Old-Javanese and *jarwa* texts

- Cod.Or. 1788, *Bhāratayuddha Kawi*  
 Cod.Or. 1790, *Rama Kawi*  
 Cod.Or. 1791, *Rama jarwa*  
 Cod.Or. 1793, *Arjuna Sasrabahu jarwa*  
 Cod.Or. 1855, *Kakawin Arjunawijaya*

Cod.Or. 1863, *Niti Sastra*

- Cod.Or. 1878, 2200, 2201, *Kakawin*  
     *Rāmāyaṇa*  
 Cod.Or. 2209, 22.718, 23.756, *Kakawin*  
     *Bhomāntaka*  
 Cod.Or. 2210, *Kakawin Arjunawijaya*  
 Cod.Or. 2217, 3747, 3820, *Kakawin*  
     *Rāmāyaṇa maarti*  
 Cod.Or. 2266, *Kuñjarakarna*  
 Cod.Or. 3134, 3889, 3909, 5030,  
     5033, 5034 (= BCB prft 60), 6443,  
     CB 124, *Āśramawāsaparwa*,  
     *Mosalaparwa*, *Prasthānikaparwa* and  
     *Swargārohanaparwa*  
 Cod.Or. 3712, *Kakawin Wṛttasañcaya*  
 Cod.Or. 3730, *Kakawin*  
     *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*  
 Cod.Or. 4155, *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*  
 Cod.Or. 3777, *Kakawin Sumanasāntaka*  
 Cod.Or. 3908, *Prasthānikaparwa* and  
     *Swargārohanaparwa*  
 Cod.Or. 4078, *Āśramawāsaparwa*  
 Cod.Or. 4340, *Mosalaparwa*  
 Cod.Or. 4522, *Kakawin Sutasoma*  
 Cod.Or. 4532, *Swargārohanaparwa*  
 Cod.Or. 5015, *Kakawin Sumanasāntaka*  
 Cod.Or. 5040, *Kakawin Kṛṣṇayāṇa*  
 Cod.Or. 5107, *Kakawin Arjuna Wiwāha*  
 Cod.Or. 3581(1), 5279, 5387, *Calon Arang*  
 Cod.Or. 16.256, 21.687 and 21.711, *Kakawin*  
     *Bhārgawaśikṣa maarti*  
 Cod.Or. 23.012, *Sastra Yamapūrwatatwa*  
 Cod.Or. 23.058, *Kakawin Kalēpasan*  
 Cod.Or. 23.907, *Kakawin Kangśa maarti*  
 NBG 72, *Kakawin Wṛttasañcaya*  
 REM 16–569, *Kakawin Bhāratayuddha*  
 REM 214–13, *Purwadigama Sasana Sastra*  
     *Sadodērtā*  
 KITLV D Or. 350, *Kakawin*  
     *Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarṇana*



## Sasak

Cod.Or. 3596, *Babad Sakra*Cod.Or. 3664, *Uug Buleleng*Cod.Or. 3668, 3691, *Kabar Kiamat*Cod.Or. 3673, *Cupak*Cod.Or. 3765, *Datu Daha*Cod.Or. 3807, *Amir Hamza and Babad Sakra*

## Sundanese

Cod.Or. 2232, *Punishments in Hell.*Cod.Or. 5621, *'Umdatul Ansāb*NBG 238, *Waruga Gemet* (Book of Divination)NBG 240, *Ahmad Muhamad*NBG 268, *Suluk*NBG 280, *Ganten Wangi*NBG 288, *Duties of a Santri*NBG 294, *Samā'un*NBG 298, *Wawacan Pěpěling*

## LEIDEN

Private collection J.J. Witkam

## Javanese from Madura

*Sěrat Yusup*

## Sasak

*Datu Daha*

## LONDON

*British Library*

## Javanese

Mss Jav. 36, *Babad Mataram*Add. 12294, *Sěrat Gondakusuma*IOL Jav. 17, *Angling Darma*IOL Jav.36(B), *Babad ing Sangkala*Sloane 1403.A. *Untitled.*

## Royal Asiatic Society

Javanese

Raffles Java 14, *Caritanira Askandar**Dulkarnen*Raffles Java 22, 31C, 34B, *Sěrat Nitipraja*

## MATARAM, LOMBOK

*Private collection I Ketut Jadi,**Karangbangbang, Mataram*

## Balinese

*Kidung Dampati Lalangon*

## OXFORD

*Bodleian Library*

Laud Or. Rolls a.1

## Javanese

Ms Jav. B. 3(R), *Bujangga Manik*

## ROTTERDAM

Municipal Library

## Arabic

MS 96 D 16, *Qur'an*

## SERANG, BANTEN, WEST JAVA

*IAIN Sultan Maulana Hasanuddin*

## Arabic

*Qur'an*

## SERPONG

*Collection Museum Pustaka Tionghoa**Peranakan*

## Javanese

*Menak Cina**Tapel Adam**Sěrat Ong Tya Gi*



SIDOARJO, EAST JAVA

*Museum Mpu Tantular*

Old Javanese

*Kakawin Nāgarakṛtāgama/Deśawarṇana*

SINGARAJA, BALI

*Gedong Kirtya*

Balinese

IIC/1418/20, *Ukuring Keris*IVd 907, *Kidung Dampati Lalangon prasi*  
(now lost?)

Javanese from Lombok

K. 470, *Asṛak*K. 10.006, *Muhammad Story*K. 10.108, *Piagem Batu Tulis*K. 10.010, *Rēngganis*K. 10.091, *Saqat*K. 10.083, *Séh Umbul Berahim*K. 10.061, *Tutur Jati*

Old Javanese

K 612/IVB, *Kakawin Sumanasāntaka*IIB/974/28, *Kakawin Sutasoma maarti*IVB/12/1102, *Kakawin Rāmāyaṇa*IIB/1374/39, *Kakawin Bhārgawaśikṣa*  
*maarti*

Sasak

K. 10.030, *Monyeh*Vb. 430, *Ta Mēlak Mangan*

SURAKARTA

*Harjonagaran Museum*

Javanese

HN 7, *Sĕrat Babad Ngayogyakarta:*  
*Palihan Nagari*

Surakarta

*Karaton Surakarta*

Javanese

KS 78.2, *Babad Jaka Tingkir*KS 80.2, *Pengĕtan lĕlampahanipun**Bĕndara Raden Mas Panji**Sumahatmaja*KS 103, *Sĕrat Dombasawala*KS 308, *Sĕrat Witaradya*KS 474, *Sĕrat Jatiswara*KS 595, *Sĕrat Cakrawarti*(= *Weddhapratyana*)KS 415.3, *Sĕrat Nitipraja*

Surakarta

*Museum Radya Pustaka*

Javanese

RP 54, *Sĕrat Babad PB VI (Nyah Kyi)*RP 64, *Sĕrat Sajarah Urun Wijining**Karaton*

RP 86, RP 89, Richly illuminated

catalogues of ceremonial sunshades

RP 223 A–D, Batik textile samples from  
the early twentieth centuryRP 234, *Pawukon Mawi Gambar* (now  
missing)RP 346(2), *Sĕrat Nitipraja*RP 355, *Sĕrat Rĕngganis*RP 362, RP 370, Autograph manuscripts  
of the nineteenth-century poet R. Ng.*Ronggawarsita*RP 376, *Kĕkawin Bratayuda*

Surakarta

*Pura Mangkunegaran*

Javanese

MN 1, *Sĕrat Paramusita*



- MN 22, *Sĕrat Ajipamasa*  
 MN 130, *Sĕrat Karimataya*  
 MN 268.1, *Sĕrat Babad Sĕgaluh*  
 MN 290, *Sĕrat Tajusalatin*  
 MN 294C.27, MN 294C.30, MN 367.8, MN 380, MN 520.4, *Sĕrat Nitipraja*  
 MN 357A.3, *Suluk Gontor*  
 MN 494, *Pustaka Raja Buddhawaka*  
 MN 519.2, *Lakad*  
 MN 531B.5, *Sĕrat Nayakawara*  
 MN 610, *Sĕrat Nayakawara*
- YOGYAKARTA  
*Balai Bahasa Yogyakarta*
- Javanese  
 1188, *Babad Kartasura*  
 2706, *Babad Dĕmak III*  
 2768, *Babad Pacina*  
 2773, *Babad Kartasura VIII*  
 10514, *Sĕrat Pawukon*
- Yogyakarta  
*Balai Kajian Sejarah dan Nilai Tradisional Yogyakarta*
- Javanese  
 S 193, *Sĕrat Se Yu*
- Yogyakarta  
*Museum Sonobudoyo*
- Javanese  
 L 11, *Sĕrat Anbiya*  
 L 207, *Sĕrat Asmarasupi*
- YOGYAKARTA  
*Perpustakaan Widyapustaka Pura Pakualaman*
- Javanese  
 Pi.25, Pi.28, *Sĕrat Nitipraja*  
 Pi.35, *Sĕstra Agĕng Adidarma*
- YOGYAKARTA  
*Widya Budaya, Karaton Yogyakarta*
- Javanese  
 W.56, *Sĕrat Nitik Sultan Agung*  
 W.85, *Babad Ngayogyakarta: Hamĕngkubuwana IV Dumugi Hamĕngkubuwana V*  
 W.78, *Babad Ngayogyakarta: Hamĕngkubuwana I Dumugi Hamĕngkubuwana III*  
 W. 355b, *Cathĕtan Kawontĕnanipun Pusaka-Dalĕm Wangkingan*
- PRIVATE COLLECTIONS
- Balinese  
*Kidung Bagus Diarsa Kidung Dampati Lalangan Japatwan Putru Sangaskara Wedan Ubulan Pratiti Caru Wĕton Tatamban Kidung Rare Sasigar*
- Balinese from Lombok  
*Kidung Rusak Kadiri*
- Javanese  
*Sĕrat Karmayana Sĕrat Kidung Langĕnswara Damar Wulan Prajangjian ingkang Sinuwun Kangjĕng Sultan Hamĕngkubuwana*



*Sĕrat Kondha Langĕn Mondrawanara*

*Sĕrat Anbiya*

*Sĕrat Asmarasupi*

*Pengĕtan bĕksa bĕdhaya gĕndhing*

*Jatiwarna*

*Sĕrat Wirid Papadhanginġ Jagad*

*Sĕrat Nitimani*

*Sri Tañjung*

*Seh Maulana Ibrahim*

*Babad Cina*

*Lakad*

*Sĕrat Kidungan*

*Wasitarama*

*Katranganipun Sĕrat Waratmaya*

*Primbon Saka Kutha Gĕdhe*

*Babad Surakarta*

*Sĕrat Kandha*

Tiny notebook owned by R. Soehodo

Hodowidigdo

Genealogy of the kings of Surakarta and

Yogyakarta

*Sĕjarah Para Nata ing Mataram Wiwit*

*Raden Bondhan Kĕjawan*

*Kidung Rumĕksa ing Wĕngi*

*Sĕrat Yusup (dluwang)*

*Sĕrat Wirid*

Private dictionary

Javanese from Lombok

*Babad Selaparang*

*Menak Amir Hamza*

*Joharsah*

*Ramayana Macapat*

*Puspakrama*

*Sĕrat Yusup*

*Nabi Aparas*

*Nabi Aparas*

*Menak Amir Hamza*

*Sĕrat Yusup*

*Joharsah*

Javanese/Malay

*Basa Melajoe Djalal*

Middle-Javanese

*Kidung Malat*

Malay

Photocopy, *Gaguritan Siti Badariah*

Old Javanese

*Bhagawan Kamandaka*

*Kakawin Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*

*Kakawin Pārthayajña maarti*

*Kakawin Smaradahana*

*Catur Parwa*

*Saptamahabhaya*

*Sarāsamuccayā*



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